COLLEGIUM DE
SOMERVILLE
DONEC
RURSUS
IMPLEAT
ORBEM

240-1
7 (ii)
Gallery
(below Camden Series
bottom shelves)

HISTORY OF THE POPES.

VOL. II.

PASTOR'S HISTORY OF THE POPES.

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES. Translated from the German of Dr. LUDWIG PASTOR. Edited, as to Vols. I.–VI., by the late FREDERICK IGNATIUS ANTROBUS, and, as to Vols. VII.–XIV., by FRANCIS RALPH KERR of the London Oratory. In 14 Volumes.

Vols. I. and II.	A.D. 1305–1458.
Vols. III. and IV.	A.D. 1458–1483.
Vols. V. and VI.	A.D. 1484–1513.
Vols. VII. and VIII.	A.D. 1513–1521.
Vols. IX. and X.	A.D. 1522–1534.
Vols. XI. and XII.	A.D. 1534–1549.

Vols. XIII. and XIV. *in preparation.*

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES,

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

DRAWN FROM THE SECRET ARCHIVES OF THE VATICAN AND OTHER ORIGINAL SOURCES.

FROM THE GERMAN OF

Dr. LUDWIG PASTOR,

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF INNSBRUCK.

EDITED BY

FREDERICK IGNATIUS ANTROBUS.

OF THE ORATORY.

FIFTH EDITION.

VOLUME II.

LONDON
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO., LTD.
BROADWAY HOUSE, 68–74 CARTER LANE, E.C.4.
1923

Printed in Great Britain by Butler & Tanner, *Frome and London*

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

	PAGE
Table of Contents	vii-xxx
List of Documents in Appendix	xxxi-xxxii
Election of Nicholas V. (1447)	3-26
First Years of his Reign	27-73
The Jubilee of 1450.—Cardinal Cusa in Germany	74-137
The Last Imperial Coronation in Rome	138-162
Nicholas V. as Patron of the Renaissance ...	165-214
Conspiracy of Stefano Porcaro	215-239
Advance of the Turks and Fall of Constantinople	240-286
Death of Nicholas V.	287-313
Election of Calixtus III.	317-343
The Holy See and the Eastern Question ...	344-387
The Victory of the Crusaders at Belgrade ...	389-428
Skanderbeg.—Deaths of Calixtus III. and Cardinal Capranica	429-495
Appendix of Unpublished Documents	496-566
Index of Names	567-580

NOTICE.

PROFESSOR PASTOR'S "History of the Popes from the close of the Middle Ages," comes to us with a singular and exceptional weight of authority.

First, because of the ample encouragement conveyed by the brief of Leo XIII. when the first volume of the history was completed. Such letters of His Holiness do not, indeed, convey a critical approval of the work, but an abundant testimony to the fitness and learning of Dr Pastor for the accomplishment of his undertaking.

Secondly, because this history may be regarded as the first-fruits of the action of the Holy Father, which, a little time ago, so surprised the writers of anti-Catholic history. Leo XIII., as it will be remembered, addressed a letter to the five Cardinals whom he had appointed as a commission to oversee the publication of historical matters contained in the Vatican Archives. The Holy Father charged them to see that the history of the Holy See and of the Church should be written with absolute truth on the only just and imperishable principle that the *historica veritas* ought to be supreme, of which we have a divine example in Holy Writ, where the sins, even of Saints, are as openly recorded as the wickedness of sinners.

Thirdly, because no author as yet has written the history of the Popes with such copious evidence, drawn, not only from the Vatican Archives since they were thrown open by Leo XIII., but from a multitude of other sources hitherto never examined, as, for instance, the Consistorial Archives, the Archives of the Lateran, of the Inquisition, of the Propaganda, of the Sistine Chapel, of the Secretaryship of Briefs, and of the Library of St. Peter's. As to the Vatican Library, even Ranke and Gregorovius were only able to inspect a small number of the manuscripts. Beyond these, Professor Pastor has examined the Libraries and private Archives of Rome, the public and semi-public Libraries as the Angelica, the Barberina, the Casanatense, the Chigi, the Corsini, the Vallicellana, the Altieri, the Borghese, the Buoncompagni, the Anima, the Campo Santo and Santo Spirito, the Colonna, Gaetani, and Ricci. To all these may be added the Archives of Milan, Paris, Florence, Vienna and Mantua, Lucca, Modena and Naples, Aix in Provence and Treves.

If anyone will examine the notes and references at the foot of the pages in this work he will see at once that this list of authorities is not a mere catalogue of names, but of sources from which a copious and truthful history has been industriously drawn. If any further evidence were needed to show how minutely this history has been written, it will be sufficient to add that these two volumes contain, besides the Introduction, only the history of four Pontiffs, from 1417 to 1458. Nevertheless, in that brief period is to be found one of the most decisive events of history, the effect of which is in full action upon the Church and upon the world at this day.

All histories of this period, from Ranke to Creighton, will need extensive correction, and, in a large measure, to be rewritten. In the time of Nicholas V., the so-called "Renaissance" was at its height, and parted itself off into two distinct schools—the heathen Humanists, and the Christian Humanists. The heathen Humanists

plunged themselves, with all their intellectual culture, into the atheism and foulness of a revived paganism. They were the forerunners of the intellectual apostasy from the Church, which, some seventy years after, broke out in Germany under the pretence of reformation. This revolt in religion of individual judgment against Divine authority was translated in the last century into the domain of politics by the first French Revolution, which has been truly described by Carlyle as the last act in the drama of Lutheranism. The Christian Humanists elaborated all intellectual culture in perfect fidelity to the revelation of the Christian faith. Nicolas V. became their patron and protector, and thereby placed himself at the head of the intellectual culture which has pervaded the Catholic Church, expanding itself from the time of his Pontificate to the Pontificate of Leo XIII.

HENRY EDWARD,
Cardinal Archbishop.

October 27th, 1891.

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME II.

BOOK I.

I.

ELECTION OF POPE NICHOLAS V., 1447-1455.

A.D.		PAGE
1447	Condition of Italy and the Church, on the death of Eugenius IV.	3
	Apprehension excited by the movements of the King of Naples	3
	Threatening attitude of the populace and Republican party in Rome	4
	Anxiety felt in regard to the election to the Papal Throne	5
	The Cardinals assemble to elect a successor to Eugenius IV.	6
	Composition of the Sacred College—character of its most eminent members	7
	Grandeur and depth of character of Cardinal Carvajal	7
	Cardinal de Torquemada, champion of the rights of the Church and Holy See	8
	His position as a theologian—founds the confraternity of the Annunciation	9
	Cardinal d'Estouteville—princely splendour in which he lived	10
	How different nations were represented in the Sacred College	11
	The voting in the Conclave—first results indecisive	11
1447	At the third scrutiny Cardinal Parentucelli is unanimously elected	11
	The election causes great rejoicings in Rome and in the States of the Church	13
	Parentage and early life of Cardinal Parentucelli	14
	His difficulties on the death of his father—enters the service of Cardinal Albergati	15
	His relations with the representatives of the Christian and heathen Renaissance	16

A.D. PAGE
1447 His rapid ecclesiastical advancement—becomes Bishop of Bologna 17
Breaks up the League of the Electors in Germany and is created Cardinal 18
Important position attained by him in the Sacred College 18
His personal appearance, disposition, and character . 19
His temperate habits, love of peace, and benevolence . 20
His intellectual attainments and his love of books and buildings 21
The literary treasures acquired by him in his travels . 22
His efforts to collect the writings of the Fathers, especially those of St. Augustine . . . 23
His ardent desire to restore order, and to use no other weapon than the Cross 25
In promoting art and science his first object was the welfare of the Church 26

II.

FIRST YEARS OF THE REIGN OF POPE NICHOLAS V.

State of political and ecclesiastical affairs on the accession of Nicholas V. 27
Misery and devastation in the States of the Church . 28
Revival of the hopes of the adherents of the anti-Pope (Felix V.) 28
Effect produced by the prudent and conciliatory action of the Pope 29
King Alfonso and Frederick III. send ambassadors to the coronation 30
Ceremony of the coronation—the Pope renews his promises to Frederick III. 31
Submission of Poland to the Holy See—concessions made to King Casimir 32
Embassy of the Florentine Republic—their reception by Nicholas V. 33
Agreement with the King of Naples—he sends ambassadors to Rome 34
Difficulties which reunion encountered in Germany and France 35
The Schismatic Councils of Bourges and Lyons decide that Felix should resign 35
Nicholas V. recognized by the King and Princes of Germany—Council of Basle to be dissolved . 36
Opposition and eventual submission of the University of Vienna. 37

A.D.		PAGE
1448	Concordat concluded at Vienna between Frederick III. and the Pope	38
	Causes which prevented the Concordat from producing its expected results	39
	The Concordat ultimately accepted throughout Europe	40
	Dissolution of the Basle Synod—submission of the King of France	41
1449	Concessions made to the Schismatics and to the anti-Pope	42
	Honours conferred upon Felix V.—his retirement and death	43
	The effect of the Basle Schism was to postpone reform	44
	Jacob von Jüterbogk appeals to the Pope to remedy the abuses in the Church	45
	New laws are not required, but the enforcement of those that exist	46
	He enumerates the abuses in the Church—extent and limitation of the Pope's authority	47
	The Italians themselves the chief obstacle to reform	48
	Kayserberg's opinion of the efficacy of Councils for purposes of reform	49
	Sterility of the Council of Basle—it served but to revive the Schism	49
	Decline of the belief in the power of ecclesiastical parliaments	50
	Influence of ecclesiastical literature in promoting adherence to the Papal system	51
	Cardinal de Torquemada's defence of the spiritual and temporal powers	51
	Exposes the aims and methods of the enemies of the Holy See	52
	The work of Rodericus Sancius against the Basle Schismatics	53
	He attacks the Council theory and stigmatises the so-called neutrals	54
	He lays it down as a principle that the Church will always need reform	55
	If Councils were the proper agents they would need to be permanent	55
	How reforms should be carried out and the evils of the Church remedied	55
	St. John Capistran and Piero del Monte combat the Council theories	56
	Stringent measures taken by Nicholas V. for the eradication of heresy	57

A.D.		PAGE
1449	Reaction in favour of the Papacy consequent on the Basle Schism	58
	Opposition which the movement for reunion encountered in Germany	59
	In spite of the religious awakening in that country the anti-Papal spirit not entirely subdued.	60
	Peace restored to the Papal States—self-government conceded to the people	61
	The feudatories of the Holy See and several cities regain their ancient privileges	62
	The measures adopted for the restoration of peace to the States of the Church	63
	Policy pursued by the Pope for the maintenance of peace in his own dominions	63
	Death of the last of the Visconti—the claimants for the Duchy of Milan	64
	The Duchy in abeyance for three years—the ancient republic of Milan revived	65
	Francesco Sforza becomes Duke of Milan and restores peace to Italy	66
	Submission of Bologna—privileges conceded to the city by the Pope	67
	Cardinal Bessarion appointed Papal Legate for Bologna	69
	Success of his administration—Bologna's famous university restored	70
	He re-establishes law and justice, and issues an edict against luxury	71
	Results of the Pope's zeal in the cause of ecclesiastical and political order	72
	His success in the cause of peace—the admiration of his contemporaries	73

III.

THE JUBILEE OF 1450.—CARDINAL CUSA'S LABOURS IN GERMANY.

	The Pope determines to celebrate the termination of the Schism by a Universal Jubilee	74
1449	The Jubilee proclaimed—conditions for gaining the Indulgence	75
	Joy throughout Christendom—pilgrimage of the nations to Rome	76
	The great influx of strangers—preparations in Rome for their reception	77
	The number and composition of the multitudes which daily arrived in the city	78

A.D.		PAGE
1449	The canonization of St. Bernardine of Siena occurs in the Jubilee year	79
	His process begun by Eugenius IV. is taken up by Nicholas V.	80
	The ceremony of the canonization—the Pope pronounces the Saint's panegyric	81
	The outburst of joy which the canonization of St. Bernardine elicited	82
	Description of the Jubilee by dello Mastro, an eye-witness	83
	The plague reaches Rome—appalling mortality among the pilgrims	84
	The people are seized with panic and flee in all directions from the city	86
	The Pope and the Papal Court quit the Eternal City	87
1450	Cessation of the pestilence—the pilgrimages resumed	88
	The crowds are so great that the streets become impassable	89
	Van der Weyden's visit to Rome—its influence on his work	90
	Some of the important personages who joined in the Jubilee	91
	The literature to which the Jubilee year gave birth	93
	Different treatises written on the subject of Indulgences	94
	Provost Hammerlin denounces ecclesiastical abuses	95
	A lady of rank is seized at Verona and carried off by the soldiers	96
	Fearful accident to the pilgrims on the bridge of St. Angelo	97
	In the confusion some two hundred persons are crushed to death	98
	The heart-rending scenes in the Church of St. Celso where the dead were conveyed	99
	The Pope's distress at the terrible event—identification of the dead	100
	Steps taken to prevent the recurrence of a similar accident	101
	France and Germany demand the convention of a General Council	101
	The Jubilee gifts enable the Pope to advance his schemes of art and learning	102
	Spiritual effects of the Jubilee—triumph of ecclesiastical restoration	103
	To reform ecclesiastical abuses the Pope sends legates to various countries	104
1451	Cardinal d'Estouteville endeavours to effect peace between France and England	105

A.D. PAGE

1451 Cardinal Cusa undertakes the work of moral reform in Germany 105
Is opposed by those who favoured the principles of the Council of Basle 106
How to set about the work of ecclesiastical reform . 107
Wherever he went his first visit was to the Church to implore blessings on his work 108
His endeavours to reunite Germany to Rome, and to reform the religious orders 109
His labours in the diocese of Salzburg effect the closest union with the Holy See 110
He appoints apostolic visitors to enforce observance of the religious vows 111
Their labours in Germany and the reforms effected by them 112
Cardinal Cusa reconciles the differences between the mendicant friars and regular clergy at Bamberg . 113
He presides at the Provincial Chapter of the Benedictines at Würzburg 114
He commands the strict observance of the Rule of St. Benedict 115
He proceeds to Erfurt, where he undertakes the reform of the religious houses 116
His reception at Erfurt—great multitudes come to hear him preach 117
Visits the religious houses and monasteries and confers with Johannes Busch 118
He enters Magdeburg—takes part in the procession of the Holy Sacrament 119
The measures adopted by him for the reform of religious houses . . . . . 12[illegible]
He appoints deputies to carry out the reform of the Augustinian Order 120
Extensive powers of the deputies—severe measures adopted towards grave offenders 121
An edict published against concubinage—Convents visited and reformed 122
Cardinal Cusa makes the religious instruction of the people his special care 123
His visitation of Minden—measures adopted for the better celebration of divine worship 124
Religious means employed for the extirpation of concubinage among the clergy 124
St. John Capistran undertakes the reform of the Minorite Order in South Germany 125
The veneration with which he was received—the multitudes who came to hear him 126

A.D. PAGE

1451 The rule of life which he observed—is accused of vain ambition 127
By his preaching he wins thousands to a better life, and reconciles heretics to the Church . . . 128
He founds and reforms Convents, and fills them with young men won by his preaching from the Universities 129
As a result of one sermon nearly 120 students seek admission to the religious orders 130
Cardinal Cusa continues his labours of monastic reform in Northern Germany 130
While he admonished and punished ecclesiastics, he did not fail to instruct the laity 131
He establishes and endows a religious foundation for 33 poor persons 132
Concludes his labours in Germany—decrees of the Council of Mayence 133
The Pope entrusts him with a mission to Burgundy and England 134
He fails in his mission, returns to Germany, and presides at the Council of Cologne 135
He addresses the Synod on the measures to be adopted for reform 136
The unity of the Church and the authority of the Pope re-established in Germany 137

IV.

THE LAST IMPERIAL CORONATION IN ROME, 1452.

1452 Frederick III.'s desire to be crowned Emperor in Rome 138
Preparations for the coronation and the King's marriage with Leonora of Portugal 139
Commands the chief cities of the Empire to furnish his escort to Rome 140
Opposition to his project—symptoms of agitation in Austria 141
Magnificent reception accorded to him by the Republic of Venice 142
The Duke of Milan, whom he refused to recognize, sends an embassy to meet him 143
The manifestations of welcome with which he was received at Bologna 144
Royally received by the Florentines—reverence still felt for the Roman Empire 145
The King is more concerned about buying jewels than in receiving ambassadors 146

A.D. PAGE

1452 The Papal legates join the King—he meets his bride at Siena 146
The festivities at Siena—description of the future Empress 147
Alarm of the Pope at the King's approach—military precautions 147
The Pope's distrust of the Republican party the cause of his apprehension 148
The King approaches Rome—is met by the nobility and their retainers 149
Rapture of the King and the German knights on beholding the Eternal City 150
The King and the royal escort enter Rome under the Imperial standard 151
The royal procession—the King received with great pomp by clergy and people 152
The King's visit to St. Peter's—does homage to the Pope 153
His interview with the Pope—desires to receive the iron crown of Lombardy 153
Is crowned King of Lombardy—the Imperial coronation 154
Description of the ceremony at St. Peter's 155
Conclusion of the ceremonies—Frederick holds the Pope's stirrup 156
The Emperor quits Rome—his journey to Naples . 158
Attempted escape of King Ladislas—the Emperor returns to Rome 159
Armed revolt in Austria threatened—the Emperor departs for Germany 160
The insignificance of the Empire—Frederick's treatment by the Doge of Venice 161
St. Antoninus' judgment of Frederick—he is compelled to release King Ladislas 162

BOOK II.

I.

NICHOLAS V. AS PATRON OF THE RENAISSANCE IN LITERATURE AND ART.

The Pope places himself at the head of the movement for the revival of learning and art 165
Rome to be the focus of literature and art, possessing imperishable memorials of the Church's greatness 166

A.D.		PAGE
1452	The fortifications designed to protect Rome against her enemies	167
	His buildings and libraries intended to manifest the exaltation of the Holy See	168
	His great architectural undertakings—extent of his design	169
	He commences the restoration of the churches, basilicas, and palaces of Rome	170
	His solicitude for the public health and for the embellishment of the city	171
	Bridges are repaired, fortified or rebuilt, and the city walls restored	172
	The Pope's design for rebuilding the Vatican, St. Peter's, and the Leonine City	173
	Details of the plan for the construction of the Vatican and St. Peter's	174
	The Papal city to be so fortified as to be practically impregnable	175
	Magnitude of the design for the defence and adornment of the Eternal City	176
	Conception and details of the scheme ascribable to Nicholas V. alone	177
	His first design was to restore, and not rebuild St. Peter's	178
	The design abandoned on the advice of Alberti	178
	Reluctance to pull down St. Peter's—dangerous condition of the basilica	179
	The monuments of Pagan Rome despoiled in the work of Christian restoration	180
	Architectural alterations commenced in the Vatican palace.	181
	The additions made by Nicholas V. and subsequent Popes	182
	Artists are attracted to Rome from all parts of the world	183
	Remuneration of some of the most celebrated in the Pope's service	183
	The different systems under which the work was carried out	184
	Decoration of St. Peter's and the Vatican—the labours of Fra Angelico	185
	The almost unapproachable perfection to which he carried his art	186
	Relations between him and the Pope—the works he executed for Nicholas V.	187
	His paintings of St. Stephen—his mastery of his art unimpaired by old age	188

A.D.		PAGE
1452	In his works the classical ideal is always subordinate to the Christian spirit	189
	Other painters who received employment and patronage from Nicholas V.	190
	He encouraged all those arts which lend magnificence to public worship	191
	He beautified and fortified the towns, and restored the public buildings in the Papal States	192
	His passion for the revival of literature—his accession hailed by the humanists	193
	He seeks to identify the Holy See with the revival of classical learning	194
	Encouragement and support which literary men received from him.	194
	Rome becomes the centre of art and intellectual activity	195
	In his enthusiasm for learning the Pope gives support to the heathen humanists	196
	Poggio, Filelfo, and Valla among the recipients of his patronage	197
	The literature of Greece becomes accessible to Western Europe	198
	The host of translators employed, and the recompense awarded them	199
	Importance of Greek literature—Rome filled with books and parchments	200
	The diffusion of Greek, a counterpoise to what was corrupt in the Renaissance	201
	The scandals which arose through the rivalry of the humanists	202
	Preferment granted to them to the exclusion of the clergy	203
	The hostility excited by the votaries of the false Renaissance.	204
	Maffei insists on the importance of classical knowledge to the clergy	205
	The Pope encourages the advancement of ecclesiastical literature	206
	The labours undertaken to publish more worthy Lives of the Saints	207
	The Vatican Library intended to preserve the intellectual treasures of Greece and Rome	208
	The quest for literary treasures throughout Christendom	208
	Armies of translators and transcribers employed by the Pope	209
	The Vatican Library was meant to be accessible to the whole learned world	210

A.D. PAGE

1452 The private Papal libraries—number of volumes contained in them 211
Number of MS. volumes in the famous private libraries of Italy 212
Contents of the manuscript volumes included in Nicholas V.'s collections 213
The importance of the Vatican library even to our own times 214

II.

THE CONSPIRACY OF STEFANO PORCARO, 1453.

1453 Porcaro conspires against the temporal sovereignty and life of the Pope 215
The false humanism revives the ancient estimate of the murder of tyrants 216
Porcaro's antecedents—he devotes himself to classical studies 218
His desire to establish in Rome a Republic after the Florentine pattern 219
Conceals his opinions—appointments conferred on him by Eugenius IV. 220
Endeavours to provoke an insurrection on the death of that Pope 221
Nicholas V. forgave him, but he still continued to conspire 222
He is exiled to Bologna, but is granted a pension by the Pope 222
Escapes from Bologna in disguise and returns to Rome 223
Meets his co-conspirators and confers with them in the city 224
Plunder one of their inducements—their plan of operations 225
Porcaro delays—the Pope is apprised of his design . 226
The conspirators surprised, but many, including Porcaro, escape 227
His place of concealment discovered, and he is taken prisoner 228
He details the objects of the conspiracy, and the means of carrying it out 229
The Pope and Cardinals to be captured, and put to death if they resisted 229
He is sentenced to death and hanged with a number of his associates 230
The calamities which would have befallen the Papacy if he had succeeded 231

A.D. PAGE

1453 Excitement caused by the conspiracy—divergence of opinion regarding it 232
Alarm of the humanists—their condemnation of Porcaro 233
Polemical works written against Porcaro and in defence of the temporal power 234
The Papal rule contrasted with that of the municipal governors of Italy 235
Friendly powers congratulate the Pope on the failure of the conspiracy 236
Effect on the Pope of the danger to his life and his magnificent undertakings 238
He becomes suspicious and distrustful on seeing the old disloyalty revived 239

III.

ADVANCE OF THE TURKS AND FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

1439 Instability of the Greek and Latin Union arranged at Florence 240
Schismatical writers labour to excite hostility towards Rome 241
Ineffectual attempt to bring about a union with the Russian Church 242
1448 Advance of the Turks—defeat of the Christian army at Kossowo 242
Inactivity of the Greek Court—the Pope alarmed at the Turkish success 243
The Hungarians granted the Jubilee indulgence without coming to Rome 244
Measures of the Pope for the revival of faith and suppression of heresy in Bosnia 245
1451 His action against the Turks—material assistance given to Cyprus 476
His support of the Greeks conditional on their observing the Union 247
His Brief to the Greeks on the necessity of the unity of the Church 248
Points out the dangers of schism and the decadence of the countries where it prevailed 249
He reminds them of their acceptance of the Union, and their attempts to evade it 250
The conditions on which he will give his assistance against the Turks 251
1451 The Turks who had menaced Cyprus turn their arms against a Mahometan Prince 251

A.D.		PAGE
1451	The Greeks deeming themselves safe send an insulting embassy to Mahomet	252
	He makes peace with his enemy, and turns his power against Constantinople	252
1452	He proceeds to fortify the Bosphorus, and declares war against the Greeks	253
	Preparations for the decisive struggle—hopes of Union with Rome abandoned	254
	Discussion in Rome on the question of assistance to the Greeks	255
	It is urged that in spite of the schism Constantinople should be saved	256
	Dangers to be apprehended if the city fell into the hands of the Turks	257
	The Greek Emperor accepts the conditions laid down by the Pope	258
1452	Cardinal Isidore goes to Constantinople with aid for the Greeks	258
	Solemn function held to celebrate the Union of the churches	259
	The populace and schismatical clergy resist and denounce the Union	259
	Antagonism to Rome general throughout Byzantine society	260
	Consequence of this hostility in the then condition of Greece	260
	Genoa aids the Greeks, but help from Venice comes too late	261
	Venetian support half-hearted—assistance afforded by the Pope	262
	Nicholas V. describes the amount of support he rendered to the Greeks	263
1453	The Papal fleet proceeds to Constantinople—strength of the opposing forces	264
	Commencement of the siege—the credit due to Italian ships and foreign troops	265
	Cowardice of the Greeks—their reliance on prayers and predictions	266
	The troops inadequate to the defence—courage displayed by the Emperor	266
1453	(May 29th) Capture of the city—atrocities committed by the Turkish troops	267
	Outrage to the Christian Faith—last traces of the Union obliterated	268
	Degradation of the Greek Church—flight of the Christians from the East	269

A.D. PAGE

1453 Terror of Christendom at the downfall of the Byzantine Empire 270
Consequences of that event on the political system of Europe 271
Consternation in Rome on receipt of the news of the fall of Constantinople 273
Further advance of the Turks apprehended—measures adopted by the Pope 274
He equips a fleet and issues a Bull of Crusade to Christendom 275
A great portion of the revenues of the Church devoted to advance the crusade 276
The enthusiasm which inspired the crusades extinct 277
1454 Hungary alone undertakes the war against the infidel . 278
The commercial interests of the Venetian Republic prevail over its patriotism 279
It enters into negotiations with the Sultan and concludes a treaty with the Porte 280
Its mercenary action—shameful conditions accepted by the Republic 281
Helplessness of Genoa—surrender of its Black Sea possessions 282
Vacillation of the King of Naples in regard to the crusade 283
The Duchy of Milan and Florentine Republic give no support 284
Inaction of the Western Powers—the Pope's summons unheeded in France 285
Portugal and Hungary make serious preparations for the war 286
Discord among the European nations prevented their union against the Turks 286

IV.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE IN ITALY—THE CRUSADE IN GERMANY—SICKNESS AND DEATH OF NICHOLAS V.

Cyprus and Rhodes implore aid against the Turks—escape of Cardinal Isidore 287
His account of the cruelties of the Turks and extent of their resources 288
1453 The Pope summons the Italian Powers to a peace congress 289
Irreconcilable differences among the States represented at the congress 291

A.D.		PAGE
1453	The King of Naples adverse to the re-establishment of peace	292
	The excessive influence he is supposed to have exercised over the Pope	293
	The Pope becomes seriously ill during the negotiations	294
	The peace congress breaks up amid mutual dissatisfaction	295
	Mission of Fra Simonetto of Camerino to the Duke of Milan	295
1454	He brings about the peace which the congress failed to accomplish	296
	The King of Naples indignant at the conditions of the peace of Lodi	297
	Acceptance of the conditions of peace by the whole of Italy	298
1455	The Pope ratifies the league which is proclaimed amid general rejoicing	299
	Frederick III. summons a Diet to concert measures against the Turks	300
	The Diet badly attended—no definite result arrived at	301
	Disunion in the Holy Roman Empire—the Diet re-assembles at Frankfort	302
	It is decided to send an army and fleet to aid the Hungarians	303
	The Diet next meets at Vienna—it evades the Turkish question	304
	Illness of Nicholas V.—continued anxieties of his reign	305
	Unable to give audiences or take part in the great feasts of the Church	307
	Revolutionary agitation throughout the States of the Church	308
	Intervention of the Pope between Spoleto and the Count of Anguillara	309
	Commands his subjects to obey the Cardinals pending the election of a new Pope	309
	His illness becomes dangerous—his preparation for death	310
	He justifies on his death-bed before the Cardinals the acts of his pontificate	311
	Contrasts the state of the Church on his accession with that in which he is leaving it	312
	His death—tribute of Vespasiano da Bisticci to his memory	312
1455	He is buried in St. Peter's—his monument and epitaph	313

BOOK III.

I.

CALIXTUS III. THE CHAMPION OF CHRISTENDOM AGAINST THE TURKS, 1455-1458.

A.D.		PAGE
1455	Apprehended disturbance in Rome—renewed activity of the Republicans	317
	Preparations made for the election of a new Pope	318
	The Cardinals assemble in conclave—composition of the Sacred College	319
	The proportion in which Italy and other nations were represented	320
	Speculation as to the future Pope—chances of Cardinals Colonna and Orsini	321
	Division among the Cardinals—three scrutinies fail to give the requisite majority	322
	Cardinal Bessarion's prospects—his elevation considered certain	323
	The decision remains uncertain—impatience of the populace	324
	Cardinal Alonso Borja elected—takes the name of Calixtus III.	325
	Prediction of St. Vincent Ferrer concerning him	326
	The ancestry and early life of Calixtus III.	327
	His ecclesiastical and diplomatic career—services rendered to Alfonso of Naples	328
	His moral and intellectual qualification—dissatisfaction at his election	329
	The Pope's character described by his contemporaries.	330
	Fear of the Italians that he will unduly favour his own countrymen	331
	Simplicity of his demeanour—contrast between him and Nicholas V.	332
	His attitude of indifference towards the Renaissance movement	333
	The humanists accuse him of having dispersed the Vatican library	334
	Reasons which prove that the accusation is a calumny	335
	Why Calixtus III. gave such little attention to the Renaissance	336
	Ceremony of the Pope's coronation at St. Peter's	337
	Disturbances in Rome—the Colonna and the Orsini again in conflict	338
	A truce is established between the contending parties	339

A.D. PAGE

1455 The Christian powers send ambassadors to pay homage to the Pope 340
His determination to reconquer Constantinople—St. Antoninus urges on the crusade 341
Doubtful intentions of the Venetians concerning the Turkish war 341
Profession of obedience to the Pope of the German nation 343
The Pope commends the Emperor Frederick for his intention of joining in the war 343

II.

THE HOLY SEE AND THE EASTERN QUESTION.

Consequences of the fall of Constantinople—perilous position of the adjacent countries . . . 344
Indifference shown by the European Powers to the welfare of Christendom 345
Danger to Western civilization—the Pope gives a powerful impulse to the crusade . . . 345
He binds himself by a solemn vow to sacrifice everything to repel Islamism 346
Enthusiasm with which he enters on the contest—his deadly hatred of the Turks 347
His threefold purpose, to unite Christendom, succour Hungary, and equip a fleet 348
1455 He renews the indulgence of Nicholas V., and fixes a day for the departure of the expedition . . 349
He despatches legates to various countries to restore the unity of Christian princes 349
The ceremony of conferring the Cross performed at St. Peter's 350
He sends bishops, prelates, or monks to collect material aid for the expedition 351
Preachers of the crusade and tithe collectors appointed for the various nations 352
Some of the Religious Orders devote themselves to preaching the crusade 353
Precautions taken to prevent the funds subscribed being diverted from their purpose . . . 354
The Pope devotes all his resources to the crusade, even Papal jewels and Church property . . . 355
Suspension of the literary and architectural works undertaken by Nicholas V. 356
All his energy and attention are absorbed in preparations for the war 357

A.D.		PAGE
1455	His plan for the recovery of Constantinople—his reliance on Philip of Burgundy	358
	Endeavours to induce the King of Naples to join in the expedition	359
1456	The peace of Central Italy disturbed—Piccinino advances towards Siena	360
	He is attacked by the Papal and Milanese forces and obliged to retreat	361
	Duplicity of the King of Naples—his stipulations in favour of Piccinino	362
	Piccinino harasses the Sienese, who seek the intervention of King Alfonso	363
	Terms of peace arranged between the Sienese and the brigand Piccinino	364
	The Papal fleet destined to harass the Turks attacks the ships of Christian nations	365
	Deep indignation of the Pope—Cardinal Scarampo appointed admiral	366
	Construction and equipment of a Papal fleet in progress on the Tiber	367
	Festivities held in honour of Scarampo's appointment—extent of his authority	368
	Administrative arrangements connected with the construction of the fleet	369
1456	The new Papal fleet sets sail with five thousand troops on board	371
	The admiral goes to Naples to take over the ships promised by Alfonso	372
	The King's treachery—the Pope appeals to the admiral to start without delay	373
	The Cardinal's indecision—the Pope urges him to proceed to the Ægean Sea	374
1457	New ships built in Rome—the Papal fleet in Greek waters	375
	Indifference shown by the Western Powers to the critical condition of the East	376
	Apathy of Frederick III.—Charles VII.'s opposition to the crusade	377
	The Pope urgently appeals to his legate to obtain assistance from France	379
	Charles VII.'s agreement with the Pope and its violation	380
	The Universities of Paris and Toulouse beg the King to resist the collection of the tithes	381
	The Duke of Burgundy retains the money collected for the crusade	382

A.D. PAGE
1457 Inaction of the Kings of Denmark and Norway—the King of Portugal fails to keep his promise . . 383
The Papal Nuncio recalled from Portugal—desertion of the Pope by the European Powers . . . 384
The Duke of Milan and the Republic of Venice disregard the entreaties of the Pope . . . 385
Florence refuses to co-operate—overwhelming difficulties of the Pope 386
He sends ambassadors throughout Europe to collect money and troops for the war 387
His indomitable resolution—artistic treasures and jewels converted into money 387

III.

THE VICTORY OF THE CRUSADERS AT BELGRADE.

The measures of the Sultan—extends his dominions in Servia, and prepares to attack Hungary . . 389
1456 His military preparations—he proceeds with 150,000 men to attack Belgrade 390
Belgrade invested—Hunyadi and St. John Capistran bring succour to the city 391
Carvajal encourages the Hungarians—treachery of King Ladislas and his barons 392
Hunyadi raises an army at his own expense—composition of the crusading army 393
Important documents connected with the relief of Belgrade still undiscovered n394
1456 Measures of Hunyadi—he breaks the Turkish line and gains a complete victory 395
The rival forces concentrated for a decisive battle—progress of the engagement 396
1456 Critical condition of the crusaders—heroism of Hunyadi—total defeat of the Turks 397
Importance of the victory—the chief merit due to Calixtus III. 398
His readiness to sacrifice himself and all he had in the defence of Christendom 399
Commands prayers to be said throughout the world to avert the invasion 400
Joy of the Christian world over the triumph at Belgrade 401
Great rejoicings in Rome, Italy, and Venice . . 402
How the aged Pontiff received the tidings of the victory 403

A.D.		PAGE
1456	Condemns the inaction of his admiral—hopes Christendom will now assist him	404
	St. John Capistran and Hunyadi on the defeat of the Turks	405
	They appeal for more troops to complete the discomfiture of the infidel	405
	Constantinople to be recaptured and the Holy Land freed from Islamism	406
	Pestilence among the Christian army—death of Hunyadi and St. John Capistran	406
	The Pope appeals to the Powers to follow up the victory	407
	The Western Powers deaf to his entreaties—he appeals to the princes of the East	408
	The Papal exhortation warmly received by the common people	409
	Enthusiastic support of the war in Upper Germany—the Nuremberg crusaders	410
	Their equipment and departure to join the army at Belgrade	411
	They are joined by contingents from England, France, and other countries	412
	Altercation between Ladislas, Hunyadi, and Count Ulrich before Belgrade	412
	Disastrous consequences thereof—the crusading army returns home	413
	The German prelates complain of the Holy See and demand reform	413
1456	Anti-papal movement in Germany—Synods of Frankfort-on-Main	414
	Resistance to the collection of tithes—an anti-papal league established	415
	Hostility to the Emperor—the Pope again appeals to him to assist the crusade	416
1457	The Diet of Frankfort reassembles—statement of grievances against Rome	417
	The Pope rejects the overtures for a treaty with the Archbishop of Mayence	418
	He replies to the accusations of the agitators, and condemns their disloyalty	419
	Censures the Archbishop—the leader of the anti-papal movement	420
	The Pope and Cardinal Piccolomini refute the charges against the Holy See	421
1458	Collapse of the movement—duplicity of the King of Naples	422

A.D. PAGE
1458 Requests the Pope to hand over to him certain territories of the Church 423
His attempts to frustrate the Pope's efforts for carrying on the crusade 424
His policy helps to prevent the union of Christendom against the Turks 425
Splendour of the reception accorded in Rome to Lucrezia di Algano 426
The Pope's threat to prevent Alfonso's illegitimate son from succeeding to the throne 427
The right of succession according to the law of Lombardy 428

IV.

SKANDERBEG.—DEATHS OF CALIXTUS III. AND CARDINAL CAPRANICA.

Skanderbeg's military renown—the romantic fictions connected with his life 429
1455 His achievements against the Turks—the Albanians revolt against him 430
Is defeated by the Moslems, and compelled to retreat to the mountains 431
His appeal for help—the Pope grants him pecuniary assistance 431
He defeats the Turks, and enters his capital in triumph 432
His nephew goes over to the Turks with a large force of the Albanian army 432
1457 Skanderbeg overthrows the Turkish army at Tomornitza 433
The papal fleet ordered to assist him—his appeal to the Western Powers 434
Skanderbeg promoted Captain-General for the Turkish war by the Pope 435
The Pope's solicitude for the protection of the Oriental Christians 435
Tries to save the Genoese Colonies on the Black Sea from the Turks 436
His efforts on behalf of the Genoese—the favours conferred upon them 437
1457 Defeat of the Turks by the papal fleet—capture of 25 of their ships 438
The Pope's energy in re-enforcing his fleet—his determination to maintain it 439
Indifference shown by Portugal and Burgundy in the defence of Christendom 439
Owing to dissensions among the Powers the victories over the Turks are not followed up . . . 440

A.D.		PAGE
1458	Death of the King of Hungary—George Podiebrad elected King of Bohemia	441
	King George renounces the Hussite heresy—promises to support the war against the Turks	442
	Swears fidelity to the Roman Church, and undertakes to oppose heretical doctrines	443
	The Pope hopeful that the Bohemian heretics will return to the Church	444
	Opposition encountered by Calixtus III. in his prosecution of the crusade	445
	To ensure united action he summons a congress of the Powers to Rome	446
1458	The congress assembles—its deliberations end without result	447
	The nepotism of Calixtus III.—how he enriched his Spanish relations	447
	Characteristics of the Borgias—evil consequences of their elevation	448
	Great abilities of Rodrigo Borgia—favours conferred upon him	449
	Luis Juan and Rodrigo, the Pope's nephews, created Cardinals	450
	Rodrigo's immoral character not manifested in the lifetime of Calixtus	451
	Futile attempts by recent writers to rehabilitate his character	452
	The Portuguese Infante James made Cardinal—his exemplary life	454
	The Pope's further creation of Cardinals—opposition of the Sacred College	455
	Six Cardinals, including Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, are created	458
	Cardinals Luis and Rodrigo Borgia appointed to lucrative offices	459
	Rodrigo becomes Vice-Chancellor—advancement of Don Pedro Luis	460
	Protest of Capranica—intimacy between the Borgia and the Colonna	461
	Don Pedro Luis becomes Prefect of the Eternal City	462
	Insolent manners of the Pope's nephews—influx of Spaniards to Rome	463
	Many quit the papal service in consequence of the favour shown to the Catalans	464
	The fortress of St. Angelo surrendered to the Borgia—fears of disturbance in Rome	465

A.D. PAGE
1458 Lawlessness in Rome under the Borgia—the plague revisits the city 466
Death of King Alfonso of Naples—rival claimants to the throne 467
The Pope bestows rich benefices on his nephews—his intentions regarding Don Pedro 468
He issues a Bull claiming Sicily as a lapsed fief of the Holy See 469
He ignores Don Ferrante, and orders a hostile demonstration against Naples 470
Claims advanced by Calixtus III. as to the disposal of Naples 471
Don Ferrante appeals against the Bull—the Duke of Milan declares in his favour 472
The Pope becomes seriously ill—maltreatment of the Catalans in Rome 473
On his death-bed the Pope confers new favours on Don Pedro 474
His intention to create new Cardinals—opposition of the Sacred College 474
Excitement in Rome and the Papal States—precautionary measures 475
Don Pedro afraid—surrenders the fortresses in his possession to the Cardinals 476
Account of his flight—his military escort refuses to accompany him 477
Cardinal Rodrigo returns to Rome—his palace plundered by the populace 478
1458 (6 August) Death of Calixtus III.—his character, apart from his nepotism, worthy of praise . . . 479
Hostility to the Borgia and their sympathizers—flight of the Catalans 480
Piccinino re-enters the Papal States—alleged connivance of King Alfonso 481
Negotiations regarding the election of a successor to Calixtus III. 481
Determination to elect an Italian—Capranica in favour with all parties 482
Capranica's early life—his relations with Cesarini . 483
His remarkable learning and virtue—his elevation to the purple 484
His exclusion from the Conclave which assembled on the death of Martin V. 485
Plunder of his palace and dispersion of his library by the Orsini 486

A.D.		PAGE
1458	He is denied the dignity of Cardinal—appeals to the Council of Basle	486
	Becomes reconciled with Eugenius IV.—his labours for reform and Union with the Greeks	487
	The offices conferred on him by Nicholas V.—his interest in the Turkish question	488
	Courage displayed by him during the plague—opposes the promotion of Don Pedro	489
	His life the ideal of what that of a Cardinal ought to be	490
	The administration of his household—his practice of mortification	491
	How he reconciled enemies—he founds a college for poor students	492
	(19 August) Capranica's death—the Milanese ambassador's last interview with him	494
	Is buried amid general mourning near the grave of St. Catherine of Siena	495
	Election of Cardinal Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pius II.) as successor to Calixtus III.	495

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS.

		PAGE
I.	Nicholas V. to Cardinal Bessarion	464
II.	„ to the Knights of St. John ...	474
III.	Three Bulls on behalf of the Knights of St. John	484
IV.	V. Amidano to Duke of Milan	500
V.	Giov. Inghirami to Giov. de' Medici	500
VI.	Nicholas V. to Cardinal Cusa	502
VII.	„ and Cyprus...	503
VIII.	„ to Cardinal Cusa	505
IX.	„ to Cardinal d'Estouteville	505
X.	„ to Cardinal Cusa	506
XI.	„ „	506
XII.	Speeches of Stefano Porcaro	507
XIII.	G. de Rapallo to P. de Campofregoso	508
XIV.	Depositions of Stefano Porcaro	510
XV.	B. de Lagazara to Siena...	517
XVI.	Cardinal Calandrini to Lucca	518
XVII.	Nicholas V. to Thomas of Lesina	520
XVIII.	N. Soderinus to Florence	521
XIX.	L. de' Benvoglienti to Siena	521
XX.	A. da Pistoja to Duke of Milan	522
XXI.	Cardinal d'Estouteville to Duke of Milan ...	523
XXII.	Nicholas V. and the Minorites	524
XXIII.	A. de Aliprandis to Duke of Milan	525
XXIV.	F. Contarini to Venice	526
XXV.	Æneas Sylvius to Nicholas V.	528
XXVI.	N. of Pontremoli to Duke of Milan	529
XXVII.	F. Contarini to Venice	532
XXVIII.	„ „	532

		PAGE
XXIX.	B. Visconti and N. Pontremoli to Duke of Milan	533
XXX.	N. Pontremoli to Duke of Milan	534
XXXI.	B. Visconti and N. Pontremoli to Duke of Milan	536
XXXII.	Calixtus III. to Bologna	537
XXXIII.	J. Calcaterra to Duke of Milan	538
XXXIV.	Calixtus III. to Cologne	538
XXXV.	G. of Castiglione to Duke of Milan	539
XXXVI.	Cardinal Scarampo to L. de Gonzaga	540
XXXVII.	Calixtus III. creates Rodrigo Borgia Cardinal ...	541
XXXVIII.	„ and Archbishop of Tarragona ...	544
XXXIX.	„ to General of Augustinians ...	545
XL.	„ to Jacopo Perpinya	546
XLI.	Doge of Venice to Duke of Milan	547
XLII.	N. Severinus to Siena	547
XLIII.	J. Calcaterra to Duke of Milan	548
XLIV.	Calixtus III. to Cardinal Alain	550
XLV.	Cardinal Scarampo to O. Gaetani	551
XLVI.	B. Ghilinus to Duke of Milan	552
XLVII.	Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia to L. de Gonzaga ...	553
XLVIII.	Calixtus III. to Berne	554
XLIX.	„ gifts to Cardinals de Borgia ...	555
L.	J. A. della Torre to Duke of Milan	556
LI.	A. da Pistoja „	557
LII.	„ „	559
LIII.	O. de Carretto „	561
LIV.	A. da Pistoja „	563
LV.	O. de Carretto „	564
LVI.	„ „	565

BOOK I.

NICHOLAS V.—THE FIRST PAPAL PATRON OF LITERATURE AND THE FINE ARTS, 1447-1455.

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION AND CHARACTER OF NICHOLAS V.

EUGENIUS IV. had devoted the energies of his life to the restoration of the Papal power, but the great work was but in its beginning, and far from completion. The remnant of the Council of Basle was still in existence, and the anti-Pope was living in Switzerland. The efforts of the partisans of the Council to alter the manner of Papal elections were still fresh in the minds of many, and the political condition of Italy, especially that of the States of the Church, was one of uncertainty and confusion. In view of this threatening position of affairs, Eugenius IV. had, shortly before his death, renewed the Decrees of the General Councils of Lyons and Vienne regarding Papal elections, and appointed Cardinal Scarampo commander of all fortresses in the Roman dominions.* The attitude adopted by King Alfonso of Naples was the principal cause of the latter measure.

The King having, in concert with Eugenius IV., determined on an expedition against Florence, had been, ever since the beginning of the year, encamped at Tivoli, in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, with a force of four thousand men, a circumstance which seemed seriously to endanger the liberty of the approaching Conclave.† Alfonso had indeed given an assurance to several of the Cardinals that, in the event of the Pope's death, he would observe absolute neutrality, and had also promised to

* Raynaldus, ad an. 1447, N. 12.

† *Lettera di Roma, d. d. 1446 [st. fl.], Marzo, 3. Carte Strozziane, 242, p. 247, State Archives of Florence.

afford protection against any attempted pressure.* But his lengthened sojourn at Tivoli, the arrival of constant reinforcements for his army, and the impenetrable obscurity in which his plans were shrouded, were little calculated to allay the apprehensions of the Sacred College and of the members of the Court.

The Republican party was again astir in Rome. Its leader, Stefano Porcaro, publicly attacked "priestly authority," and was with difficulty silenced by the Vice-Camerlengo.† Suspicious-looking persons appeared in the streets, and the Camerlengo brought in troops to maintain order.‡ Many of the dangerous individuals were required to leave the City, but the attitude of the populace was so threatening that the merchants hid their goods in secure places.§

* *Despatches of the Abbot of San Galgano to Siena, dated Rome, 16 and 20 Febr., Chigi Library, Rome, Cod. E., vi., 187, pp. 156 and 157. See the first Despatch in Appendix N. 27, vol. i. In the letter of February 20th is the following passage: "Da poi ch'io scripsi non ho sentito altro da referire a la S.V., se non che la M^ta^ de Re di Ragona avendo notitia che per la maggior parte di qui si dubitava de facti suoi unde esso a facto uno salvo condocto a tucti e cardenali e a tucti cortigiani e gieneralmente a tucto el popolo di Roma e promesso non solamente di non offendere, ma offertosi di difendeili da ogni opressione che li fusse facta; pure el sospecto non si puo armare" (*sic* in original; one would expect calmare or disarmare).

† Infessura, 1131. See *infra*, Chapter VI., relative to Porcaro's conspiracy.

‡ *Despatch of the Abbot of S. Galgano to Siena, on the 16th February, 1447: "In Roma a richiesta del camarlengho sono venuti molti fanti et con balestre et con spingardelle e anco la compagnia del castellano." Cod. E., vi., 187, p. 151, Chigi Library in Rome.

§ St. Antoninus (xxii., c. xi., §17), an eye witness, mentions this fact. The prudent Florentines had, as early as February 11th,

The reports of the ambassadors in Rome testify to the fear which possessed men's minds. On the 20th February, 1447, when the condition of Eugenius had become hopeless, the ambassador of the Republic of Siena writes: "May God give us a good new Pastor, and may the election take place without strife. The state of affairs here gives us cause to fear the worst. May the Almighty be with us and take care of His Holy Church."* After the death of Eugenius IV., the ambassador urged his fellow-countrymen to have public prayers offered for the Election of a good Pope.†

The new election, however, was happily accomplished without disturbance, and in a most regular manner. Seldom, in fact, in any election, have all the prescribed formalities been carried out with such scrupulous exactness as in the Conclave in the Dominican Convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva after the death of Eugenius IV.‡ This was principally due to the wise precautions taken by the Cardinals, who were thoroughly convinced of the

1447, commended their merchants to the Roman authorities. *Letter of this date in the State Archives, Florence. Cl. x., dist. 1, N. 40, f. 229.

* *"Le cose di qua non si disponghono bene et se dio non ci provede per la sua misericordia aranno mal fine. Adiuvet nos deus et provideat ecclesiæ suæ sanctæ." Cod., *loc. cit.*, p. 156. Chigi Library.

† *Despatch of the Abbot of S. Galgano to Siena, dated Rome, 23rd February: "Le cose di qua stanno con grande sospecto." Chigi Library. Cod., *loc. cit.*, p. 158. According to Graziani (590), a procession was made in Perugia to beseech God that a good election might be made.

‡ Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 400. Eugenius IV. was also elected in the Sacristy of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. In memory of these two Conclaves, the following inscription was put up over the inner door of the Sacristy: "Memoriæ creationis hic habitæ Summ. Pontif. Eugenii IV. et Nicolai V." Cancellieri, Notizie, 14.

necessity, under the existing circumstances, of avoiding any flaw, or even the semblance of any flaw, in the election.* Opinions regarding the different candidates for the Papacy were greatly divided in Rome; but the desire for a speedy election was general.† This desire, in effect, was not disappointed.

In the evening of the 4th March the Cardinals then present in Rome went into Conclave. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who, with the Bohemian, Procopius of Rabstein, and the ambassadors of Aragon and of Cyprus, had the honour of guarding the Conclave for two nights, has given us a full account of the proceedings.‡

* Despatch of the Abbot of San Galgano to Siena, dated Rome, 1446 [st. fl.], March 1. Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives of Siena.

† *Despatch of Marcolino Barbavaria to Fr. Sforza, d. d. Ex Roma, iv., Marzo, 1447: "Per altre le mie ho advisata la S.V. de la morte del papa e de quanto me accadeva circa cio ne da poy e innovato altro, accepto che li cardinali questa sera sono intrati in conclave e sperasse che assay tosto elegeranno un altro papa et molto sono le opinioni diverse al chi debbia tochare la electione." Carteggio generale ad an. State Archives at Milan.

‡ Ambassador's Report to the Emperor Frederick III., in Muratori, iii., 2, 892 *et seq.* See Æn. Silv. Comment., ed. Fea, 106-108, and Frid. iii., p. 136. Among more recent writers see especially Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 400-401; Lorenz, Papstwahl, 346-347, and Christophe, i., 360 *et seq.* The hour of entrance into Conclave is variously given. Paolo di Benedetto di Cola (Cronache Rom. 16) and Niccola della Tuccia (206) mention the twenty-second hour; Bartolommeo Roverella, Archbishop of Ravenna, on the other hand, writes, in a *Despatch to the Republic of Siena, dated ex urbe vi. Martii, hora xvi.: "Hi rev^mi cardinales die iv. intrarunt conclave *hora xxiv.* Tandem sepius reiterato scrutinio et votis omnium scruptatis eligerunt in summum pontificem rev^mum dominum dominum cardinalem Bononiensem." Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives at Siena. These statements in regard to the beginning of the Conclave (24th hour) and the election of Nicholas

The Sacred College at this time numbered twenty-four members. Two of these, Prospero Colonna and the noble Domenico Capranica, were the sole survivors of the Cardinals created by Martin V., and it was generally believed that the latter of the two would be the future Pope.*

The composition of the Sacred College at the death of Eugenius IV. bears witness to the care which he had taken to gather around him men of the greatest virtue, piety, and learning.† The Spanish Cardinal, Juan de Carvajal, who, with Tommaso Parentucelli, had been created in December, 1446, was generally looked upon as the most eminent of the body.

The singular grandeur and depth of Carvajal's character have won the esteem and even the admiration of writers whose judgment is habitually severe. He was indeed an ornament to the Sacred College, to the Church, and to humanity itself. He was absolutely free from the restless ambition and self-glorification, so common amongst the able men of the Renaissance. It was his nature, on the contrary, to withdraw and wait to be sought. To Pope Eugenius IV. belongs the credit of having placed this man, who seemed born for ecclesiastical diplomacy, in his proper sphere of action.‡ As a Cardinal, Carvajal continued to

V. (16th hour) are confirmed by the testimony of Stefano Caffari in the Arch. de Soc. Rom., viii., 572, which has just been published.

* *Despatch of Marcolino Barbavaria to Francesco Sforza, dated Rome, 1447, February 27 (Cardinal N. Acciapacci was also mentioned as likely to be the future Pontiff). Fonds Ital. 1584, f. 49-50, in the National Library, Paris.

† See the praise which Vespasiano da Bisticci bestows on the Cardinals. Mai, Spicil., i., 40.

‡ In the year 1440, when Carvajal was first entrusted by Eugenius IV. with a mission to Germany, he was "decanus

live modestly without pomp or splendour. "No one," says the biographer of Æneas Sylvius, "saw the coarse garments which he wore beneath the purple, nor witnessed his fasts and his penances. The solid foundation on which his moral purity rested, was a stern sense of duty and obedience. His only idea was the consecration of his life to the Church, and especially to the promotion of the glory and power of Christ's Vicar." *

After the "incorruptible and indefatigable" Carvajal we must mention his distinguished fellow-countryman, Juan de Torquemada,† who belonged to a family of note; he had entered the Dominican order, was appointed Master of the Sacred Palace in 1431, and was employed in various embassies. At Basle he defended the rights of the Pope and of the Holy See against the supporters of the false conciliary ideas with such undaunted courage, that Eugenius IV. bestowed on him the glorious title of "Defender of the Faith." In the Council assembled at Ferrara and transferred to Florence, he again served the cause of the Pope with ardent zeal and keen dialectic skill, and in 1439 the grateful Eugenius raised him to the purple. Torquemada

Astoricen" (Astorga) and "causarum s. palatii apost^ci auditor." See *Letter of Eugenius IV. to Frankfort-on-Maine, dated Florence, 1440, Nov. 7. The original is in the City Archives at Frankfort. Untergewölb A., N. 78, Urk. 6.

* Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 261; see iii., 512-514. Bibl. Hisp. vet. (1788), ii., 296, and A. Weiss, Vor der Reformation, 100. The Monograph of Lopez, De reb. gestis S.R.E. card. Carvajalis commentarius (1754), here cited, is very rare. Carvajal acted twenty times in the capacity of a Papal Envoy.

† See Catalanus, De magistro, 87 *et seq.*; Eggs, iii.-iv., 125 *et seq.*; Bibl. Hisp. vet. ii., 286-292; Bull. ord prædic., iii., 208; Echard, i., 837 *et seq.*; ii., 823; Fabricius-Mansi, iv., 443 *et seq.*, and among modern writers Budinsky (213) and Lederer's Monograph (Freiburg, 1879).

in his high position continued to wear the habit and punctually to follow the rule of his Order, and insisted on similar strictness on the part of his brethren in religion.

In regard to theology, Torquemada was undoubtedly the most learned member of the sacred College; a modern Protestant historian indeed considers him the greatest theologian of his age.* This great Dominican used to say that the only abiding treasure in this life is science, which alone compensates man for the shortness of life by the prospect of immortality.

As a writer, Torquemada dealt with almost all the questions which in his day agitated the Church; he was the leader of the literary reaction in favour of the Papacy.† His memory still lives in the Eternal City, in the foundation of the confraternity of the Annunciation established in 1460 for the purpose of providing dowries for poor girls. The picture of the Cardinal commending three poor maidens to the Blessed Virgin is preserved in the Chapel of the Confraternity, which he helped to build, at Sta Maria sopra Minerva.‡ The Humanists, Tommaso Parentucelli and Bessarion, were noted for their learning and their devotion to the Church, while Cardinal Enrico de Allosio was known as the father of the poor.§

There were, however, among the Cardinals many in whom the worldly element predominated; of this class

* Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 208. See V. de la Fuente, 455-461.

† Gierke, 132. Werner, iii., 711.

‡ This picture has been erroneously ascribed to Fra Angelico or Benozzo Gozzoli. The foundation of the Annunciation still exists. Previous to the seizure of Rome by the Italian Government, the Pope himself went every year on the 25th March, the feast of the Annunciation, to the church of the Minerva, where the poor girls who were to receive dowries, dressed in white, occupied the place of honour. Gsell-Fels, Rom., 436.

§ Ciaconius, ii., 924.

were Barbo, Scarampo, and Guillaume d'Estouteville.* Among non-Italian Cardinals few have in recent times attained such distinction as this wealthy Frenchman. He was connected with the Royal House of France, possessed many benefices, and lived in a style of princely splendour, but was by no means devoid of refined taste and culture. In his palace, worthy of a king, which Gregory XIII. afterwards assigned to the German College, and at Sta Maria Maggiore, of which he was archpriest, the best of music was to be heard. It is very doubtful whether any foundation existed for the charges brought against his morals. The many churches which he built both in France and in Rome bear witness to a certain ecclesiastical feeling on his part, and he bestowed much care on the church of Sta Maria Maggiore, over whose high altar he erected a richly carved baldacchino with four porphyry columns.† The most splendid proof of his munificence to the Eternal City is to be seen in the church of St. Agostino, whose façade, with its Corinthian columns, is a characteristic specimen of the early Renaissance architecture of Rome.‡

We must now consider the manner in which different nations were represented in the Sacred College, six of

* See Ciaconius, ii., 913 *et seq*; Voigt, Enea Silvio, iii., 504 *et seq*; Reumont, Neue Röm. Briefe, ii., 15 *et seq.*; and Gesch. iii., 1, 255 *et seq.*, and 495. In this work and Chevalier's (662) further authorities are given. Eggs, Suppl., 189 *et seq.*; Ratti, Genzano, 31 *et seq.*; Casimiro, 458 *et seq.*

† A representation of this baldacchino is given by Paolo de Angelis, Basilicæ S^ta^ Mariæ Maj. de urbe descriptio (Romæ, 1621), 93. * A "History of the picture of Our Lady venerated in S^ta^ Maria Maggiore," dedicated to Cardinal d'Estouteville and written in 1464 by a Canon of the Basilica, is in Cod. Vatic. 3921. Vatican Library.

‡ Gsell-Fels, Rom., 461. See Burckhardt, Cicerone, ii., 4th ed., 98, who speaks of the Florentine architect, Baccio Pintelli.

whose twenty-four members were, at this time, absent from Rome. Eleven of the Cardinals were Italians; four, Spaniards; two, Frenchmen; and two, Greeks; while England, Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Portugal each contributed one.

Notwithstanding the varied composition of the Sacred College, the old Roman factions of the Colonna and Orsini soon assumed antagonistic positions in the Conclave. The former of these parties was the strongest, and its candidate, Cardinal Prospero Colonna, had at the first scrutiny no less than ten votes, but he failed to obtain the two more which would have constituted the required majority of two-thirds. Next to Colonna came Domenico Capranica and Tommaso Parentucelli. The second scrutiny gave a like result, but the votes which had been given to Capranica and Parentucelli were more divided, and votes were given outside the Sacred College, as, for example, to St. Antoninus, the Archbishop of Florence, and to Nicholas of Cusa. The final decision of the election was in great measure due to Cardinal Tagliacozzo, Archbishop of Tarento, who proposed Parentucelli, Cardinal of Bologna, as one fitted by his love of peace, his learning, and his freedom from party spirit to occupy the highest position in Christendom. On the occasion of the third scrutiny Parentucelli, who had received the red hat but two and a half months previously, and who, of all the Cardinals, appeared to have the least chance, received the required twelve votes. The sudden agreement of the Sacred College in his regard caused such surprise that Cardinal Capranica could not credit the fact until he had again looked through the votes.* When the majority of two-thirds had been established beyond the possibility of doubt, the remaining Cardinals gave their assent, and accordingly in the morning of the 6th March

* Catalanus, Capranica, 84-85.

the election was announced by Cardinal Colonna to the expectant multitude as unanimous.*

Everyone marvelled at Parentucelli's election. As the Cardinal of Portugal was leaving the Conclave he was asked whether the Cardinals had chosen a Pope. "No; the Pope has been chosen by God, not by the Cardinals," was his reply. The Sienese Ambassador, after exhorting his countrymen to render thanks to Almighty God that so distinguished and holy a Pontiff had been given to the Church, continued in the following words: "Truly in this election God has manifested His power, which surpasses all human prudence and wisdom."†

* The 6th March is established as the date of the election. See Papebroch, 461; Gatticus, 281-282; Georgius, 7-8; Falconi, 482; Sigonius, 509, and the above cited *Documents. Nevertheless we meet with erroneous statements even in contemporary authors (*e.g.*, Cronica di Bologna, 682; Istoria Bresc., 839), and these have been repeated in recent works (Reumont, 110; Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 191; Hergenröther, ii., 1, 120; Perlbach, 7). The hour of the election is given with scarcely any variation in the Chronicles (Niccola della Tuccia, 206; Cronache Rom., 16; see Gatticus, 281), and the ambassadors' Despatches written almost immediately after it had taken place: (1) Despatch of the Archbishop of Ravenna to Siena (see *supra* p. 6, note ‡), Ex urbe, vi., Martii hora, xvi., State Archives at Siena. (2) Despatch of Marcolino Barbavaria to Fr. Sforza: "In questa hora 17 o circha è publicato el papa Monsignore da Bologna . . ." Romæ, vi. Martii, 1447. State Archives at Milan. Carteggio generale ad. an. As the sixteenth hour by the Italian reckoning answers to 10 o'clock in the morning by our time this information coincides with that of *the Acta consistorialia: "Hora nona vel quasi" (Secret Archives of the Vatican).

† *Despatch from the Abbot of San Galgano to Siena, dated Rome, 1447, March 10: "Credo che dapoi habbiate sentito fu intronezato papa Nicolao quanto la cui vita et santimonia quale essa sia stata e nota a ciascheduno et apresso quanto la S. Sta. sia affecta et benivola ala cipta vestra nisuno ne dubita per la quale

The choice of a Cardinal who had kept aloof from all party strife caused the greatest rejoicing in Rome. "Although many," according to Æneas Sylvius, "might have preferred a Pope of their own party, no one was hostile to him." It was a blessing to the Eternal City and to the Church at large to have a fresh outbreak of party animosity averted, and to see a man, whose worth had won the esteem of all, raised to the highest position.* Parentucelli's election had, however, a far wider importance; it marks one of the chief turning points in the History of the Papacy, for with him the Christian Renaissance ascended the Pontifical Throne.

Throughout the States of the Church, as well as in Rome itself, the Cardinal of Bologna's elevation was the occasion of public festivities. As soon as the tidings reached Perugia the bells of the Palazzo Pubblico and of the Cathedral of San. Lorenzo were rung, and bonfires were lighted in the open squares.† In Bologna the Palace of the Podesta was decorated with banners, and processions were made by command of the Senate for three days, in order to return thanks to God for the election of so excellent a Pastor.‡ Brescia, Genoa, Siena, and other places beyond the limits of the States of the Church,

cosa tucta la christianita et maxima la cipta vestra si debba sommamente ralegrare et altra a questo rendere debite grazie a l'omnipotente che di tale pastore abbia proveduto alle sue pecorelle et certamente a dimostrato in questa creatione parte della sua potentia la quale suprabonda ongni astutia et actione humana," etc Concistoro. Lettere ad. an., State Archives, Siena.

* Voigt, Enea. Silvio, i., 402.

† Graziani, Cronaca di Perugia, 590.

‡ *"Se ne fece grandissima allegrezza, e per commandamento del senato tre giorni continui si fecero le processioni rendendo grazia a Dio che loro avesse dato si buon pastore, e si posero alle finestre del palazzo li confaloni." Ch. Ghirardacci, Storia di Bologna, iii., *lib.* 30, Cod. 768, University Library at Bologna.

shared the general feeling.* How fully it was justified will be evident, if we glance at his character and previous life. In grateful remembrance of his former master and benefactor, the saintly Cardinal Niccolò Albergati, he took the name of Nicholas V.

Tommaso Parentucelli first saw the light on the 15th November, 1397. It seems most probable that he was born at Sarzana, a small place on the coast of Liguria.† His father, an upright and skilful physician, was by no means wealthy, and died when Tommaso was very young. The gifted and promising boy was early acquainted with hardship; poverty made it impossible for him to pursue his studies at the University of Bologna, where he had already won success. His mother, who was in very straitened circumstances, had in the meantime married again,‡ and

* Istoria Bresciana, 839. *Congratulatory letter of the Doge of Genoa to Nicholas V., dated 1447, March 11th, in the State Archives at Genoa, Litt., Vol. xiii. *Despatch from the Abbot of San Galgano to Siena, dated Rome, 1447, March 14th (he had informed the Pope of the festivities proposed in Siena, and found the Pope most favourably disposed towards that City). Concistoro, Lett. ad. an. State Archives at Siena.

† Great differences of opinion have existed regarding the family and the birthplace of Nicholas V. Frediani (207 *et seq.*, 253 *et seq.*) endeavoured with all the ardour of provincial patriotism to prove him a born Pisan, in opposition to de Rossi (267 *et seq.*), who asserted the just claims of Sarzana. The investigations of Sforza, who produced the Archivio Notarile di Sarzana, proved beyond all doubt that his family belonged to Sarzana, and established a strong presumption that he was born there (Sforza, 21, 48, 68-87, 224). Sanudo describes Tommaso's father as Mastro Bartolommeo *Cirusico* (1124), a term which appeared most extraordinary to Voigt (Enea Silvio, i., 403), but may, I think, be explained as a clerical error in the place of *chirurgico.*

‡ Tommaso Parentucelli's step-father was Tommaso Calandrini, who also belonged to Sarzana; further particulars are given by Sforza, 90 *et seq.*, with a pedigree of the family.

having several children by her second husband, was unable to afford him any assistance, so that he was entirely dependent on his own exertions. Happily he obtained the situation of tutor, first in the family of Rinaldo degli Albizzi, of Florence, and afterwards in that of Palla de' Strozzi, the "Nestor of the learned Florentine aristocracy."* The two years spent in the City, which was at that time the centre of Humanistic studies, were of great importance in the development of Tommaso Parentucelli's powers, and especially in the formation of his literary taste; they imparted the germ of that enthusiasm for learning and for art which afterwards bore such abundant fruit, and brought him into contact with all the most celebrated scholars of the day. At the end of these two years Parentucelli had saved enough money to enable him to return to Bologna, where he took a Master's Degree in Theology. He continued in friendly relations with both the noble families, who had treated him with much distinction while in their employment as tutor. Years afterwards, when he had reached the summit of power, and his former pupils were in exile, he had the happiness of being able to be of use to them.†

It says much for the disposition and for the virtues of the young scholar, that the Saintly Bishop of the City, Niccolò Albergati, took him into his service. Three years later he was ordained priest, and for more than twenty years, in fact, until the death of the distinguished prelate, Tommaso was his constant companion, his confidential servant, and the Major Domo of his household and of his ecclesiastical establishment. The Historian of Humanism

* Regarding Palla de' Strozzi and his wealth, see Fabronius, Cosmus, i., 50; ii., 104 *et seq.* Villari, i., 93. Müntz, Précurseurs, 238. Reumont, Lorenzo, i., 2nd ed., 393 *et seq.*; who also speaks of Rinaldo degli Albizzi.

† Reumont, iii., 1, 111.

justly observes* that "no higher testimony to the piety of Albergati's life can be given than the fact that a man so honourable and so free from all hypocrisy as was Parentucelli for years enjoyed his entire confidence. While, on the other hand, the modest and entire devotion of the future Pope to the service of his master, the filial care with which he tended his old age, and the pious gratitude which induced him, when called to fill the Papal Throne, to adopt the name of his departed benefactor, speak for him more eloquently than words could do."

After Albergati's elevation to the purple,† Parentucelli accompanied him to Rome, and thence to Florence, when the Papal Court migrated to that City. He was thus again brought into contact with the representatives of the Christian, as well as of the heathen Renaissance. Vespasiano da Bisticci has left us a pleasant picture of their social gatherings in Florence. "Every morning and evening," he says, "Lionardo and Carlo of Arezzo, Giannozzo Manetti, Giovanni Aurispa, Gasparo of Bologna, Poggio, and many other learned men, used to assemble in the open air, in the vicinity of the Papal Palace, for friendly and literary conversation. Tommaso Parentucelli always joined them. After leaving his Cardinal at home, he used to come, riding rapidly on a mule and accompanied by two servants, to take his part eagerly in their disputations." Parentucelli also often visited the Academy of Santo Spirito, in order to discuss philosophical and theological questions with the pious Master of Theology, Vangelista of Pisa; and he was even more frequently to be seen with the booksellers in Florence, into whose hands any money that he could spend found its way.‡

* Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii., 55.

† See Vol. i., p. 262.

‡ Vespasiano da Bisticci, Niccola V. Papa, § 5. Ser. Filippo di Ser. Ugolino, § 4. See Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii., 2nd ed., 55-56.

Parentucelli appears to have first attracted the attention of the Court at the period of the negotiations with the Greeks, when his knowledge of Holy Scripture and of the Fathers, as well as his skill in argument, came into play. Eugenius IV. rewarded the services which he rendered to the Church on this occasion by appointing him Apostolic Subdeacon, with a yearly income of three hundred ducats.* In 1443 he lost his friend and patron, Albergati, but he soon found a new and more powerful protector in the Pope, who made him Vice-Camerlengo,† and on the 27th November, 1444, conferred upon him the Bishopric of Bologna.‡ The City was at the time in a state of revolt, and Parentucelli was unable to take possession of his See, as the steps taken

Parentucelli's love of books is mentioned in a notice which has hitherto been overlooked in *Cod. D. 36 of the Hospital Library at Cues, printed in the Serapeum, xxvi., 27.

* Vespasiano da Bisticci, Niccola V., § 6, c. 10.

† According to Marocco (Serie de' prefetti secolari di Roma, etc., 1846), in the year 1443. Parentucelli distinguished himself in this position also. *"Inde apostolicus vice-camerarius in quo officio ac dignitate quid diligentiæ atque solicitudinis præstiteris quisque Romanus civis magno mihi testimonio esse potest." Ad beat. D. N. Nicolaum V.P.M. Michael Canensis de Viterbio. Cod. lat., Vatic., 3697, f. 6., in the Vatican Library, and Addit. MS. 14794 in the British Museum, London.

‡ Not Archbishopric, as Geiger (121), Zöpffel in Herzog's Realencykl. (x., 2nd ed., 572), and Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 102) say, for Bologna only became an Archiepiscopal See in 1582. Voigt is also mistaken (Wiederbelebung, ii., 2nd ed., 56) in connecting Parentucelli's nomination to the Bishopric of Bologna with the success of his mission to Germany. See the Brief of Eugenius IV. to Parentucelli in Sigonius, 507 *et seq.*, and Ciaconius, ii., 962 ; and that to Bologna from Cod. 3, Lat. 121, p. 119, of the Court Library at Vienna, given in Appendix, Vol. i., No. 22.

by Eugenius in January, 1445, proved fruitless.* To so poor a man the matter was serious, yet in the end it was the occasion of his further advancement, for the Pope, having had sufficient proof of his skill in diplomatic affairs, both during his connection with Albergati and when he acted independently at Florence and Naples, twice entrusted him with important missions to Germany. On the latter of these occasions he was successful in breaking up the League of the Electors which constituted a serious danger to Rome, and was rewarded by a Cardinal's Hat (16 and 23 December, 1446).†

The important position which the Cardinal of Bologna, as Parentucelli was now called, soon attained in the Sacred College, is evident from the remarkable fact that the Sienese Ambassadors, in one of their despatches, speak of him as a second Pope.‡ Pope Eugenius IV. is said to have foretold his elevation to the Papal throne; and his biographers mention many other similar predictions, to which, however, we must not give too much weight.§

* I found the **Original Brief of Eugenius IV., dated Rome, 1445, January 31, in the State Archives of Bologna.

† The above authentic dates disprove the assertion that Parentucelli became in one year Bishop, Cardinal, and Pope. This statement was first made by Niccola della Tuccia (206), Annal. L. Bonincontri (153), Sanudo (1,124), Facius (238), and other contemporaries, and subsequently repeated by many later writers, even by a student as conscientious as Voigt (Enea Silvio, i., 405). Georgius (23-24) has long since shown that the story of the Pope sending the Red Hat to Parentucelli at Viterbo, which most modern writers relate, is incorrect.

‡ "Un altro papa," L. Banchi, Legazioni Senesi (2nd ediz., Siena, 1864), 29.

§ See Vespasiano da Bisticci, Eugenio IV., § 21; Nicola V., § 1 and 17, and Manetti, 910, 917. The Prophecy of Eugenius IV. is particularly adduced by Ægidius of Viterbo in his * Hist. viginti sæculor (Cod. C., 8, 19, of the Angelica Library, Rome). Nic.

The outward appearance of the man who had thus rapidly risen from poverty and obscurity to the highest dignity in Christendom—who had, in the course of three short years, become Bishop, Cardinal, and Pope—was anything but distinguished. Contemporaries describe him as small and weakly, with sharply-cut features, and keen black eyes, a pale complexion, and a powerful voice. The plain but intellectual countenance of Nicholas V. may still be recognized in his modest effigy in the crypt of the Vatican.* His disposition was lively, impatient, and hasty; he was extremely exact in all he did, and expected to be understood at a glance. In these and in other respects he was a complete contrast to his predecessor, who was grave, dignified, and silent. He was wont to speak much and rapidly, and dispensed with all irksome ceremony. Dissimulation and hypocrisy were hateful to his open-hearted nature.† He was affable, obliging, and cheerful; he showed himself to the people more frequently than Eugenius had done, and gave audiences at all hours of the day. His servants were all Germans or Frenchmen; the Italians, he thought, had their minds always set upon higher things, while Frenchmen and Germans contented

della Tuccia (206), in a most interesting report, attributes the rapid rise of Parentucelli to the protection afforded him by Cardinal Condulmaro.

* Hübner (i., 47) finds something of the Doctor in the features of Nicholas V., and speaks of his appearance as "the perfect type of a professor." For some accounts of medals of this Pope, see Friedländer, Schaumünzen, in the Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, i., 98.

† Vespasiano da Bisticci, § 8. The despatches of the ambassadors bear witness that the Pope loved to express himself freely; see, *e.g.*, the * Despatches of Nicodemus to Francesco Sforza on the nomination to the Bishopric of Como, dated 1451, June 29. Pot. Est. Roma, Corrisp. dipl. Cart., 1; State Archives at Milan.

themselves with the employments entrusted to them, did not trouble themselves about other matters, and were satisfied and faithful in the lowest service. His table was simple, and he was very temperate; he drank wine largely mixed with water; choice wines were only served for the prelates and great personages from France, Germany, and England, with whom he had become acquainted in his travels, and to whom he delighted to show hospitality when they came to Rome.* Alike as Bishop, Cardinal, and Pope, he was so kind and affable to all comers that no one went away unsatisfied.† He loved peace; probably no prince of the time had so profound a horror of war. A signal proof of his benevolence was furnished by the foundation of the great Papal Almshouse near the Church of the German Campo Santo, where on Mondays and Fridays about two thousand poor people received bread and wine, and every day a dinner was given to thirteen.‡

* Vespasiano da Bisticci, Nicola V., 513. Reumont, iii., 1, 114.

† *Michael Canensis de Viterbo ad. beat. D. N. Nicolaum V. Pont. Max. cannot sufficiently praise the Pope's "benignitas in respondendo et gratitudo." "Nemo inauditus, nemo abs te non quietus abit." Cod. lat. Vatic., 3697, f. 8b, Vatican Library (and British Museum, see *supra*, p. 17 note †).

‡ Torrigio, Sagre Grotte Vaticane, 293. In the year 1629 Urban VIII. transferred this dole to the Vatican Palace; the present Hospice at the Campo Santo partly occupies the place of the former Papal Almshouse; see De Waal, Das Priester-Collegium, 3. With regard to Nicholas V.'s benevolence, see Æn. Sylvius, Europa, c. 58, and *Anonymi oratio in funere Nicolai V. Cod. C. 145. Inf., f. 284, of the Ambrosian Library at Milan. The mother of Nicholas V. was also remarkable for her benevolence to the poor. See the *"Consolatio facta pape super obitu matris sue," probably written by the Dominican Heinrich Kalteisen, preserved in Cod. 326, f. 120-120b, of the University Library at Bonn. Nicholas' treatment of the Jews was in keeping

The remembrance of past hardships was no doubt one of the sources of these virtues which long made the name of Nicholas V. to be blessed. Nothing in Florence struck him as so noble as the splendour with which science and art were clothed; it seemed to him a disgrace that learned men and artists should starve. He used, even in those days, to say that if ever he had wealth, he would spend it on two things—books and buildings.* His defects were irritability and impetuosity.† His contemporaries greatly over-estimated his intellectual powers. He was well-versed in theology, in the Holy Scriptures, and in the Fathers; he was gifted with a good memory, great quickness of apprehension, and singular eloquence; but his mind was one essentially receptive in its character, and although capable of keen enjoyment in literary pursuits, it was devoid of productive power. He had, however, considerable talent for collecting, arranging, and editing.‡ When a young man, he spent his money almost entirely on books, and, like a genuine collector, would have them well written and tastefully bound; he did not look to the price,

with the kindness of his disposition; he never forgot the duty of endeavouring, by all lawful means, to win them to the Christian faith, but at the same time always advocated their toleration. See the Essay of F. Kayser in the Archiv für Kirchenrecht (1885), liii., 210 *et seq.*, which is valuable on account of its extracts from the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* "Usava dire che due cose farebbe s'egli potesse mai spendere, ch' era in libri e murare." Vespasiano, § 7. See Voigt, *loc. cit.*, 56.

† Raph. Volaterranus (f. 234) mentions as the only fault of the Pope: "quod nimio bibendi studio teneretur perquisitis undique vinorum generibus." In opposition to this, see Vespasiano, § 13; Georgius, 130 *et seq.*, 154 *et seq.*; Aschbach, Kirchenlexikon, iv., 314, and Reumont, iii., 1, 114.

‡ Voigt, *op. cit.*, 58 *et seq.*

and often gave more for them than he could well afford. He enriched his books with marginal notes, and his handwriting, which was a transition between the ancient and modern style, was greatly admired by good judges. He was most keen in the search for new works, ransacking the libraries wherever he went, looking for fresh treasures. Both in Germany and in France he made valuable discoveries, and, from every journey which he took with Cardinal Albergati, brought back literary spoils. The future founder of the Vatican Library gradually became one of the first connoisseurs of his day in books, and was looked upon as a great authority among bibliographers and book collectors; but not so great among scholars and literary men. No one so well knew how to prepare and arrange a library. The plan of a monastic library which he drew up for Cosmo de' Medici is still preserved,* and was often made use of, especially, according to the Pope's well-informed biographer, Vespasiano da Bisticci, in the Libraries of St. Mark at Florence and the Abbey at Fiesole, and in those of the Duke of Urbino and of Alessandro Sforza of Pesaro.† Nicholas V. is not, however, to be looked upon as a literary specialist: he had no favourite line of study, but was a well-informed *dilettante*, wandering at will wherever his fancy led him.‡ The laudatory words of Æneas Sylvius are to be understood in this sense when he

* Cod. Magliabech, i., vii., 30, printed at Florence, in the Arch. stor. Ital., Serie iii., xxi, 103-106; and in Sforza, 359-381.

† Vespasiano da Bisticci, § 7. Enea Piccolomini in the Arch. stor. Ital. (Serie iii., xix., 114, N. 3), observes that the Convent Library of Monte Oliveto Maggiore, whose inventory used to be preserved in the State Archives of Siena (on the occasion of my last visit, in 1884, it was, unfortunately, not to be found), was arranged after Parentucelli's system.

‡ Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii. (2nd ed.), 72.

writes,* "from his youth he has been initiated into all liberal arts, he is acquainted with all philosophers, historians, poets, cosmographers, and theologians; and is no stranger to civil and canon law, or even to medicine."

A man whose intellectual sympathies were so many-sided was well fitted to be the patron of scholars. Nicholas V.—a great part of whose life had been spent in close companionship with a saint †—was also sincerely pious. He was equally devoted to ecclesiastical and profane literature. No sooner had he found in Germany a copy of Tertullian's complete works, than he at once sent the precious treasure to Niccolo de' Niccoli at Florence. According to Vespasiano da Bisticci, he was the first to bring into Italy the sermons of St. Leo the Great, and St. Thomas' commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew. But his special favourite was the great St. Augustine, whose influence on his own and subsequent ages has surpassed that of any other doctor of the East or West. In his days of poverty the works of St. Augustine, in twelve costly volumes, adorned his bookshelves, and he was unwearied in his efforts to collect from various manuscripts the letters of the Saint.‡

* In his ambassador's Report of 1447. Muratori, iii., 2, 895.

† Cardinal Albergati; see Vol. i., p. 268. Nicholas V. was strict in his observance of all the precepts of the Church; even before his elevation to the Pontificate, he did not allow his journeys to interfere with the observance of fasting days. Vespasiano da Bisticci, Nicola V., §13.

‡ See Voigt, Wiederbelebung, i., 2nd ed., 263; ii., 2nd ed., 59. There is no proof that Parentucelli ever became a physician, or studied medicine in Siena, as R. Volaterranus (Anthropol. i., xxii., f. 234), Schivenoglia (122), and Frediani (284) have stated. J. B. Bomba in the rare work "De Pontificibus medicis et medicorum filiis" (Romæ, 1821), 21 *et seq.*, endeavours, in opposition to Georgius (12-14) to show that Parentucelli practised medicine,

This fact seems worthy of note, and is a proof amongst many that Parentucelli was a Christian Humanist. Almost all the representatives of the Christian Renaissance movement had a special veneration for this Father, who, after working his way through the contradictions of heathen culture, gathered up in his immortal works all the philosophical and theological truths acquired and prepared for future ages by Christian antiquity.* This reverence for St. Augustine had a special fitness at the period of which we are speaking, for the patristic learning which reached its climax in the works of the great Bishop of Hippo had grown up in the midst of the ancient literature, in living contact with it, and was the fruit of controversy and criticism.† It was therefore especially adapted to meet and combat the false heathen Renaissance.

Nicholas V. had the genuine humility which became a representative of the Christian Renaissance. All his contemporaries bear witness that modesty, the chief ornament of the scholar, was one of the virtues which distinguished this most affable Pope. A German chronicler of the Popes, writing in the fifteenth century, says, "Nicholas V. was a good, peaceful man, of whom I never

but his grounds are very weak. The words of Æneas Sylvius, quoted above, exclude, as Sforza justly remarks, the idea of his having been a physician. A physician who was the Pope's friend from his youth is introduced to us in the *Brief of Nicholas V. to Bologna, dated Spoleto, 1449, June 12: "Adeo virtutibus suis et humanitate ad se diligendum nos dudum allexit dilectus filius Bernardus de Garzonibus artium et medicine doctor Bononiensis fuimusque sic iuvicem nostris iuvenilibus annis devincti ut hoc tempore dilectionem nostram minuere non intendamus." The original is in the Arm. Q. lib. 3, f. 7, of the State Archives at Bologna.

* Haffner, Grundlinien, 280, 342 *et seq.*

† Haffner, *loc. cit.* 281.

heard any harm said, and in many things he showed himself gentle and lowly, and did not much exalt himself, however wise, and learned, and mighty he became."*

The manner in which Nicholas V. looked upon his high position was in perfect keeping with his noble and Christian sentiments. His old friend, Vespasiano da Bisticci, the Florentine bookseller, has handed down to us a conversation which he had with the Pope, and which may here find a fitting place. "Not long after the elevation of Nicholas V.," writes Vespasiano, "I attended on the day appointed for public audiences in the Papal Palace. I had hardly entered the audience chamber when the Pope observed me, and said aloud that I was to wait, as he would speak with me alone. He soon concluded the audience, and I was led to him. When we were alone, he said, with a smile: 'Vespasiano, have not certain proud lords been greatly surprised,—have the people of Florence been able to believe that a priest who formerly rang the bells has become Pope?' I replied that the people will believe that it was on account of the virtues of His Holiness and in order that Italy may again be at peace. Thereupon the Pope said: 'I pray God to give me grace that I may accomplish that which fills my soul: that is to say, that I may restore peace, and throughout my Pontificate use no other weapon save that one which Christ has given me for my defence, namely, His Holy Cross.'" †

* Chronicle of the Popes from the foundation of the Dominican Order, written by Johannes Meyer (†1485, as Father Confessor of the Monastery of Adelhausen; see Freiburg Diöcesan-Archiv, xiii., 128 *et seq.*), f. 65b., MS. of the Monastery of Adelhausen, now in the town library in the Rathhaus at Freiburg, i., B.

† Vespasiano da Bisticci, Nicola V., § 18. The conversation must have excited attention at the time, for N. della Tuccia also mentions it in his Chronicle of Viterbo, 207.

In his great schemes for the promotion of art and science, Nicholas V. always had the welfare of the Church, whose head he was, before him as his first object. To exalt the mystical Bride of Christ by these means was the chief aim of his Pontificate. All the magnificent works which he undertook were for her adornment, but this pious and cultivated Pope was not spared to see them completed.*

* See Rio, ii., 20-21. See *infra*, Chapter IV.

CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST YEARS OF THE REIGN OF POPE NICHOLAS V. SETTLEMENT OF ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS.*

POLITICAL and ecclesiastical affairs were alike in a state of extreme confusion at the time when Nicholas V. ascended the Pontifical throne. France and England were at war; in Germany the authority of King Frederick III., on whose fidelity he could rely, was thoroughly shaken, and a great part of Bohemia was severed from the Church. The condition in the East was yet more deplorable. The national antipathies of the Greeks and the craftiness of their Theologians had stifled the Union proclaimed at Florence, and ever since the disastrous day of Varna (1444) the advance of Islam had been unceasing.† In Italy there was disquiet, and perils threatened the Papacy. The temper of the most powerful of Italian Princes, King Alfonso of Naples, may be gathered from his favourite saying, which had special reference to the Head of the Church. "Blows,"

* The *Regesta of Nicholas V. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican occupy fifty-one volumes (N. 385-435). Raynaldus, D. Georgius, and more recently Dr. Kayser, have thoroughly examined these volumes. There are also a few letters in the Arm., xxxix., T. 7. See Kaltenbrunner in the Mittheilungen, 1884, p. 82. The great gaps in the Secret Archives of the Vatican are partly filled up by letters found in other Archives, especially in the State Archives of Bologna.

† Christophe, i., 371-372. Zinkeisen, i., 704 *et seq.*

he said, "have a better effect on priests than prayers."* Milan was governed by Filippo Maria Visconti, whose "cruel egotism"† stopped at nothing. The States of the Church were in unspeakable misery, the country was devastated by war, the cities were desolate, the streets beset by bands of robbers, more than fifty villages had been razed to the ground or completely pillaged by the soldiery; and a number of the free inhabitants had been sold as bondsmen, or had died of starvation in dungeons.‡ Added to all this, the Papal vassals were openly or secretly endeavouring to make themselves independent; Rome was impoverished, and the Papal Treasury empty.§

In ecclesiastical matters, the prospect, if not equally hopeless, was gloomy enough. In Savoy, Switzerland, the Tyrol, and Germany, especially in the free cities, the party of the Council still numbered many adherents. The death of Eugenius IV. had re-awakened their hopes, and they thought the moment had come when the anti-Pope, Felix V., whom they had raised up to oppose him, might be put in his place, and the triumph of their principles be thus secured.‖ The anti-Pope himself went so far as to write a querulous letter, requiring "a certain Tommaso of Sarzana, who has presumed to mount the Apostolic Chair, and call himself Nicholas V.," at once to renounce his usurped position, and to appear before the Tribunal.¶

* "Li preti sonno homini da bastonate et non da preghiere." Despatch of Marcolino Barbavaria to F. Sforza, of March 8, 1447, in Osio, iii., 486 (not unpublished, as Buser, 356, supposes).

† Burckhardt, Cultur, i., 3rd ed., 38.

‡ Römische Briefe, i., 372.

§ "Imperium difficile suscepit (Nicholaus V.), multis in rebus conturbatum et quod est difficilius egenum," writes Poggio on the 6th May, 1447. Epist., ix., 17 (Tonelli, ii., 340).

‖ Chmel, ii., 415, 421.

¶ Mansi, xxxi., 189.

The conciliatory and prudent dispositions with wnich the new Pope prepared to meet all these difficulties, are evidenced by his own words, which we have already cited.* On his election, he at once appeared in the character of a Prince of Peace, after the example of Him by whom the keys were given to St. Peter; these keys, Nicholas V., who had no family coat of arms, adopted as his armorial bearings, adding to them the beautiful motto, "My heart is ready, O Lord."† His predecessor had waged a stern and deadly warfare with the foes of the Church. Nicholas V. deemed that the work, which had been begun by force, could be best completed by gentle measures. Eugenius IV. had made the Papacy dreaded. Nicholas V. wished to manifest its power of healing and reconciliation.‡

The pacific disposition of the Pope, which the ambassadors at once made known in terms of praise,§ contributed more than anything to lessen existing troubles and to hasten his general recognition. Opposition was to be apprehended from King Alfonso and from the German princes. Nicholas V. succeeded in winning them all. On the very day after his election Cardinals Condulmaro and Scarampo went, at his desire, to the Neapolitan monarch, who, by their means, was induced to send four ambassadors to Rome on the 18th March, for the purpose of coming to an agreement with the Holy See and of taking part in the

* *Supra*, p. 25 *et seq.*

† Reumont, iii., 1, 116, and Georgius, 10. The keys of St. Peter still appear as Nicholas V.'s arms on many buildings in Rome, and also on coins. See Molinet, 7; Bonanni, 49-50; Venuti, 10; Cancellieri, De secret, 1,222; and Cinagli, 49-50.

‡ Christophe, i., 372.

§ See the reports of Marcolino Barbavaria and Roberto Martelli, in Osio, iii., 486-487.

ceremonies of the Pope's coronation.* When the German ambassadors congratulated him on his elevation, the Pope gave them assurances calculated to set all misgivings completely at rest. "I will," he said, "not only approve and confirm whatever my predecessor agreed upon with the German nation, but will also hold to it and carry it out. The Roman Pontiffs have stretched their arms out too far, and have left scarcely any power to the other bishops. And the Basle people have crippled the hands of the Apostolic See too much. But these things had to be. Whoever does what is unworthy must also make up his mind to suffer injustice; he who seeks to straighten a tree that is leaning to one side easily bends it to the other. It is my firm purpose not to impair the rights of the bishops who are called to share my cares, for I hope the better to uphold my own jurisdiction by not assuming that which is foreign to me." †

The German ambassadors, by the Pope's particular request, took part in the ceremony of his Coronation, which was performed with great pomp, on the 19th March, 1447, by Cardinal Prospero Colonna in front of the Vatican Basilica. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, as deacon, carried the cross before the Pope in the procession.‡ On the Corona-

* *Despatch of the Abbot of San Galgano to Siena, dated Rome, 1447, March 19. The ambassadors, according to his account, arrived "con piú di dugento cavalli." Concistoro, Lettere ad. an., State Archives at Siena.

† These remarkable words are handed down by Æneas Sylvius in his report of his embassy to Frederick III.; see Muratori, iii., 2, 895.

‡ Besides Æneas Sylvius' account in Muratori (iii., 2, 896) see the *Despatch of the Abbot of San Galgano to Siena on the 19th March, 1447. State Archives at Siena, Concistoro, Lettere ad an., and the *Cronica di Forli by Giovanni de Pedrino, Cod. 234, p. 235b. of the private library of Prince Bald. Boncompagni at Rome.

tion day Nicholas V. promised King Frederick III. that he would observe the treaty concluded between him and his predecessor, and declared his intention of carrying on the work which Eugenius had begun, while he expected the King on his part to continue to protect the Apostolic See, and engaged to send him the confirmation of the public convention by special legates.* Immediately after his Coronation, according to ancient usage, the Pope solemnly took possession of the Lateran. Piccolomini has given a brief and graphic account of the procession. "It was headed," he says, "by the Blessed Sacrament, surrounded by numerous lighted torches. The Pope was preceded by three banners and an umbrella; he rode on a white horse, bore the golden Rose in his left hand, and blessed the people with his right. The ambassadors of Aragon and the Barons alternately led the Pope's horse. At Monte Giordano the Jews delivered to him their law, and he condemned their interpretation. After the conclusion of the ecclesiastical function in the Lateran, gold and silver medals were given to the cardinals, prelates, and ambassadors. The banquet next took place; the Pope was served in the Palace, and all the others in the House of the Canons. We," continues Æneas Sylvius, who, together with Procopius of Rabstein, was acting as ambassador of Frederick III., "were the guests of Cardinal Carvajal."†

* Chmel, Materialien, i., 2, 235. On the 28th March, 1447, Nicholas V. declared that the concessions made by his predecessor to the German nation were not to be affected by the new regulations of the chancery, and were to be strictly observed by each and all, *loc. cit.*, 236. Regarding J. Friedrich's strange interpretation of this Bull, see Scheeben, Das Oekumenische Concil (Regensburg, 1870), ii., 397 *et seq.*

† Muratori, iii., 2, 866. See Cancellieri, 41-42, who (87-88) gives a learned dissertation on the custom of carrying the Blessed Sacrament before the Pope.

It was long since Rome had seen such festal days as those by which the Coronation of Nicholas V. was celebrated. Ambassadors came from all parts of Italy, and afterwards from Hungary, England, France, and Burgundy to promise obedience to the Holy See.*

Poland also, which up to this time had continued neutral, sent ambassadors to profess submission. As early as July, 1447, King Casimir had entrusted Wysota of Gorka, the Provost of Posen, and Peter of Szamotòl the Castellan of Kalisz with this mission, charging them, however, to demand for him the collation to all benefices not in the gift of the Ordinaries, the grant, for a period of six years, of a tenth of all tithes in the country, and finally the revenue of Peter's pence for several years.† The Pope conceded to the King the right of collation to ninety benefices, and,

* Even small towns, such as Assisi, sent embassies to congratulate the Pope and profess their obedience; see Christofani, 305-306. The Burgundian embassy passed through Florence in the middle of February, 1448. "* De qui sono passati duy arcivescovi e duy signori per ambassatori del duca di Bergogna cum cavalli 170 [the Cronica di Rimini, 962, says 150] quali secundo se dicevano al papa per dargli la obedientia." Despatch of Vincentius de Scalona to the Marchioness Barbara of Mantua, dated Florence, 1448, February 17, xxiv., N. 3., Napoli, Lettere. Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

† See Caro, iv., 387 *et seq.* The address of the ambassadors is, according to Caro, contained in a codex on paper of the fifteenth century (MS., vii., 15) of S. Peter's Library at Salzburg. The catalogue of the MSS. in this Library gives Cod. A. vi., 53, as the only reference to anything concerning Nicholas V., but it does not contain the address. The investigations kindly made in 1882 by P. Hauthaler among the MSS. of this celebrated Benedictine monastery were equally unsuccessful. The *"Oratio ambasiatorum Casimiri regis Poloniæ ad Nicolaum papam quintum," in Cod. 280f., 167, of the Court Library at Munich is not, as I at first supposed, identical with that used by Caro.

instead of the tenth of the tithes for six years and the Peter's pence for several years, granted to Poland the sum of ten thousand ducats charged on the ecclesiastical revenues.*

Of all these embassies none was received with greater distinction than that of the Florentines, for Nicholas V. wished to manifest the value which he attached to the continuance of his personally friendly relations with the Republic and with Cosmo de' Medici. Vespasiano da Bisticci tells us with patriotic pride how the ambassadors of his native city made their solemn entrance into Rome with a hundred and twenty horse, and were received by the Pope in a public consistory. The hall was crowded, and Gianozzo Manetti made an address, which lasted for an hour and a quarter. The Pope listened, with closed eyes, in perfect stillness, so that one of the attendant chamberlains thought it well to touch him many times gently on the arm, believing him to have fallen asleep. But, as soon as Manetti had finished, Nicholas V. at once arose, and, to the astonishment of all, answered every point of the long discourse.† The circumstance made a great impression, and tended materially to extend the fame of Nicholas V. In order to understand this, we must remember how the idea of the Roman Senate and the speeches made there had at this time taken possession of men's minds. In the Renaissance Age a speech might be an event; it is said, indeed, that the discourse which

* Theiner, Mon. Pol., ii., 54. Caro, iv., 392; *ibid.*, 395, on the submission of the University of Cracow. See on this subject Bressler, 71-79, and Malecki in the Abhandl. d. histor.-phil. Kl. der Krakauer Akad., vol. ii.

† Vespasiano da Bisticci, Comment. della vita di M. G. Manetti (Torino, 1862), 37-41, speaks as an eye-witness of the circumstance. Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 81 *et seq.*

Tommaso Parentucelli pronounced at the obsequies of Eugenius IV. decided the Cardinals to elect him Pope.*

The able manner in which Nicholas V. answered the addresses of the different ambassadors who came to pay him homage produced the greatest effect. "A report soon went forth through the various countries, that Rome had as Pope a man of incomparable intellect, learning, amiability, and liberality, and these were truly the qualities which won for Nicholas V. the appreciation of the world."†

The happy results of the new Pontiff's policy of peace and reconciliation were soon visible. An agreement was made with King Alfonso of Naples, who might have been a most dangerous enemy to the Papacy, and, on the 24th March, 1447, his ambassadors, in a public consistory, promised true and perfect obedience to the Pope.‡

The German Empire was not to be so quickly won. King Frederick III. and a few of the Princes had pro-

* Vespasiano da Bisticci, Nicola V., § 16. See Æneas Sylvius in Muratori, iii., 2, 891. Regarding the importance attached to speeches in the Renaissance Age, see Burckhardt, Cultur, i., 3rd ed., 275 *et seq.*

† Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 104.

‡ See Giannone, iii., 284, and *Alessandro Sforza's Report to Francesco Sforza, dated ex urbe die veneris, xxiv. Martii, 1447. This report says: "Questa matina a 24 del presente per bona conclusione facta fra la Sanctita de Nostro Signore et la Maesta del Re essa Maesta ha per suoi ambasciatori in concistoro publico in conspecto de Nostro Signore data et promessa vera ed integra obedientia a la Sanctita Soa dove personalmente me so (n) ritrovato primo per intendere bene et anche per vedere tanto solempne acto como e stato facto; che certamente e stata cosa notabile et singulare che ultra lo collegio de cardinali a intendere el sermone exposito per li ambassatori de la Maesta del Re et poi la reposta de la Sanctita de Nostro Signore e stato judicato per ogni valente homo acto laudabilissimo et multo excellente." Carteggio generale ad an. State Archives at Milan.

visionally recognized the Pope, and by their ambassadors promised obedience, but the general acknowledgment of the Electors and the other Princes had still to be obtained, and it was not improbable that they might be tempted to take the opportunity of again bringing ecclesiastical affairs into question and favouring the adherents of the Synod of Basle, who, with Duke Louis of Savoy, son of the anti-Pope, were making all possible efforts to find powerful patrons and protectors. They hoped much from King Charles VII. of France, whom Nicholas was also endeavouring to win.* The Basle party so far succeeded that the king summoned a new congress, at which the envoys of the Synod and those of the Duke of Savoy were to appear.† The electors of Cologne, Treves, the Palatinate, and Saxony, who had not yet acknowledged the Pope, joined France. It was not anxiety for the reform of the church, but private interests of various kinds, which induced these electors to take part with a foreign power in opposition to their own King and to the German Princes, who had already declared themselves for Eugenius IV. and Nicholas V.‡ In union with these Electors, and the ambassadors of Savoy and of England, and a few members of the Synod of Basle, Charles VII., in June 1447, opened a numerous assembly at Bourges, which was subsequently transferred to Lyons. It was then decided that Felix should resign, and that Nicholas should make many concessions to the Basle Schismatics and summon a general

* See the Bull of December 12th, 1447, in Leibniz, Cod. jur. gent., i., 378, and in Müller's Reichstagstheatrum, 358. Nicholas V., in this Bull, gives the Duchy of Savoy to the King of France, and calls upon the Dauphin to take possession of it. France, however, did not take the matter up.

† Chmel, ii., 422, 423.

‡ Pückert, 305 *et seq.*

Council as soon as possible to meet in a French city. Neither Nicholas nor Felix, however, assented to this plan.*

Almost at the same time King Frederick convened those German Princes, who had broken up the anti-Roman League of Electors, to meet at Aschaffenburg. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, on whom Nicholas V. had recently conferred the Bishopric of Trieste, and the Royal Counsellor Hartung von Cappell, represented the King. Nicholas of Cusa appeared on behalf of the Pope, though without instructions. The assembled princes decided that Nicholas V. should be proclaimed throughout Germany as the lawful Pope, and that on his part he should confirm the Concordat entered into by his predecessor. For the perfect adjustment of all differences a fresh Diet was shortly to be held at Nuremberg, and, unless the matter were in the meantime settled with the Pope's Legate, it was to decide the long standing question of compensation to be given to the Pope for diminution of income, in accordance with a promise already made by the Basle party.† King Frederick III. now proceeded to take decided measures in favour of Nicholas V. He required the Schismatics of Basle to dissolve their assembly, and withdrew the Royal safe conduct previously granted; on the 21st August, 1447, he issued an edict commanding everyone in the empire to acknowledge Nicholas V. as the true Pope and to reject all other orders.‡ Frederick solemnly repeated his declaration of obedience to the Pope, in his own name and that of his country, in St. Stephen's Cathedral at Vienna.§

* Hefele, vii., 837-838.

† Hefele, vii., 438.

‡ See Wurstisen, Bassler-Chronik, 408; Cochlæus, Hist. Hussit., lib. 9; Chmel, Materialen, i., 2, 245-246, and Fiala, 422.

§ Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 414. Bressler, 74 *et seq.*

But on this very occasion the want of real unity was manifested. The King desired to give all possible importance to this public recognition of Nicholas V. by the presence and assent of the University of Vienna, but the opposition which he encountered was so violent that he was obliged to enforce his commands by threats of deprivation of benefices and emoluments and other penalties. The jurists and physicians then yielded, and finally the faculties of theology and arts made up their minds, under compulsion and by constraint, to accede to the Royal desire. Some time afterwards, when Cardinal Carvajal came to Vienna as Legate from Nicholas V., the adhesion of the University to the Council, to which both King and Pope were adverse, showed itself anew.* Many in Germany shared the sentiments of the University, and if Rome ultimately gained the victory it was in no small degree due to the skill with which her envoys conducted the difficult negotiations, which at last resulted in the submission of the Count Palatine Louis, the Dukes Otho and Stephen of Bavaria, the Count of Würtemberg, the Bishops of Worms and Spires, and the Electors of Cologne, Treves, and Saxony.†

These separate agreements prepared the way for the Concordat, concluded at Vienna on the 17th February, 1448, between the Holy See and the King of the Romans, and confirmed by Nicholas V. on the 19th March in the same year.‡

* Mitterdorffer, i., 161. Aschbach, i., 279 *et seq.* A. Wappler, Gesch. der theolog. Facultät der k. k. Universität zu Wien. (Wien, 1884), 13-14. Bressler, 75 *et seq.*

† Raynaldus, ad. an. 1447, N. 17. Pückert, 311-315.

‡ Koch, Sanctio prag., 201 *et seq.*, 235. Chmel, ii., 436. Here and in Voigt (Enea Silvio, i., 418), a good list is given of the printed editions of the Vienna Concordat, to which we may now

The Concordat of Vienna begins with the words:—"In the name of God, Amen. In the year 1448, on the 17th February, the following Concordat was concluded and accepted between our Holy Father and Lord, Pope Nicholas V., the Apostolic See, and the German nation, by the Cardinal Legate Juan Carvajal* and King Frederick, with the assent of most of the electors and other spiritual and temporal princes of the nation." Then follow the several decisions by which the rights of the Apostolic See were considerably extended. The Concordat of Constance between Martin V. and the German nation serves as a foundation for that of Vienna, which literally embodies a great many of the conditions established on the former occasion. The Vienna Concordat recognizes the reservations of ecclesiastical benefices contained in the Canon law as well as those introduced by John XXII. and Benedict XII.; the appointment to bishoprics by free election, subject to the Pope's right of confirmation, and also, in case of manifest reasons, the nomination of more worthy and fitting persons to such posts with the advice of the Cardinals; the arrangement in virtue of which all canonries and other benefices becoming vacant in the alternate months were to be filled up by the Pope, and finally the Annates, which were to

add those of Walter, Fontes juris. eccles. (Bonn, 1862), and Nussi, Convent, de reb. eccles. (Mogunt., 1870), 15-19. Regarding the character of the Concordat as a real contract binding both parties, see Ph. Hergenröther's excellent article in the Freiburger Kirchenlexikon, ii., 2nd ed., 817 *et seq.*

* The first trace of Carvajal's presence at the Royal Court is to be found on the 19th January, 1448. He had been appointed Legate for Germany on the 26th March, 1447 (Georgius, 28), but was still in Italy on the 21st October. See Pückert, 316. Bayer, 71. The day of his departure from Rome—15th September, 1447—is settled by the *Acta consistorialia, 20. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

be discharged in moderate amounts and in instalments payable every two years.*

This Concordat, no doubt, temporarily guarded the Holy See from being suddenly, and without any adequate compensation, despoiled of a great part of its necessary revenues, and yet the great evil from which the Church suffered in Germany was by no means checked.† If the exercise of patronage from so great a distance and with insufficient knowledge of persons and of local circumstances had its drawbacks, yet in view of the pride of birth and the distinctions of caste which became more and more dominant in the German chapters during the fifteenth century, its tendency was beneficial. Nevertheless, the good that might have resulted was greatly marred by the imperfect education of a portion of the German clergy, and the want of discipline which prevailed, and also by the recklessness with which many succeeding Popes exercised their right. Thus seventy years later, when the storm of the new doctrines burst over the country, hundreds of incumbents who held their preferments from Rome fell away like the withered leaves from a tree in autumn.‡

* Ph. Hergenröther, *loc. cit.* Hefele, vii., 840-846, gives a very ample account of the Vienna agreement with special regard to its relation to the Constance Concordat. See Gebhardt, 2, 98 *et seq.*

† This is the opinion of Phillips, iii., 329.

‡ Döllinger (ii., 1, 348) and Hergenröther (ii., 1, 122) concur almost literally in expressing the view I have given in the text. Regarding the manner in which the German nobility had in many dioceses assumed exclusive possession of the canonries of the Episcopal and Archiepiscopal Churches, see Höfler, Friedrich von Hohenlohe's, Bischofs von Bamberg, Rechtsbuch (Bamberg, 1852), lxxiv. *et seq.*, and the excellent article "Der Deutsche Adel in den hohen Erz-und Domcapiteln" in the histor.-polit. Bl., xliii., 653-676, 745-768, and 837-858. The noble author at the conclusion of this treatise (858) justly observes that the exclusive right of the higher and lower nobility to canonries was not merely incompatible

The next thing to be accomplished was the recognition and promulgation of the Vienna Concordat throughout the several parts of the empire. The Pope brought this about very gradually by means of separate negotiations with the individual German Princes, the most powerful of whom had to be won over by important concessions.* The Archbishop of Salzburg was the first † to assent to the Vienna agreement (22nd April, 1448); the Elector of Mayence followed his example in July, 1449, and the Elector of Treves in 1450. Cologne held out for some time, and the Concordat was not accepted by Strasburg, its last opponent, until 1476.‡

with the ecclesiastical purpose of the chapter, but prejudicial to themselves. J. Friedrich (Joh. Wessel [Regensburg, 1862], p. 9), who derived his information from Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Frid., iii., 352, tells us that the Canons of Passau refused to obey Nicholas V. on the ground that he was not of the noble birth required as a condition of admission to their chapter. Bayer (169) justly considers the arrogant words of these Canons as "possibly exaggerated."

* Hinschius, iii., 139, note 2.

† Not the Archbishop of Mayence, as stated by all the Canonists and Voigt (Enea Silvio, i., 425). In Cod. S. i., 1, of the Angelica Library, Rome, in a collection of papers left by Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini (afterwards Pope Pius III.), is a copy of the manifesto of Archbishop Friedrich of Salzburg, dated Salezburge, mensis Aprilis die xxii., anno domini 1448. The Archives of Salzburg, according to Kleinmayer, contain nothing regarding the Archbishop's recognition of the Concordat, but in them is preserved a Bull of Nicholas V., dated 1448, November 1, declaring that the Concordat does not in any way prejudice the right of the Archbishop of Salzburg or his successors to nominate to the bishoprics of Seckau, Lavant, and Chiemsee. The document, whose date is wrongly quoted in Kleinmayer, is published by J. Mezger, Hist. Salisb. (Salisb., 1692), 999-1002; Hansiz, ii., 481-483, and Lüign, Deutsches Reichs-archiv, xvi., 1015.

‡ Koch, Sanctio pragmatica Germanorum, 42-44, 244-245, 282-287.

The Vienna Concordat not only established a new order of ecclesiastical affairs in Germany, but also virtually annihilated the Synod of Basle, which had latterly become a real scourge to the Church.* We may say that the death-knell of this assembly was sounded on the 17th February, 1448. The fact that the city of Basle still continued for some time to defy the authority of the King of the Romans is characteristic of the position of the empire. In 1448 Frederick III. was compelled to threaten it with an interdict, and at last the Senators felt it necessary to require the members of the Phantom Council to depart. On the 25th June they determined to transfer themselves to Lausanne, and on the 4th July, accompanied by troops, left for that place. The Bishop of Basle, the city, and the whole diocese then made their submission to the Pope, who, in a Bull dated 13th July, 1448, restored them to favour.†

The anti-Pope and his adherents now felt that all further opposition to the authority of Nicholas V. would be fruitless, and that a seemly retreat was the only thing to be thought of. By the intervention of France this course was made easy.

In the summer of 1448, Charles VII. sent a brilliant embassy to Rome to make solemn profession of obedience to the Pope, and to propose measures for the termination of the Schism. Nicholas V. entered into negotiations with the Archbishop of Rheims, the chief of the French ambassadors, and shortly afterwards Felix V. expressed his willingness to renounce the papal dignity. On the 18th January, 1449, the Pope issued a Bull revoking all confiscations, suspensions, excommunications, and penalties affecting Felix V., the Synod of Basle and its adherents, their

* Alzog-Kraus, ii., 49.

† Raynaldus, ad. an. 1448, N. 1. Chmel, ii., 442. Fiala, 460, Wurstisen, 409, and Ochs, Geschichte von Basel, iii., 492.

possessions and dignities.* In the further course of the negotiations for union the pacific Nicholas V. carried concession to its utmost possible limits;† with his approval, the anti-Pope, before his abdication, issued three documents confirming all disciplinary decrees promulgated during his pontificate, removing all censures pronounced against Rome and its adherents, and again ratifying all privileges and favours which he had granted.‡ Finally, the Pope consented that Felix V. should resign his usurped dignity into the hands of the Council of Lausanne (7th April, 1449).§ After the dismissal of its Pope, the moribund Council was also induced, in its third session, April 10th, 1449, to revoke its former censures, and in the fourth, on the 19th April, acting on the fiction of a vacancy of the Holy See, it elected as Pope, Tommaso of Sarzana, known in his obedience as Nicholas V. In the next session, on the 25th April, the assembly formally dissolved itself.‖

Though appearances were thus saved, the triumph of the true Pope was complete, and he could now hope that the

* d'Achery, iii., 774. For the date see Hefele, vii., 848, note 4.

† The conditions for the retreat of the anti-Pope and his partisans were, as Chmel (ii., 446) justly observes, more favourable than any yet granted by Rome to antagonists of the Holy See. The explanation of this fact may be found in the tone of feeling then prevalent in Germany and Switzerland, which was such as to threaten a further terrible outbreak of Schism.

‡ d'Achery, iii., 782 *et seq.*

§ Raynaldus, ad. an. 1449, N. 3 and 4. Georgius, 65. On the 20th June, 1449, the Envoys of Felix V. made their profession of obedience to the lawful Pope at Spoleto. The only information regarding this Consistory is to be found in Capranica's notes on the Council of Basle, in Catalanus, 237.

‖ Raynaldus, ad. an. 1449, N. 6. See Fiala, 410 *et seq.*, where the dates are somewhat different. The Lausanne Assembly, as this document testifies, to the last held to the fiction that it was gathered together in the power of the Holy Ghost, and represented the Universal Church.

jubilee to be celebrated in the following year would be attended with peculiar splendour. The tidings of the final suppression of the Schism awakened the greatest joy amongst the Roman clergy and people. At nightfall horsemen scoured the streets, bearing torches in their hands and loudly cheering Nicholas V. Processions in token of thanksgiving were made through the Borgo by his order.*

In fulfilment of the promise made by his ambassadors, the Pope published three Bulls at Spoleto, in June, 1449, revoking, by the first, all censures pronounced against the partisans of the Synod of Basle, by the second, confirming all nominations to benefices made by it and the anti-Pope, and by the third, restoring all who had been deprived of their positions during the time of the Schism. He bestowed on the late anti-Pope the dignity of Cardinal of Sta Sabina, made him Papal Legate and Vicar for life of Savoy and the territory belonging to Berne, in the Diocese of Lausanne, and conferred on him a pension from the Apostolic Chamber.† Felix retired to the solitude of Ripaille, on the Lake of Geneva, and died there on the 7th January, 1451.‡

* Platina, 712 ; Infessura, 1132, and Niccola della Tuccia, 212. See Georgius, 66. According to the Cronica di Rimini (964), these rejoicings lasted for three days in Rome.

† Martène Durand, viii., 999 *et seq.* d'Achery, iii., 784 *et seq.* Mansi, xxix., 228 *et seq.* Labbe, xiii., 1347-1349. Georgius, 68. Chmel (ii., 449, and Regest., 262), cast needless doubts on Spoleto as the place whence the Bulls were promulgated, but the Pope was certainly there at the time, and all possible uncertainty on the subject is set at rest by the Regesta in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. (See Georgius, *loc. cit.*)

‡ Papebroch, 460. "When the Bernese had taken possession of this country in 1538, and were even turning the churches (at Ripaille) to other purposes, a leaden coffin was found under the ground containing a body clothed in the robes of a cardinal. It was supposed to be that of Amadeus, and on exposure to the air crumbled away." Wurstisen (416).

Since his days no anti-Pope has arisen, and his case is a further proof of the old truth that the evil of a Schism in the Church is greater than any evil which that Schism professes to correct. From the time that the assembly at Basle became schismatical all hope of the long desired Church Reform grew dim, and the way was opened for a reaction calculated to bury in oblivion not only the false and revolutionary projects of the Synods of Constance and Basle, but even those which were just and moderate. The Council of Reform, which was a condition of the Frankfort Concordat of the Princes, and which was again promised in the Vienna Concordat, never took place.* The period of Councils was past and was succeeded by one of Concordats, a season of restoration and of reaction. It became more and more evident that the deplorable issue of the Synod of Basle had dealt a severe blow to the theory which it represented.†

The Spanish theologian, Rodericus de Arevalo, in a work dedicated to Cardinal Bessarion in the time of Paul II.,‡ observes, "Men have now none of that respect and love for Councils which some suppose. We know that the nations of Christendom were put to great trouble and immense expense in maintaining their ambassadors and prelates at Basle and all to no purpose. What did that assembly procure for the Christian world save strife and schism? No one who looks back to its results can desire that the unity which the Church now enjoys should be

* Hefele concludes his great work with these words (vii., 850).

† A firm adherent of the Council theory, about the year 1451, writes: "Pro nunc non intelligo aliud, nisi quod auctoritas sacrorum conciliorum hat ghufft." Pez, Anecd., vi., 3,327.

‡ *De remediis afflictæ ecclesiæ. We shall speak at more length of this work hereafter.

again, to the detriment of Princes and people, disturbed by a similar assembly."*

The name of "Council," which had wrought such confusion, began gradually to lose its magic power. But ideas which have taken a deep hold upon the human mind are not quickly dispelled, and worthy men who were bent on reform, even after the sad failure of the Basle Synod, clung to the hope that the Parliamentary principle would yet assert itself in the Church; among those who cherished aspirations of this nature, we must mention the celebrated Carthusian, Jakob von Jüterbogk.†

After peace had been restored to the Church, when the Schism was at an end, and Nicholas V. was universally acknowledged to be the lawful Pope, this ardent reformer addressed a memorial on the subject to him. The multitude of abuses, Jakob von Jüterbogk declares, had impelled him, unworthy though he was, to raise his voice and cry for reform, and to proclaim its urgent necessity. The Synods of Siena, of Constance, and of Basle having failed to ac-

* *Nec habent homines ad concilia illam devocionem et affectum, quem aliqui arbitrantur; videmus qualiter omnes naciones fidelium apud Basileam infinitos labores habuerunt ac innumerabiles sumptus et expensas inutiliter et infructuose fecerunt in mittendo et tenendo ibi oratores et prelatos et alios ecclesiasticos viros per multa tempora, ex quorum congregacione quorundam hominum perfidia non nisi disidia et scismata orbi provenerunt, ex quibus utiliores fructus expectabant, que iam conspicientes nollent, ut unitas, qua nunc ecclesia auctore deo gaudet, per talem congregacionem perturbetur cum gravamine nacionum et principum." Cod. Z., L. xc., f. 27, of St. Mark's Library, Venice.

† See Ullmann i., 230 *et seq.*; Kampschulte, Universität Erfurt, i., 15 *et seq.*, and especially the excellent treatise of H. Kellner in the Tübing. theol. Quartalschrift Jahrg., 48 (1866), p. 315-348. Regarding Jakob's numerous works see Kellner (*loc. cit.* 320-323), Fabricius-Mansi, iii., 300 *et seq.*; Lorenz, ii., 2nd ed., 188, 332, and L. F. Hesse in the Serapeum, xix., 1 *et seq.*

complish that which the faithful expected, and the Schism being now at an end, the cry must, he says, again be raised, and to whom can it better be addressed than to him "who sits in the chair of Peter, who is possessed of the highest Apostolic dignity, and is the one vicar of Christ?" Thanks to the vigilance of former Pastors, decisions, decrees, and canons abound; new laws are not required, but the old ones ought to be obeyed. It is the duty of the Pope to feed the sheep of the Lord, and to see that the precepts of the Church are observed.

The author proceeds to animadvert with much freedom on many abuses in the government of the Church, and to remind the Pope of his duties. His observations allude rather to the period from 1434-1447 than to Nicholas V. himself, for whom he had a great esteem, and by whom several of his works were approved.* "If Christ were

* Evidence of the Papal authorization of treatises by Jakob von Jüterbogk may be found in many MSS. in the Library at Wolfenbüttel; see Heinemann, Die Handschr. der herzogl. Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel, i. (Wolfenbüttel, 1884), 123-124, 203, 253; also in the "Sermones dominicales" (see Hain, N. 9331 *et seq.*), and the still unpublished* "Tractatus de bono morali et remediis contra peccata" (Cod. 4225, f. 17ª-31ª of the Court Library, Vienna, and Cod. 252 of the University Library, at Freiburg, i. B.). At the conclusion of the last named MS. (f. 17b) is the following observation: "Hec a me scripta sunt salvo iudicio cuiuslibet melius sencientis anno domini MCCCCLII. auctorisante SS. domino nostro Nicolao papa quinto. Gloria uni Deo. Explicit tractus de bono morali reverendi patris domini Jacobi Carthusien. Sacre theologie magistri." Among the MSS. of the City Library at Treves, I found the following works by Jacob marked "auctorisante domino Nicolao papa quinto": (1.) De apparitionibus animarum, etc. Cod. 270 (olim in domo S. Albani iuxta Trev.) and Cod. 662ª (olim S. Mariæ ad martyres). (2.) *De duabus civitatibus Jerusalem et Babilonia et civibus earundem. Cod. 579 (olim in domo S. Albani iuxta Trev.), and Cod. 662ª. (3.) *De

again on earth," he asks, "and occupied the Apostolic See, would He approve the present practice of that See in regard to benefices and to the Sacraments of the Church; the many reservations, collations, annates, provisions, expectancies, and benefices which are given for money; the revocations, annullations, nonobstantia, especially in regard to the power of election and appointment by which those, who have a canonical right, are excluded." The Pope's authority is conferred upon him that he may build up, not that he may destroy, and he must exercise it according to the will of God. Jakob then proceeds to consider the office of the Pope, whom he views as the head of the many members of the Church. He is the ruler of the Church, but he is himself bound to take the will of God and the decisions of Councils for his rule. Further on he complains of the simony then dominant, and brings forward the instance of the recent simoniacal practices of two bishops in Germany. Finally, he calls on the Pope to remove abuses by means of a General Council lawfully summoned.*

triplici genere prælatorum activorum et contemplativorum. Cod. 579. (4.) *De erroribus et moribus Christianorum. Cod. 579. The above approbation is also at the end of Jakob's treatise: Quodlibetum statuum humanorum (Hain, No. 9,335). Cod. 46 folio of the City Library at Cologne, and at the end of the work: *De statu securiori incedendi in hac vita. Cod. Y., 372, f. 19 (from the Grande Chartreuse), in the Library at Grenoble.

* "Avisamentum ad papam pro reformatione ecclesiæ," ed. E. Klüpfel (Vetus bibliotheca eccles., i., 1, 134-145). See Kellner, *loc. cit.*, 337, 338. The last-named author observes (338), that Jakob's "Avisamentum," from its contents and form, appears to have been a memorial addressed to Nicholas V. on his accession, but this idea is opposed by the fact that the termination of the schism is mentioned in the work, and that it bears at its conclusion the date 1449.

Jakob of Jüterbogk lived at Erfurt, and was connected with its university, the only one in Germany which maintained the false conciliar theories.*

It cannot be a matter of surprise that the German Carthusian's commendation of Parliamentary Church government found little favour with the Pope; but it must be regretted that the reforming zeal of the early days of his Pontificate gradually cooled down.† The fault lay not so much with the learned and virtuous Pope as with the Italians surrounding him, whose incomes, in great part, depended on abuses, and who, accordingly, like a leaden weight, impeded every movement in the direction of reform. Jakob von Jüterbogk complains bitterly in his treatise on the seven stages of the Church, that "no nation in Christendom offers such opposition to reform as Italy, and this from love of gain and worldly profit, and fear of losing its privileges."‡ The passionate pessimism of this work contrasts unfavourably with the tone of his memorial, while his exaggerated exaltation of the authority of Councils, and his assertion of their right to depose the Pope, were little calculated to promote the cause of reform, and tended rather to reawaken the schism that had so lately been set at rest.

It was well that these sentiments were not shared by the majority of Jakob's contemporaries. The violence of his language in this treatise is probably due to his vexation at

* See Bressler, 85.

† See G. Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 408, 409. J. Voigt, Stimmen, 115 *et seq.*, 117, 127, and Sauer, 127.

‡ "De septem ecclesie statibus in apocalypsi descriptis." This work has been repeatedly printed: by Wolf. Wissenburgius in the Antologia Papæ (Basil., 1555), Brown, in the Fasciculus, ii., 102-112, and Walch, Mon., ii., 2, 43. Kellner (323) and Gieseler (ii., 4, 218) ascribe its production to the year 1449, while Janus (364) believes it to have been written "about 1450."

the collapse of the Council, and its proved inability single-handed to accomplish the work of reformation. Geiler von Kaysersberg, a distinguished man, whose zeal for reform was in no way second to that of Jakob, at a somewhat later period, expressed his firm conviction of the impossibility of carrying out a "general reformation in Christendom by means of parliamentary assemblies alone. The whole Council of Basle," he says, "was not sufficiently powerful to reform a convent of nuns when the city took their part. How then can a Council reform the whole of Christendom? And if it is so hard to reform a convent of women, what would it be to reform one of men, especially if it contains none that are single-minded, and they have many partisans? This is why the reformation of all Christendom, or of any class of men therein, is so difficult. Therefore, let each one hide his head in his own corner, and see that he keeps God's law and does what is right, that he may save his soul."*

No Council ever pursued so suicidal a course as did that of Basle. The suppression of the schism by the Council of Constance did more than anything to win men's minds to the conciliar views, whereas at Basle squabbles about the limitations of its powers took the place of the urgently-needed work of reform, and ended by reviving the dreaded schism.† The aversion to Councils increased, as it became more evident that, in spite of all the great hopes and expectations it had called forth, the Basle Synod had brought schism and revolution into the Church instead of reform. The old constitution was now more firmly established than before.‡

* Geiler von Kayersberg, Die Emeis (Strassburg, 1516), Bl. xxi^{b}. This passage seems to have escaped the notice of Dacheux, the excellent biographer of Geiler (Paris, 1876).

† See Höfler, Roman. Welt, 209.

‡ Wattenbach, Papstgeschichte, 281.

The change in the tide of opinion, which in some cases had been very sudden, is strikingly manifested in the speech of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, the former champion of the supremacy of Councils, at the coronation of Frederick III. by the Pope in the year 1452. Speaking in the name and in the presence of the newly-crowned Emperor, he observes that another Emperor would have demanded a Council, but that Frederick holds the Pope with his Cardinals to be the best Council.*

The bugbear of a General Council was indeed repeatedly brought forward by the party opposed to the Papacy, but it proved to be a mere empty threat.† The utter hopelessness of the cause was fully manifested in the next generation, when an adventurous prelate, whose person and fate are veiled in obscurity, but who is known by the name of Archbishop of Carniola, made attempt to resuscitate the Council of Basle. Even the support afforded by Lorenzo the Magnificent was powerless to do anything towards the realization of what a modern historian‡ has well called a delirious dream, so thoroughly had the Holy See in the meantime regained its ancient authority.§

Many circumstances tended to favour the re-establishment of Papal power. The fruitlessness of all the efforts made on behalf of ecclesiastical parliaments had naturally produced weariness and exhaustion. The reigning Pontiff was, moreover, peculiarly fitted to bring about a reconciliation between the Papacy and its opponents. The first

* Æneæ Silvii hist. Frid., iii., 317.

† See *infra*.

‡ Kraus, 478.

§ See J. Burckhardt, Andreas, Erzbischof von Krain (Basel, 1852). Reumont, Lorenzo, ii., 2nd ed., 185-187, and Frantz, Sixtus, iv., 376 *et seq.*, 434 *et seq.*, 443, 456. A future volume of this work will give further details.

measures of his reign tended towards this result, to which, besides, the influence of the theological literature of the day, with its brilliant vindication of the Papal system, materially contributed.*

In the foremost rank of the champions who took up their pens on behalf of the Holy See we must name the great Spanish canonist, Cardinal Juan de Torquemada. The "Summa against the enemies of the Church," which he wrote in 1450, is the most important work of the later mediæval period on the question of the extent of the Papal power.† In his preface he gives the following explanation of the aim of his book:—"If ever it was incumbent on Catholic doctors, as soldiers of Christ, to protect the Church with powerful weapons, lest many, led astray by simplicity, or error, or craft and deception, should forsake her fold, that duty devolves upon them now. For, in these troublous times, some pestilent men, puffed up with ambition, have arisen, and, with diabolical craft and deceit, have striven to disseminate false doctrines regarding the spiritual as well as the temporal power. With these they have assailed the whole Church, inflicting grievous wounds upon her, and proceeding to rend her unity, to tarnish the splendour of her glory, to destroy the order established by God, and shamefully to obscure her beauty; they have undertaken to crush the Primacy of the Apostolic See and maim the supreme authority conferred on it by God; they have so poisoned the whole body of the Church that hardly any part of her seems to be free from stains and wounds. The

* Maurenbrecher, Studien, 334.

† So characterized by Döllinger, Die Papstfabeln des Mittelalters, 2nd ed. (München, 1863), 144. Döllinger's view regarding the date of this work (ca. 1450) is shared by Pichler, i., 253, and Schwane, Dogmengesch., 567 *et seq.* Lederer (174), however, is of opinion that it was concluded in 1449 or 1448.

sacrilegious accusations of these godless men against the Church and the Holy See are shamelessly published everywhere. Thus not only is evangelical truth attacked, but the way is prepared for divisions and errors, dangers to souls, dissensions between princes and nations, and it is evident to all that the assaults of these persons are aimed not only at a portion of the Church, but at the very foundations of the Christian religion. Catholic scholars should hasten to oppose these antagonists with the invincible weapons of the faith. Therefore, incited by zeal for it and for the honour of Christ's Bride, I have written a book, with the title of 'Summa against the enemies of the Church and the Primacy.' I have here, as it seems to me, by passages from Holy Scripture and by the irrefragable decisions of the Fathers, sufficiently refuted the assertions of these unprincipled men, and shown that they are to be eschewed by all faithful Christians." These introductory words manifest the polemical character of the work, in which the Cardinal, who was firmly attached to the Thomistic tradition, strongly upholds the Papal power against the tendencies of the Synod of Basle.*

The importance of Torquemada's work, which is distinguished by its learning and by the keen logic of its arguments, became more and more appreciated as time went on, and even in the eighteenth century it was looked upon as a literary arsenal by the defenders of the Holy See.

* The view put forward by Lederer (190 *et seq.*, 219, 249) and Schwane (Dogmengesch, 573 *et seq.*), that Torquemada went too far in regard to the relative positions of the Bishops and the Pope is untenable; see A. Langhorst, Der Card. Torquemada und das Vaticanum über die Jurisdictionsgewalt der Bischöfe, in the Laacher Stimmen, 1879, ii., 447-462. See also Hergenröther, Kirche und Staat, 800, and Grisar, in the Zeitschrift für Kath. Theologie, viii., 729 *et seq.*

Another Spaniard, the Canonist Rodericus Sancius de Arevalo,* at this time dedicated to Nicholas V. a book which, like that of Torquemada, combated the ecclesiastical parliamentarianism of the schismatics of Basle.†

Rodericus Sancius, while serving as ambassador from the King of Castile at the Court of Frederick III.,‡ did his best to put an end to the neutrality of Germany, which constituted a serious danger to Rome. In a discourse which he pronounced in Frederick's presence,§ he urged him to promote the restoration of ecclesiastical unity by a simple adhesion to the lawful Pope. The "Dialogue regarding remedies for the schism," dedicated by Rodericus to Garcia Enriquez, Royal Councillor and Archbishop of Seville, belongs to this period.‖ The first part of this treatise, which

* For some account of this indefatigable writer, see Oudin, iii., 2661-2664; Bibl. pontif., f. 433 *et seq.*; Bibl. Hisp. vet., ii., 297-304; Schulte, 316, 317, and V. de la Fuente, 462. Further particulars will be given in a future volume of this work.

† *Rodericus de Arevalo, Contra Basilienses et de sedando schismate, Cod. lat. Vatic., 4167, f. 121 174, and Cod. lat. Vatic., 4154. Vatican Library.

‡ Not about 1440, as stated in the Bibl. Hisp. vet., ii., 298, but 1442. At this time Nicholas of Cusa addressed to Rodericus Sancius the letter whose meaning has been so differently understood by modern writers. See Scharpff, Cusa als Reformator, 79 *et seq.*; C. F. Brockhaus, Nicolai Cus. de concilii univ. potestate sententia (Lips., 1867); Stumpf, Politische Ideen des Nic. von Cusa (Köln, 1865), and Schwab, in the Theol. Lit.-Bl., 1867, p. 627 *et seq.*

§ *Oratio Roderici etc. ex parte regis Hispaniæ ad sereniss. Fridericum Imperatorem (*sic.!*) exhortatoria ad unitatem et pacem ecclesiæ, et quod deceat imperatores agere pro unione ac defensione ecclesiæ, inducens eundem Imperatorem ad puram adhæsionem dom. Eugenii et detestationem Basiliensium. Cod. lat. Vatic., 4881, f. 202 *et seq.* Vatican Library.

‖ *Dialogi de remediis scismatis. Cod. lat. Vatic., 4002. Vatican Library. A beautiful MS. of seventy pages, adorned with initial

has never yet been printed, deals with the authority of the Holy See in general. In the four chapters which compose the second part, Rodericus shows that the so-called neutrality and withdrawal of obedience are in all cases forbidden, that they lead to heresy and schism, and that the ecclesiastical dignitaries who adopt such dangerous measures lose the powers conferred upon them, because they sever themselves from the centre of unity. Rodericus de Arevalo was one of the most distinguished opponents of the Council theory. Subsequently, under Paul II., in a work dedicated to Cardinal Bessarion, he controverted the errors of those who were never weary of exalting Councils as a panacea even for the threatened *Turkish peril*. The beautifully-written original manuscript of this treatise, ornamented with exquisite miniatures, once in Cardinal Bessarion's possession, is now preserved in the library of St. Mark's at

letters and with the armorial bearings of Archbishop Garcia Enriquez of Seville (†1448, see Gams, 73). A passage of the above-mentioned preface of Rodericus de Arevalo archidiaconus de Treviño regiæ M^tis secretarius is given in the Bibl. Hisp. vet., ii., 301. The second part of the Dialogus, which is specially directed against neutrality, consists of four chapters, under the following heads:—(1) Quod neutralitas aut subtractio obediencie a sede ap^ca ex quibuscunque causis facta auctoritative est omni jure damnata (et prohibita). (2) Quod inducere subtractionem obediencie aut neutralitatem a sede ap^ca sit laedere articulum fidei et hæresim inducere. (3) Quod inducere prefatam neutralitatem sit scisma facere et inducere, eciam prout scisma est speciale crimen. (4) Quod prælati et alii viri ecclesiastici illam (inducentes) aut ea scienter utentes non habent claves ecclesie nec habent ordinem nec consecrationem aut alia pontificalia. *Sermo in passione domini factus Romæ coram Nicolao V., per Rod. S. de Arevalo, 1449, in Cod. 134, N. 1, of the Gymnasium Library at Coblenz.

Venice.* The author begins by attacking exaggerated views of the importance of Councils, and justly observes that in the primitive Church their occurrence was not so frequent as some people supposed. Reforms, he says, will always be needed in the Church; if they can only be accomplished by Councils, it follows that they must sit perpetually.† Here, in fact, we have the real question at issue. If the fanatics of the party could have had their way, there can be no doubt that the Council, considering itself equal in authority to the Pope, would, under pretext of reform, have gradually assumed the whole government of the Church, and the Holy See would have been no longer necessary. How, then, are reforms in ecclesiastical affairs to be carried out? Rodericus answers the question in the second part of his work. In the first place, he says, let due obedience be rendered to the Apostolic See; then let good and loyal bishops be elected, prelates and clergy filled with the spirit of Christ appointed everywhere, and, above all, let visitations be extensively made, for the discovery and remedy of existing evils.‡

* *Roderici Calaguritani de remediis afflictæ ecclesiæ militantis adversus extrinsecas Turchorum persecutiones ac intestinas eius pressuras et angustias. Cod. Z-L-XC. of St. Mark's Library at Venice. The dedication is printed by Valentinelli, ii., 116. There is a copy of the work at Florence among the Magliabech. MSS. Cl. xxxvii., Cod. 202. See Bandinius, Bibl. Leop. Laurent., ii., 78 *et seq.*, and in the Chapter Library at Padua; Fabricius-Mansi, v., 413.

† *Cod. cit., f. 31 *et seq.*; f. 47 *et seq.* (I. cap. 9 and 15).

‡ *Cod. cit., f. 54b, 108. Secunda pars in qua adducuntur necessaria et expedientia remedia ad relevandam ecclesiam. See especially f. 72 and f. 88. The great Geiler von Kaysersberg also saw that the only hope for the German Church was in the appointment of good bishops; see Kerker, in the Histor.-Polit., Bl. xlviii., 962.

The celebrated preacher, St. John Capistran, who had written a great volume against the Fathers of Basle in the reign of Eugenius IV., now produced a treatise "on the authority of the Church," in opposition to the false Council theories, and dedicated it to Pope Nicholas.*

Although we cannot enumerate all the champions who at this time came forward to defend the rights of the Holy See, the name of the Venetian, Piero del Monte, pupil of Guarino, and Bishop of Brescia from the year 1442, must not be passed over.† This remarkable man continued, in

* Wadding, Script. ord. Min. (Romæ, 1650), 196.

† See Fabricius-Mansi, v., 254, 255; Ruggerius, 111 *et seq.*; Chevalier, 1594; Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii., 2nd ed., 39, 340; and Schulte, 317-319. The last author is mistaken in calling him Bishop of Brixen. In *Cod. 224 of the Chapter Library of St. Martino at Lucca, at the conclusion of the treatise, attributed to Piero del Monte, "De summi pontificis et generalis concilii necnon de imp. M^tis origine et potestate," f. 305^b, are the following observations in a handwriting of the fifteenth century: "Dixit mihi Pauliane Tube celebratissimus representator frater Robertus, quod Petrus de Monte fuit auctor huius tractatus. Fuit vir doctus et reputatus in curia et episcopus Brixiensis, compilator famosi repertorii et approximante semel tempore quo papa Eugenius 4^us erat facturus promotionem cardinalium iste habuit firmissimas promissiones et a papa et a collegio cardinalium quod crearetur cardinalis, et tantorum virorum fide fretus gerebat se intrinsecus pro cardinali nec uspiam verebatur, imo paraverat in secreto omnia necessaria hiis qui promoventur. Sed quoniam in collegio cardinalium erat tunc D. Petrus Barbus Venetus [qui postea fuit Paulus 2^us P. P. (*marginal note*)], vir imbutus moribus curiæ et in agilibus sagacissimus, qui sub umbra Eugenii patrui sui in cardinalem promotus rivalem non patiebatur et præsertim istum Petrum compatriotam et qui ob eius scientiam facile honore præcessisset, unde verebatur quod ipso creato cardinali deficeret Petro favor Venetorum et faverent isti Petro idcirca disturbata pontificis et cardinalium voluntate adeo operatus est quod iste non obtinuit et facta promotione aliorum cardinalium remansit delusus quo factum fuit ut

the days of Nicholas V., to display the same zeal which had characterized him under that Pontiff's predecessor. The work which he dedicated to Nicholas V. is divided into three books;* it does not, as its title might seem to imply, attempt to meet all the errors then prevalent in regard to ecclesiastical matters, but only those which prevailed in certain countries under the semblance of measures of reform.† The fact that Piero del Monte is one of the few Humanists who took part in the contest between the adherents of the Council and the defenders of the Holy See, gives a special interest to his work, which, unfortunately, has never been printed.

The renewed vigour of the Papal power was manifested during this Pontificate by stringent measures for the eradication of heresy. Nicholas V. made special use of the Minorite friars in this matter, and his zealous care was extended to Bosnia and to Greece, in which countries respectively the Patarines and the Fraticelli were leading many astray.‡ His efforts to repress the latter sect in Italy

subito iste D. Petrus præ nimio dolore cordis incideret in passionem mortalem et delusionem tantam impatienti corde corrodens vixit quatriduo et dolore mortuus est. [Impossible, for, according to Gams, 780, Piero del Monte did not die till 1457.] In eius funere oravit frater Robertus."

* *Petrus de Monte episcopus Brixiensis contra impugnantes sedis apostolicæ auctoritatem ad Nicolaum papam V., Cod. lat. Vat., 2694, f. 297 *et seq.*, and Cod. Vat., 4145. Vatican Library.

† In his preface the author says: "*Non est autem nobis contra omnes errores qui hac nostra etate ab impugnantibus sedis apostolice dignitatem prodierunt hoc in libro disputandum. Majus enim volumen res illa exposceret: sed contra illos tantum qui cum umbram quandam ac speciem reformacionis præ se ferant in quibusdam regnis atque provinciis tanquam sacre leges recipiuntur, custodiuntur atque observantur. Adversus hos nobis est pugna." Cod. lat. Vatic., 2694, f. 299. Vatican Library.

‡ Georgius, 61, 62, 84, 91, 143. Klaic, 380.

were continued for most of his remaining life; but they were not crowned with complete success.*

The restoration of the Papal authority was materially promoted by Nicholas V.'s perfect freedom from nepotism, and by the care which he generally exercised in the creation of Cardinals; amongst other excellent appointments we may mention that of the gifted Nicholas of Cusa, who united moral worth with intellectual qualities of the highest order.†

From the middle of the fifteenth century the position of Papacy manifestly regained solid strength. The attempts of the Basle party to revive the disastrous schism had produced a reaction throughout the whole Church. Multitudes turned with horror from the anti-Papal theories, which had become predominant at Constance and Basle,

* See, as well as Wadding and Raynaldus, Bernino, iv., 161 *et seq.*; Niccola della Tuccia, 213; Graziani, 622, 624; St. Antoninus, Chronic, tit. xxii., c. xii., § 3; Acta Sanct. Octob., v., 324 *et seq.*; Baldassini, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154. An account of a heretic in Bologna is given in Annal. Bonon., 886 *et seq.*; Cronica di Bologna, 699; Echard, i., 815. Regarding French heretics see *ibid.*, i., 847, 848 (about 1450). Haupt, 43 *et seq.*, gives particulars of the spread of heresy in Germany. In Burgundy Nicholas V. had to deal with errors affecting indulgences and the confessional; see his ** Brief addressed to "Joh. Cabilonensi (Châlon-sur-Saône) et Antonio Sidonensi episcopis," dated Rome, 1448, June 1, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, Reg. 387, f. 73b.

† Höfler in Münch. Gel. Anz., 1848, p. 494. Regarding Cusa, see Janssen, 1, 3 *et seq.*, and *infra*, chapter iii.; different notices of him are mentioned in Chevalier, Rép., 1631 *et seq.* Vespasiano da Bisticci, Nicola V.,§ 23, speaks of the seven Cardinals created by this Pope (Antonio de la Cerda, A. Agnesi, Latino Orsini, Alain, Jean Rolin, Filippo Calandrini, and Cusa). See also Ciaconius, ii., 969 *et seq.*; Eggs, iii., iv., 139 *et seq.*; suppl., 193 *et seq.*; Georgius, 59 *et seq.*; Reumont, iii., 1, 256 *et seq.* Sforza, 228 *et seq.*, treats at length of the Pope's conduct towards his relations.

to the ancient doctrines regarding the monarchical constitution of the Church and the inalienable rights of the Holy See. Respect for the Papacy rose as the hopes founded on the action of Councils sank lower and lower, destroyed by the excesses of the Synod of Basle. The movement had begun in the time of Eugenius IV., and it continued under his successor, Nicholas V., who was able to do away with the remains of the schism, and the revolutionary tone, which had prevailed in the fourteenth and the early part of the fifteenth century, gave place, as time went on, to a very different feeling.

In Germany, however, we cannot say that reunion with the Holy See at once produced general contentment, or laid the agitation for reform to rest. The billows of a troubled sea are not so easily calmed, but the efforts for reform became less and less radical in their character, and the Holy See regained much of the influence which had been lost in the time of Eugenius IV.* It was well, too, for Germany that in the following years men filled with the Spirit of God arose in her midst, and sought to remove the many existing evils and to impart new life to ancient ecclesiastical institutions and individual souls, by the use of the means of grace and salvation which Christ has entrusted to His Church.† Passionate opponents of the Papacy have falsely represented the course of events as one of increasing alienation from the ancient Church, until the severance became complete ;‡ but the attentive observer cannot fail to discern the presence of the earnest and deeply religious feeling which finds expression in the well-known "Imitation of Christ." The immense impulse

* Chmel, Kirchliche Zustände, 21 *et seq.*, 24 *et seq.*, gives documentary evidence of this fact.

† Dittrich, 319-320.

‡ Wattenbach, Papstgeschichte, 282.

given to the life of the German people at this period made itself felt in the ecclesiastical sphere. Large and handsome churches were built, and adorned with loving care. The foundations for altars and masses were numerous, and, although a vast number of religious houses already existed, new ones arose. The richly ornamented prayer-books, the countless pictures and other works of art, and the woodcuts destined for the uneducated, all bear witness to the existence of the same pious spirit. The coarse satire of former days is hushed, or vents itself only on the mendicant friars and subordinate objects. "Our holy Father, the Pope," is everywhere spoken of with reverence, and is represented in all his glory in pictures.*

And yet the anti-Papal spirit in Germany was not thoroughly subdued; it appeared, indeed, less often at the surface, but its hidden influence was not the less real.† In a letter of the 25th November, 1448, Æneas Sylvius, with his keen insight into affairs, writes the following words to the Pope: "A time of peril is before us; storms are threatening on every side, and the skill of the mariners will be proved in the bad weather. The Basle waves are not yet calmed, the winds are still struggling beneath the waters and rushing through secret channels. That consummate actor, the devil, sometimes transforms himself into an angel of light. I know not what attempts will be

* I borrow this description from the work of Wattenbach (282-283) all the more willingly, inasmuch as he cannot be suspected of looking on anything connected with the Church in too favourable a light. See Mainzer "Katholik," 1877, ii., 506 *et seq.* For details, I may refer to the first volume of Janssen's "Gesch. des Deutschen Volkes" and the essay of P. A. Weiss: Vor der Reformation (Hist.-pol. Bl., lxxix.), to which I have often alluded. See also Maurenbrecher, Kath. Ref., i., 58 *et seq.*

† Ranke, Deutsche Geschichte, i. (2nd ed.), 49. See Düx, i., 397.

made in France, but the Council still has adherents. We have a truce, not a peace. 'We have yielded to force,' say our opponents, 'not to conviction; what we have once taken into our heads we still hold fast.' So we must look forward to another battlefield and a fresh struggle for the supremacy."*

The efforts made by Nicholas V. to restore and maintain peace in Rome and in the States of the Church were crowned with the same success which had attended his great measures of ecclesiastical policy. The revolutionary aspirations of the Romans were appeased by the concession of a privilege which secured to them the right of self-government. All magisterial and municipal appointments were given into the hands of four Roman citizens, together with the entire control of the taxes.† At the same time, the Pope endeavoured to guard against any possible revolt, as well as against attacks from without, by rebuilding the city walls and erecting fortifications. We shall speak of these works later on. He conciliated the Roman Barons, and restored Lorenzo Colonna, the Savelli, Orso Orsini, and the Count of Anguillara, to favour. Lorenzo and Stefanello Colonna received permission to rebuild Palestrina, which had been destroyed by Vitelleschi, on condition that the town should not again be fortified. This condition, suggested by the strategical importance of the position, was subsequently restricted to the castle (May 13, 1452), and by degrees the present town arose, where walls dating from the fifteenth century are still to be seen, and fortifications,

* This remarkable letter, the first part of which is given by Pray (iii., 70), is published in amended form by Voigt in the Archiv (xvi., 392-394).

† Theiner, Cod. dipl., iii., 367-368. *Cod. C., 7, 9, of the Angelica Library, Rome, gives a list, Officiales almæ urbis, A° 1447.

especially on the southern side, of all styles and periods, beginning with the ancient cyclopean polygon.*

Other feudatories of the Holy See were appointed to or confirmed in the vice-regencies of Urbino, Pesaro, Forli, Camerino, Spello, Rimini, and the territories belonging to them, and thus peace was restored, although, of course, the Papacy was not absolutely secured from possible hostility on their part. The ancient Constitutions of the March of Ancona, the City of Fermo, and other places, were confirmed, and new privileges granted.† The City of Jesi, the only one in the March of Ancona under the dominion of Francesca Sforza, was surrendered by him in consideration of the sum of 35,000 florins.‡ In July, 1447, Nicholas V. recovered the Castle of Spoleto, and three years later Bolsena.§ The frequent visits of the Pope to Umbria and the Marches contributed in no small degree to the maintenance of a good understanding with those provinces.

The bloodless restoration of peace and order to the States of the Church must ever be viewed as one of the chief glories of the Pontificate of Nicholas V. In order fully to appreciate his success, we must recall to mind the

* Papencordt, 482. L'Epinois, 425. Petrini, Mem. Prenest., 181, 183, 457-461.

† Reumont, iii., 1, 116-117. Details from the Regesta of the Secret Archives of the Vatican are given by Georgius, 38-39, 62. See also Ugolini, i., 356 *et seq.*; Tonini, 206, and L. Siena, Storia della città di Sinigaglia (*ibid.*, 1746), 135.

‡ Simonetta, 395. Baldassini, xc-xci. For an account of the negotiations regarding the restitution of Jesi, which Nicholas urgently claimed, see, besides those which Osio has published (111, 559 *et seq.*, 567, 569), a set of *Despatches and letters from Marcolino Barbavaria and Alessandro Sforza in April and May, 1447. Cod. 1584 of Fonds Ital. National Library, Paris.

§ Graziani, 593. Niccola della Tuccia, 215.

condition of the country at the time of his accession. After ten years of incessant warfare, it was almost completely in the power of wild, mercenary troops. Nicholas V., who was no mere pedant, happily accomplished the work of pacification, and completely healed the wounds inflicted on the States of the Church during the troubled reign of Eugenius IV. Against the leaders of revolt, as, for example, Ascanio Conti, he proceeded with severity, fearing that the turbulent Barons might again be roused by evil example.* In general it was his principle, where his spiritual authority proved insufficient, rather to repress the lust of conquest and plunder by the erection of fortresses, than by the introduction of undisciplined mercenary bands, and he left no means unemployed to obviate the recurrence of disturbances. His conciliatory disposition is strikingly displayed in his treatment of Stefano Porcaro, who had endeavoured, while the Conclave was sitting, to revolutionize Rome. Instead of inflicting condign punishment he sought to win him by promotion.†

The satisfactory condition of the Apostolic Treasury tended materially to promote respect for Nicholas V. He had always a certain number of troops in readiness, and they punctually received their pay, so that they had no need to depend on plunder and booty.‡ It must be regretted that the Pope's anxiety for the peace of his own dominions led him to pursue a policy towards his neighbours which cannot be justified. In order to divert all disturbances from the States of the Church, he, as we shall see, secretly favoured complications in the other Italian provinces. By such means alone was he successful in

* Niccola della Tuccia, 215, expressly says this.

† L. Bapt. Alberti in Muratori, Script. xxv., 309; further details *infra*, Chap. VI.

‡ Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 408.

maintaining that tranquillity at home, which was an indispensable preliminary to his grand efforts for the promotion of learning and art.

More than once, indeed, did a great conflict seem to be imminent, as, for instance, in the first year of his Pontificate, when King Alfonso, of Naples, made hostile advances against Tuscany,* and again in the August of 1447, when Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, died without legitimate male issue.† Besides the grasping Republic of Venice, four claimants to the Duchy of Milan came forward, viz., King Alfonso, who, in virtue of a very doubtful will, maintained that he had been constituted heir to Filippo Maria; the Duke of Savoy; the Duke of Orleans, who was the son of a Visconti; and, finally, Francesco Sforza, the husband of Bianca Maria, who, although illegitimate, was the last scion of the house of Visconti. The complication seemed to be of the most threatening character, and we

* The Abbot of San Galgano, writing from Rome to Siena on the 19th January, 1447 (see Appendix 23, Vol. i.), and on many subsequent occasions, mentions Alfonso's designs upon Tuscany. *Despatch d.d. ex urbe xxii. Martii, 1446 (st. fl.): "Di certo la M^ta Sua intende in questa primavera essare con buono esercito et grande nelle parti di Toscani." (Chigi Library, Rome, Cod. E., vi., 187, f. 160). Preparations were diligently carried on by the Neapolitan King during the whole of the summer. On the 5th August, 1447, Stefano Trenta wrote to the Ancients of Lucca that Alfonso had made ready a great many war machines. "Quo iturus, ignorantur, sed vulgo dicitur quod in Tusciam." See *Further despatches from Stefano Trenta to the same Ancients, d.d. Romæ, iii. Augusti, 1447: "Palam dicitur quod in Tusciam tendit." Lettere orig. No. 442 [1430-1447]. State Archives at Lucca.

† According to a *Despatch from Nic. Guarna to Fr. Sforza, dated Milan, 1447, Aug. 14, Filippo Maria died in the night between the 13th and 14th of August. Fonds Ital., 1584, f. 239 of the National Library at Paris.

cannot wonder at the extreme consternation of the Pope when, on the morning of the 20th of August, a letter from his friend and banker, Cosmo de' Medici, announced the death of the last of the Visconti,* for King Alfonso, who, according to the report of an ambassador,† had let his horse graze at the very gates of Rome, had even, since the conclusion of peace, been a cause of anxiety to the Pope. Untold dangers threatened the Papacy if the will of Filippo Maria should take effect, and the ambitious and war-like king should become ruler of the northern as well as of the southern portion of the Italian peninsula. Nicholas V. sought by every means in his power to counteract a combination which would have pressed him hard on both sides.

For a time no one of the four claimants was successful. The ancient republic of Milan was revived, but at the end of three years the Milanese found themselves compelled to yield to the successful general whom they had called to their aid.

Francesco Sforza, the son of a peasant of Cotognola,

* *Despatch from the Sienese ambassadors (the Abbot of San Galgano and Franciscus Patricius) to their native city, d.d. ex urbe xx. Augusti, 1447 (they had arrived in Rome on the 18th of August, and been admitted to an audience by the Pope on the 20th). "Principalmente gli piaque et laudo grandemente il proposito et dispositione de la S.V. del volere vicinare et conservare la pace et stare veramente di mezo." The Pope believed that Alfonso would go to Tuscany. "Questa mattina mentre ch' aspectavamo udientia vennero lettare da Cosmo de Medici a la S^ta^ di N. S^re^ continenti la morte dello Ill^mo^ principe duca di Milano, la quale novella per quanto potemo comprendare altero assai la S^ta^ del papa." Cod. E., vi., 187, f. 162-164. Chigi Library, Rome.

† Nicodemus de' Pontremoli in a despatch dated Florence, 1447, April 22, to be found in Osio, iii., 537.

made his solemn entry into the famine-pressed city as her Duke, on the 25th March, 1450.*

Milan had, however, no cause to complain, for the period of Francesco Sforza's rule was among the happiest in her history, and this martial duke restored peace to Italy which had been kept by his unwarlike predecessor for thirty years in a state of conflict.† The Pope, too, had reason to be satisfied, for the re-establishment of the Duchy of Milan restored the balance of power in Northern Italy, and formed a barrier against the rapacity of the Republic of Venice.‡

The submission of Bologna after its protracted resistance was a great triumph for Nicholas, who had a special affection for the city in which a great part of his life had been spent, and where he had found generous patrons in his time of need. He not only loved the Bolognese, but thoroughly understood their temper and circumstances, and was convinced that violent measures would be fruitless in overcoming their opposition to the Papacy. Accordingly, from the beginning of his reign, the city was treated with the utmost leniency and consideration, and, on the 23rd March, 1447, one of its citizens, the canonist, Giovanni di Battista del Poggio, was appointed bishop.§ This nomination was so acceptable that the Ancients ordered a general

* See Cipolla, 439, and Th. Sickel, Beitrage und Berichtigungen zur Geschichte der Eroberung Mailands durch Fr. Sforza, in the Archiv für Oesterreichische Geschichte, xiv., 189-258.

† This is the opinion of Reumont (iii., 1, 118). The tidings of the death of the last of the Visconti were received with great rejoicings in Brescia. People said: "Oramai Lombardia et etiam Italia sarà sanata; perche è morte quello che teneva tutto il mondo in guerra." Istorie Bresc., 483. See Cronica di Bologna, 684.

‡ Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 109.

§ Brief to the Chapter of Bologna, published in Sigonius, 510

holiday in token of rejoicing. All the church bells were rung and public processions celebrated the event.*

This was shortly followed, on the 11th April, by the despatch of an embassy to Rome to treat for a reconciliation with the Holy See. The Pope was, as Francesco Sforza's ambassadors declared,† much disposed for peace, but in consequence of the excessive demands of the Bolognese it was not finally concluded until the 24th August, 1447. The conditions were most favourable to the city, for Nicholas carried concession to its utmost possible limits. Bologna continued to be a Republic in reality, if not in name. The Papal Legate took part with the Municipal Council and the Magistrates in the Government. The city retained its right to elect the latter, the control of its militia and its revenues, while it was to be defended from foreign foes by the Papal troops. The Holy See only claimed the recognition of its suzerainty, the right of its Legate to a certain share in the patronage of public offices, and a tribute similar to that paid by the other Republics in the States of the Church and by the feudatories‡ of the Pope.

* Cronica di Bologna, 683. See Faleoni, 483.

† See Osio, iii., 560.

‡ Sugenheim, 332; Reumont, Lorenzo, ii., 2nd ed., 182, and C. Malagola, L'Archivio di Stato di Bologna, 40. *Codex B. 19, of the Vallicellana Library in Rome (Collectio literarum summorum pontificum, regum, principum et aliorum publicorum monumentorum historicorum et notabilium spectantium XV. Jesu Christi sæculum) has, f. 139 *et seq.*: "Capitula, postulationes et supplicationes ad sanctissim. in Christo patrem et dominum dominum Nicolaum divina favente clementia papam quintum pro parte dominorum oratorum Bononiensium nomine communitatis civitatis Bononiensis quibus quidem capitulis, postulationibus et supplicationibus prelibatis S. D. N. mandavit, voluit et decalravit infrascriptas responsiones et signaturas fieri in omnibus istis capitulis et

It cannot be denied that the relations now established between Bologna and the Church were such as might easily have given rise to complications. Thanks to Sante Bentivoglio, who was at the time all-powerful in Bologna, and, on the other hand, to the Pope, nothing of the kind occurred. Nicholas V. prudently continued to treat the Bolognese with great indulgence and to increase the obligations which already bound them to him by bestowing many fresh favours, more especially by the restitution of sundry castles and possessions which had formerly belonged to the city, but had, during the troubles of the preceding half-century, been annexed by Papal officials or others.* In the same year which witnessed the restoration of peace between Bologna and the Church, the Pope conferred a fresh token of favour on the city by elevating its bishop to the dignity of Governor of Rome,† and appointing his own half-brother, Filippo Calandrini bishop in his stead. In the following year both the bishop and Astorgio Agnesi, the Governor of Bologna, were promoted to the Sacred College. The historian of the city, Ghirardacci, gives a full account

quolibet eorum prout in fine infrascriptorum capitulorum et cuiuslibet eorum continetur" (see Cronica di Bologna, 685 *et seq.*). At the conclusion, f. 142^{b}, "Acta fuerunt hec Rome apud S. Petrum in palatio apostolico die xxiv. Augusti, 1447 anno primo." The ambassadors charged with the conclusion of the peace left Bologna on the 3rd of August, see Cronica di Bologna, 684. On the 5th August they were hourly expected in Rome. Despatch of Stephanus Trenta to Lucca, dated Rome, 1447, August 5, Lett. orig., No. 442. State Archives at Lucca.

* Fantuzzi, Scritt. Bolog., iv., 76. Sugenheim, 332, 333. Other Papal favours are mentioned by Georgius, 40, 41, 55, on the authority of the Papal Regesta.

† Giovanni Poggio died in Rome on the 13th December, 1447, report said, by the hand of an assassin. See Fantuzzi, vii., 64; Falconi, 487; Sigonius, 510, 511; and Schulte, 311, 312.

of the splendid feast which took place on the 6th January, 1449, when Agnesi received the hat* sent by Nicholas V. Nevertheless, in that very year threatenings of disturbances amongst its excitable population induced the Pope to appoint Cardinal Bessarion Legate for Bologna, Romagna, and the March of Ancona (1450, February 26). In his Brief, addressed to the Bolognese, the Pope says that he sends this distinguished man to them as an angel of peace, and confidently hopes that he will succeed in governing Bologna well and happily.† The great Humanist did not disappoint these expectations, the troubled city was calmed, and in a short time he had won the affections of its people.

On the 16th March, 1450, Bessarion entered Bologna,

* *Ch. Ghirardacci, Storia di Bologna, vol. iii., lib. 30. Cod. 768 of the University Library at Bologna. The brief nominating Calandrini bishop is given in the Cronica di Bologna (688, 689). Regarding the Cardinal's creation, see Ciaconius, ii., 970 *et seq.*

† *"Nicolaus papa quintus dilectis filiis Antianis et sedecim reformatoribus status civitatis nostre Bononie: Dilecti filii etc. Mittentes istuc Bononiam venerabilem fratrem nostrum Bissarionem episcopum Tusculanum sancte Romane ecclesie cardinalem nostrum et apostolice sedis legatum tanquam angelum pacis cuius experientia comprobata virtutibus atque prudentia civitatem illam bene et feliciter gubernari confidimus. Fraternitati sue nonnulla commisimus devotionibus vestris nostri parte referenda cui velitis tanquam persone nostre plene credere. Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum sub anulo piscatoris die iii. Martii, 1450. Pont. nostri anno tertio.—Pe. de Noxeto." Original in the State Archives at Bologna, Arm. 2, lib. 3, f. 8. Hence the often-repeated statement (Hase, in Ersch-Gruber, ix., 298, and in the second edition of the Freiburg-Kirchenlexikon, ii., 531) that Bessarion entered on his Legation in 1451 is evidently mistaken. His appointment as Legate for Bologna took place on the 27th February, 1450. See in Appendix, N. i., the *Brief from the Regesta in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

where he was received with the greatest honour,* and continued to govern it for the remainder of this pontificate. During the five years of his rule the Greek Cardinal managed, by his prudence and moderation, to avoid conflicts and greatly to improve the general condition of the city. As a Humanist, he naturally devoted special attention to the once-famous university, which had fallen into decay during the troubles of the first half of the fifteenth century. He provided for the restoration of its buildings and for the appointment and fitting remuneration of excellent professors. A little intellectual court gradually gathered around the learned Cardinal, who had now become the hope† of the Humanists.

Bessarion's impartiality was in great measure the cause of his success at Bologna. A Greek by nationality, he kept aloof from Italian complications, and could be perfectly just towards all. The authority of law and equity was reasserted. He did everything in his power to calm popular passions, and to repress the occasional attempts to shake off the Papal rule.‡ He punished the originators of revolt, and prosecuted the malefactors who had long been masters of the unhappy city. His diligence, his fidelity to duty, and

* Cronica di Bologna, 695, and *Ghirardacci, *loc cit.*

† Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii., 2nd ed., 129. Heeren, ii., 101. See Georgius, 55, and Malagola, Archivio, 56. The famous canonist, Andrea de Barbatia, dedicated his work, De præstantia Cardinalium (Bologna, 1457), to Bessarion, see Hain, N. 2428; it is probable, indeed, that it was written on purpose to welcome him. Schulte, 310.

‡ In a *Brief of Nicholas V. to the Bolognese, d.d. Romæ, 1451, Octob. 16, the Pope exhorts them to enter into no alliance with any other power. The city, he says, must remain neutral like its lord, the Pope. Original in Arm. 2, lib. 3, f. 15b, of the State Archives at Bologna.

his moral purity were most exemplary.* His singular prudence enabled him always to preserve the most amicable relations with Sante Bentivoglio, who was, however, the chief power in Bologna, and whose position there may be estimated by the regal splendour with which his marriage to Alessandro Sforza's daughter was celebrated in May, 1454.†

The results of Bessarion's labours were very soon visible, for tranquillity and order were restored to the city, and its inhabitants again turned their attention to the arts of peace. Their confidence in him was such that he was often chosen as umpire in their disputes. From the very first he made it his aim by all possible means to re-establish law and justice, and at any personal sacrifice to defend the cause of the oppressed. Even stern critics, like Hieronymus de Bursellis, extol his remarkable love of justice,‡ which was combined with extreme affability; his door was ever open to the poorest people.§ He issued a severe edict against the luxury which had at that period assumed terrible proportions in Bologna, as well as throughout Italy, and he also reformed the statutes of the city.‖ The celebrated pilgrim-

* Vast, 180-181.

† See Cronica di Bologna, 706 *et seq.* *Ghirardacci (MS. in the University Library at Bologna; see *supra*, p. 69, note *), ad an. 1454.

‡ Annal. Bonon., 887, 888.

§ Vast, 181.

‖ Malagola, L'Archivio di Bologna, gives, p. 43, a list of statutes preserved in the Bolognese State Archives, amongst which are those of the years 1453 and 1454. The edict of 1451 against luxury is published in the Miscellanea di varie operette, viii., (Venezia, 1744), which also contains a number of edicts of Bessarion, belonging to the time of his mission at Bologna, taken from a MS. of the Theatines in Ferrara (probably the Codex marked No. 14, NA. 1, now preserved in the Biblioteca Communale at Ferrara).

age church of the Madonna di San Luca was restored by him, and he caused other churches, as, for example, that of the Madonna della Mezzarata, to be adorned with beautiful frescoes. The Bolognese honoured Bessarion's memory by an inscription in which he is praised as the benefactor of their city. This grateful affection is the best proof of the wisdom displayed by Nicholas V. in entrusting to him the government of the city.*

In looking back upon the earlier years of Nicholas V.'s Pontificate we cannot fail to be struck by his great zeal in the cause of political and ecclesiastical order. In Germany, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, Bosnia, Croatia, and even in Cyprus, he endeavoured to promote the peace of

Evidently, however, these constitute but a small portion of the decrees which he must have issued, and which are to be found in their completeness in the State Archives at Bologna. See Malagola, L'Archivio di Bologna, etc., and Antonio Urceo, 36 *et seq.* Unfortunately, when I visited Bologna in the autumn of 1883, the Director of the Archives and the learned Signor Malagola were absent, and accordingly the documents in question were not to be found. According to "Bart. Podestà, I primi oriuoli publ. in Bologna" (Atti e mem. di storia della Romagna, viii., 154, N. 1), the Registers of the time of Bessarion's Legation are preserved in the State Archives at Bologna. Some extracts from them are given (163 *et seq.*) in that work. In Rome I have vainly searched for original records of Bessarion's Mission in Bologna. The MSS. which, according to the catalogues, ought to have contained them, completely disappointed me. In Cod. iv., 195, in the Borghese Library there are, indeed, documents regarding Bessarion's time at Bologna, but they are mere copies of the collection published at Venice in 1744. Cod. G. 63, N. 9, of the Vallicella Library (De Legatione Bononiensi) refers to the sixteenth century. H. Vast (184), the latest biographer of Bessarion, is only acquainted with Migne's reprint of the above-named Venetian collections (Patr. Gr. clxi., pag. cxvii. *et seq.*).

* Vast, 185-188.

the Church.* In Bohemia, indeed, he was completely unsuccessful, although the indefatigable Carvajal spared no effort to bring affairs to a happy conclusion. But Nicholas V. had the consolation of seeing great results soon follow from his policy of peace. The pacification of the States of the Church, the recovery of the City of Bologna, which had for centuries been deemed, after Rome, the brightest jewel in the temporal crown of the Popes, and, above all, the termination of the disastrous schism, were successes which won the just admiration of his contemporaries.†

* Reumont, iii., 1, 119. Concerning the feverish activity of the Pope, Poggio writes on the 6th May, 1447: "Distrahitur tanto rerum turbine ac varietate ut neque sibi neque amicis vacare queat." Ep. ix., 17 (Tonelli, ii., 340).

† * "Bononiensis enim civitas magna atque magnifica, rerum omnium opulentissima, que longa temporum intervalla ecclesiæ infida extitit et adversa, per te unum nobis restituta est. Bella illa ac seditiones multiplices quibus iam in dies magis oppressa videbatur ecclesia solus ullo absque certamine effugasti. Postremo, beatissime pater, quod sine eximia animi laetitia nequeo effari, quis illud nefarium atque ominiosum *(sic)* in ecclesia sancta Dei heresis dedecus, quis illud tantorum summum perditionis discrimen, quis illud nutantium ex utraque religionis ac fidei parte hominum patentissimum in geennam iter nisi tu unus praeclusit? Unam omnes fidem, unum per te pontificem maximum, unum veri Dei vicarium et indubitandum in terris servamus colimusque. Regnat elucidissima sponsa Christi ecclesia, nullam vim, nullum inter carissimos eius filios divortium per te unum nuperrime conspicit." Michael Canensis de Viterbio ad beat. D. N. Nicolaum V. Pont. Max. Cod. lat. Vatic., 3697, f. 7^{b}-8. Vatican Library. This Codex, which is beautifully written, and ornamented with initial letters and with the arms of Nicholas V., is evidently the copy presented to the Pope. For some account of its author see Fabricius, v., 72. A transcript is preserved in the British Museum, see *supra*, p. 17, note †.

CHAPTER III.

THE JUBILEE OF 1450 AND THE LABOURS OF CARDINAL NICHOLAS OF CUSA IN THE CAUSE OF REFORM IN GERMANY AND THE NETHERLANDS, 1451-1452.

THE restoration of peace to the Church, after so protracted a period of conflict and confusion, was deemed by Nicholas V. a fitting occasion for the proclamation of a Universal Jubilee. A pilgrimage of the faithful of every country to the centre of ecclesiastical unity seemed to be the most splendid and appropriate celebration of the termination of the Schism and of the victory gained over the party of the Council, while it was also well calculated to give fresh vigour to the conservative element throughout Christendom.

The obstacles presented by the war in Italy and the pestilence which followed,* were not sufficient to deter the Pope from his project, and, on the 19th January, 1449, in

* As early as the summer of 1447 the plague had broken out in Venice (Sanudo, 1125; Cronica di Bologna, 684), and before long it had spread over a great part of Italy. In October it reached Perugia, where it raged for several years (see Graziani, 594, 600 *et seq.*, 604, 606-607, 611, 614, 618, and Massari, 41 *et seq.*, 179-180). During the hot season of 1448 the ravages of the malady (called Beulenpest (Plague-sore) by Hirsch, Handbuch der histor-geogr. Pathologie, 2nd ed. [Stuttgart, 1881], i., 352), in Forli (Annal. Forl., 223), in Florence and Bologna (St. Antoninus, Chron. xxii., c. xii., §3, and *Ghirardacci [MS. in the University Library at Bologna, see *supra*, p. 69, note *]), were terrible, and before the end of the year, it had visited Rome. In 1449, the cry of "the plague!" (il morbo) again arose from city after city. France and Germany also suffered severely (see Palmerius, 239; Cristofani, 306; and

presence of the assembled Cardinals, he solemnly imparted his benediction, after which a French Archbishop read aloud the list of all the Jubilees ever celebrated in the Church, and then proclaimed the new one.* All who, during a given time, should daily visit the four principal churches of Rome—St. Peter's, St. Paul's, the Lateran Basilica, and Sta. Maria Maggiore—and confess their sins with contrition, were to gain a plenary indulgence, that is to say, remission of the temporal punishments due for those sins from whose guilt and eternal punishment they had been absolved.†

Haeser, iii., 185). But throughout the whole of the fifteenth century the destroying angel nowhere found a richer harvest than on the blood-stained soil of Italy. For an account of the great epidemics in Italy during the Renaissance age, see Haeser, *loc. cit.*, and E. v. Hörschelmann's article in the Allgem. Zeitg., 1884, Supplement, N. 177 *et seq.*

* Graziani, 613-614, and *Despatch of Nellius civis Senensis to his native city, dated Rome, 1449, January 19: "Questi di XVIIII del presente la Sua S^ta^ cantata la messa dello spirito sancto nella chiesa di San Pietro, publico per bolla dal principio di San Pietro et di tucti y sommi pontefici che furno principi delle indulgentie del giubileo sequendo di uno in uno; la dicta indulgentia pronuntio e ordino doverse principiare nello proximo advenir 1450, incomiciando a nativitate domini nostri Jesu Christi." Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives at Siena.

† The Jubilee Bull is published in part by Raynaldus, ad an 1449, N. 15. It is also frequently to be met with among the MSS. in German libraries—see Cod. 278 of the City Library at Mayence, Cod. 296 (monasterii S. Mathie ap. sanctique Eucharii) of the City Library at Trèves. For a notice of Jubilee indulgences in general, see Maurel, Die Ablässe (Paderborn, 1860), and J. Fessler, Vermischte Schriften (Freiburg, 1869), 3 *et seq.* Special faculties were granted to Confessors during Jubilee years, and the Grand Penitentiary was constantly occupied on these occasions; Capranica filled the office in 1450. See Mai, Spicil., i., 186.

Throughout the whole of Christendom the Pope's proclamation was received with rejoicing, and the joy was intensified by the fact that the discord which had for so long weighed heavily on the hearts of all who loved the Church was at an end, and that Nicholas V. was universally acknowledged as the true Vicar of Christ. The feelings of the faithful were eloquently expressed by Dr. Felix Hemmerlin, Provost of the Ursus Monastery at Soleure, who, at the conclusion of his work on the approaching holy year, adopts the words of Simeon, and says: "Now dost Thou dismiss Thy servant, O Lord, according to Thy word, in peace, because my eyes have seen the glorious advent of salvation. Now I know in truth that this is the desired time, this is the day of salvation: for the glorious days of Thy Jubilee surpass all earthly beauty and salvation. O, the depth of the riches, of the wisdom, and of the knowledge of God! How incomprehensible are His judgments, and how unsearchable His ways! O Lord, whose mercy is unbounded, perfect Thy grace in us that, as Thou didst fulfil the expectation of Simeon, and he did not see death until it had been granted to him to see Christ the Lord, so we may not taste death until we have enjoyed the benefits of Thy salutary and most happy year of Jubilee!"*

The "golden year" opened on the Christmas Day of 1449. The concourse was immense. Then began a pilgrimage of the nations to the Eternal City, like that which had taken place a century before. All the miseries of recent years, the bereavements which war and plague had wrought, the manifest tokens of Divine wrath, were a call to serious reflection and self-examination. Some deemed a pilgrimage to be the best means of averting further chastisements and obtaining future benefits. Others undertook it in order to shew forth their gratitude for preservation from dangers,

* Hemmerlin, Opuscul., f. 90; Fiala, 495-496.

and to implore a continuance of the favours they had enjoyed. All hailed it as an opportunity of becoming partakers of the rich spiritual treasures opened by the Church to those who should visit the tombs of the Apostles.*

The pilgrims flocked from every country in Europe; there were Italians and "Ultramontanes," men and women, rich and poor, young and old, healthy and sick. As Augustinus Dathus says in his history of Siena, "Countless multitudes of Frenchmen, Germans, Spaniards, Portuguese, Greeks, Armenians, Dalmatians, and Italians were to be seen hastening to Rome as to the refuge of all the nations of the earth, full of devotion, and chanting hymns in their different languages."† The terrible calamities through which they had just passed had touched the hearts of many, and turned them from earthly to heavenly things, and awakened a spirit of devotion. Moreover, the personal affability of the Pope may have induced many to undertake the long and difficult journey.‡

An eye-witness§ likens the thronging multitudes of pilgrims to a flight of starlings or a swarm of ants. The Pope did everything in his power to render their passage through Italy easy and safe; in Rome itself he made the most extensive preparations, and especially sought to

* Reumont, ii., 882-883. See *the Letter of the Cardinal Archbishop of Benevento, Astorgio Agnesi, to Lodovico de Gonzaga, "Mantue Marchioni," d.d. Romæ, xviii. Maii, 1450, raptim: "Addimus quod in hoc anno sancto qui supervivunt plures gratias agere deo debent." Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

† Dathi, Opp., f. clxxxvi. The German pilgrims were extremely numerous. From Dantzig alone about two thousand went to Rome in 1450. See J. Voigt, Gesch. Preussens (Königsberg, 1838), viii., 230.

‡ Manetti, 924.

§ Manetti, *loc. cit* Vespasiano da Bisticci in Mai, i., 47.

secure an adequate supply of provisions.* But the pilgrims arrived in such overwhelming masses that all his efforts proved insufficient. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini† estimates at forty thousand the number of strangers who daily arrived in the city. Even allowing for considerable exaggeration in this estimate, there can be no doubt that the crowds were enormous. The chroniclers and historians of the period seem to be at a loss for words to describe the concourse. Cristoforo a Soldo, chronicler of the city of Brescia, says, "A greater crowd of Christians was never known to hasten to any Jubilee; kings, dukes, marquesses, counts, and knights, in short, people of all ranks in Christendom, daily arrived in such multitudes in Rome that there were millions in the city. And this continued for the whole year, excepting in the summer, on account of the plague, which carried off innumerable victims. But almost as soon as it abated at the beginning of the cold season the influx again commenced."‡

* Platina, 714, and Tuccia, 56, note. In many places in the States of the Church, as for example in Perugia, officials were appointed for the purpose of shewing pilgrims the way. Graziani, 624, N. 1.

† Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Frid., iii., 172.

‡ Ist. Bresc., 867. Cristoforo a Soldo here also mentions the presence of the Emperor; the Diario Ferrarese (196) likewise says that Frederick III. came with the King of Hungary to Rome for the Jubilee, and that they were not recognized. A substitution of the year 1452 for 1450 is the foundation of both accounts. Regarding the immense concourse of pilgrims for the Jubilee, see Cronica di Bologna, 696; Annal. Bonincontrii, 155; Sanudo 1137; Palmerius, 239; Blondus, Ital. Ill., 320; A. Dathus, *loc. cit.*; Jac. Phil. Bergomas, 298^{b}; Manetti, 924; St. Antoninus, tit. xxii., c. xii., § 3; Sabellicus, Opp., 944; Platina, 713; Chronic. Elwacense in the Mon. Germ., x., 47, and Catalanus, 91. This list of published accounts might easily be prolonged; for an unpublished testimony let me refer to the above-mentioned *Letter

One of the special attractions of this Jubilee was the Canonization of St. Bernardine of Siena, the most popular saint who had for centuries appeared in the Italian Peninsula, and the founder of a religious order which had increased so rapidly that it sent more than three thousand delegates to the General Chapter held at this time in the convent of Araceli.*

The process for his canonization had been introduced in the time of Eugenius IV., at the instance of the Sienese, of the inhabitants of Aquila, amongst whom St. Bernardine had found his last resting-place, and of King Alfonso of Naples. St. John Capistran, who afterwards became so celebrated as a preacher, laboured most energetically in the matter, and the Pope entrusted the examination into the life, death, and miracles of the holy man to Cardinals Niccolò Acciapacci, Guillaume d'Estouteville, Alberto de Albertis, and on his death to Pietro Barbo.† These cardinals in their turn employed two bishops, who, having made careful inquiries, presented a detailed report, which was con-

from the Cardinal of Benevento to the Marquess Lodovico Gonzaga of Mantua, dated Rome, 1450, May 18, in which he says, "Multi mortales concurrunt Romam, id quod accidit illis ad salutem animæ eorum." Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

* Rio, ii., 38; see Vittorelli, 292, and Chroniche de' frati minori del s.p. S. Francesco (Venezia, 1597), p. iii., 106 *et seq.*

† Acta Sanct. Maii, iv., 719, 745, 774. In the State Archives at Siena (Concistoro, Lettere ad an.), I found a *Letter from Cardinal Niccolò Acciapacci (Card. Capuanus) to the Sienese, dated Rome, 1445, February 15, in which he promises that he will continue his efforts in the matter of the canonization of Bernardine and will do everything in his power to justify the confidence they have reposed in him. In the same Archives there is a *Letter from Cardinal Tagliacozzo (Johannes episcopus Prænestinus, Card. Tarentinus) to Siena, dated Rome, 1446, September 25, also promising his aid in regard to the canonization.

sidered in Consistory; but the illness and death of the Pope, at this point, brought the proceedings to a standstill.* The delay, however, was not of long duration, for immediately after his accession Nicholas V. took the matter in hand. On the 17th June he charged Cardinals Tagliacozzo, Guillaume d' Estouteville, and Pietro Barbo to examine St. Bernardine's miracles. The bishops, to whom they delegated the task, found more miracles than had been mentioned in the first Process. On the death of the Cardinal Tagliacozzo, Bessarion was nominated in his stead, and Angelo Capranica, Bishop of Rieti, was sent to Aquila, Siena, and many cities in which St. Bernardine had laboured.† The slow and cautious procedure of Rome was little to the taste of the cities which cherished the great preacher's memory and eagerly longed for his canonization. Notwithstanding supplications and importunities from various quarters, Rome refused to be unduly hurried,‡ and it was not till the 26th February, 1450, that sufficient progress had been made to enable the Pope to promise the

* See the *Letters from the Abbot of San Galgano (Chigi and State Archives at Siena) of the 19th and 23rd January, 1447, in Appendix, N. 23 and 24, Vol. I. In another letter in the same Archives, bearing date Rome, 1447, March 14th, the Abbot informs the Sienese that he has most urgently recommended the matter of St. Bernardine's canonization to the new Pope.

† Acta Sanct., *loc. cit.* 719, 720. See Wadding, ad an. 1447, N. 7, and Georgius, 61.

‡ See the letter from the city of Lucca of 15th October, 1448, to the Pope, now published from the draft in the State Archives at Lucca, by Sforza, 331, 332. Siena was the most urgent, and a special mission went from this city to inquire into the miracles at St. Bernardine's grave at Aquila; see Acta Sanct., *loc. cit.* 734. I found in the State Archives at Siena (Concistoro, lettere ad an.) several *Letters from the Sienese ambassador, Petrus de Michaelibus, of October, 1447, exclusively regarding the promotion of the canonization.

Sienese ambassadors that the canonization should take place at Whitsuntide.* A substitute for Cardinal Bessarion, who was about to proceed to Bologna, had been appointed in the person of the Vice-Chancellor.† There was, therefore, nothing further to delay the ceremony, and the Pope, whose family subsequently entertained a special devotion to St. Bernardine,‡ had preparations made on a magnificent scale.

St. Peter's was beautifully decorated on Whit-Sunday, the 24th of May; a lofty throne was erected in the middle of the church for the Pope, who was surrounded by all the cardinals then in Rome, as well as by many bishops and archbishops. Every detail of the rite of canonization was carried out with the greatest exactness, solemnity, and splendour, the Pope himself pronouncing the panegyric. Two hundred wax-lights burned in the church; the cost of the vestments worn by the Pope and the cardinals, and of other things used on this occasion, was estimated at seven thousand ducats, and was borne by the inhabitants of Siena and Aquila.§

* *Despatch from Petrus de Beriguciis to Siena, dated Rome, 1449 (st. fl.), February 26th, on which day he had had an audience of the Pope, and had spoken with him of the canonization: "Ali fatti del beato Bernardino mi disse essere disposto canonizarlo in questa pentecosta futura a piu sua gloria perche facendosi qui el capitolo generale di quello ordine ricorriane de frati 3000 o piu." State Archives at Siena, Concistoro, lettere ad an.

† *Despatch of Petrus de Beriguciis of 22nd March, 1450. State Archives at Siena, *loc. cit.*

‡ De Rossi, Vita di Niccolo V., 94. Sforza, 331. See Wadding, 1449, N. 9.

§ Niccola della Tuccia, 214; Dathus, Opp., *loc. cit.*, and Georgius, 205 (according to *Cod. Vatic., 470, Lib. cærem. S. Rom. eccles.). According to the Cronica di Bologna (696), there were present at the function fourteen cardinals, twenty-four bishops, "et piu di 2000 frati dell' ordine dell' osservanza i quali stettero

During these days of festal solemnity crowds of pilgrims went up to the Convent of Araceli, now transformed into a hospital, where eight hundred monks devoted themselves to the service of the sick of their own and other lands. The sight was one well calculated to awaken in the dullest soul some zeal for self-sacrifice and prayer. The Spaniard, Didacus, who was afterwards canonized, here distinguished himself by his heroic charity in tending the sick.*

Throughout all Italy an outburst of joy and of devotion was elicited by the canonization of St. Bernardine; churches sprang up under his invocation, preachers everywhere praised his holy life; solemn functions in his honour took place even in the smallest towns; those which took place in Perugia, Bologna, Ferrara, Aquila, and Siena were particularly magnificent, and in the last-named city his canonization was represented in a series of pictures.†

While the Pope remained in Rome he frequently took part in the solemnities of the Jubilee, and was seen to walk

alle spese del papa." The Bull concerning St. Bernardine's canonization was, we are informed by St. John Capistran, drawn up by Nicholas V. himself. It is in the Bullar, v., 101-105, and in Wadding, xii., 51-55.

* Rio., ii., 38. Manni, 66.

† See Acta Sanct., *loc. cit.* 734; Graziani, 626; Annal. Bononien, 885; Diario Ferrar, 196; Chronicon Estense, in Muratori, xv., 540; Allegretti, 767; and Dathus, *loc. cit.* A church was built in Aquila, see Acta Sanct., *loc. cit.*, 734, 778 *et seq.* In 1451 St. John Capistran exposed a biretta of St. Bernardine at Brescia (Ist. Bresc., 865 *et seq.*). On the 12th June, 1450, Nicholas V. gave the Sienese permission to erect a chapel dedicated to St. Bernardine in their cathedral, and at the same time an indulgence was granted for it. *Original Bull of this date in the State Archives at Siena, Cassa Leone, N. 158.

barefoot to visit the stations.* The Roman chronicler Paolo di Benedetto di Cola dello Mastro has left us a description of the Jubilee, written with little literary skill, but full of life and fidelity. "I recollect,"† he says, "that even in the beginning of the Christmas month a great many people came to Rome for the Jubilee. The pilgrims had to visit the four principal churches, the Romans for a whole month, the Italians for fourteen days, and the 'Ultramontanes' for eight. Such a crowd of pilgrims came all at once to Rome that the mills and bakeries were quite insufficient to provide bread for them. And the number of pilgrims daily increased, wherefore the Pope ordered the handkerchief of St. Veronica to be exposed every Sunday, and the heads of the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul every Saturday; the other relics in all the Roman churches were always exposed. The Pope solemnly gave his benediction at St. Peter's every Sunday. As the unceasing influx of the faithful made the want of the most necessary

* Vittorelli, 300; Manni, 01; and *Despatch of Petrus de Beriguciis, d.d. ex urbe, viiii. Marcii, 1449 (st. fl.): "Nostro Signore va quasi el piu de di ali stazioni et e tauto male agevole ad essere colla Sua S^ta^ che e uno grande fatto, perche quello poco del tempo che gli avanza e cardenali el vogliono loro." State Archives at Siena, Concistoro, Lett. ad an. A *Letter from Cardinal Scarampo to Onorato Gaetani, dated Rome, 1450, March 10, also refers to the Pope's visit to the stations. Original in the Gaetani Archives, Rome.

† Cronache Romane, 16-20. See Venuti, 12-15, and Manni, 63-66. The celebrated Roberto di Lecce, who, during the plague of 1448, had, by his powerful preaching, brought about many reconciliations in Rome, was appointed by Nicholas to preach the Lent; see Infessura, 1132. Casimiro, 419 *et seq.* Arch. Napol., vii., 141 *et seq.* The Pope also named Lenten preachers, chiefly of the Order of Minorites, for the other cities of Italy; see Wadding, 1450, N. 8.

means of subsistence to be more and more pressing, the Pope granted a plenary indulgence to each pilgrim on condition of contrite confession and of visits to the churches on three days. This great concourse of pilgrims continued from Christmas through the whole month of January, and then diminished so considerably that the innkeepers were discontented, and everyone thought it was at an end, when, in the middle of Lent, such a great multitude of pilgrims again appeared, that in the fine weather all the vineyards were filled with them, and they could not find sleeping-place elsewhere. In Holy Week the throngs coming from St. Peter's, or going there, were so enormous that they were crossing the bridge over the Tiber until the second and third hour of the night. The crowd was here so great that the soldiers of St. Angelo, together with other young men—I was often there myself,—had often to hasten to the spot and separate the masses with sticks in order to prevent serious accidents. At night many of the poor pilgrims were to be seen sleeping beneath the porticos, while others wandered about in search of missing fathers, sons, or companions; it was pitiful to see them. And this went on until the Feast of the Ascension, when the multitude of pilgrims again diminished because the plague came to Rome. Many people then died, especially many of these pilgrims; all the hospitals and churches were full of the sick and dying, and they were to be seen in the infected streets falling down like dogs. Of those who with great difficulty, scorched with heat and covered with dust, departed from Rome, a countless number fell a sacrifice to the terrible pestilence, and graves were to be seen all along the roads even in Tuscany and Lombardy."*

* So says also Niccola della Tuccia, 214. See Blondi Opp., 320, Schivenoglia, 124, and a passage from a letter of Alessandro Strozzi, in Reumont, Kl. Schriften, 70, Vittorelli, 294. Those who

The chronicler, as he pursues his narration, vainly endeavours to find language sufficiently forcible to depict the horrors of the plague and the terror which had seized upon him and all who were in Rome. The general panic surpassed any which had been experienced on previous occasions.* "The Court of Rome," writes the envoy of the

fell sick in the streets were conveyed to the hospital of Sta Maria Nuova in Florence, and taken excellent care of; see Manni, 74. About sixty thousand died in Milan in 1450; see Jac. Phil. Bergomas, 299[b]. The plague visited a great part of Europe this year, even reaching Sweden. Geiger, Geschichte Schwedens, i., 217. J. A. F. Ozanam, Histoire des maladies épid. (Paris, 1823), v.,10.

* In 1447 Rome seems to have been free from the plague, at least I find no record of its existence in that year. In 1448 it appeared in the city, at first in a mild form (see a **letter of much literary interest from Galeazzo Cattaneo to the Marchioness Barbara of Mantua; Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and afterwards more severely. In the middle of November, according to the *report of Galeazzo Cattaneo to the Marchioness (d.d. ex Roma, 1448, Novemb. xiv., Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), two or three persons were dying every day. See Infessura, 1132. In this year Joh. Golderer, of Nuremberg, the German Confessor at St. Peter's, formed his fellow-countrymen into a Confraternity, under the patronage of our Lady of Dolours, and thus restored the celebrated old Schola Francorum in a form suited to the needs of the age (see *Historia Campi Santi, MSS. in the Archives of the Confraternity). The Pope at that time permitted the said Joh. Golderer daily to preach penance "in campo sancto" (see the *Brief of Paul II., in the Archives of the Campo Santo al Vaticano, cited Vol. i., p. 333, note †). Regarding the plague of 1449, see *supra*, p. 84. The numerous deaths recorded in the Liber benef. Animæ (229 *et seq.*) are connected with this visitation. The epidemic of 1450, which raged throughout Italy, sparing only Venice, is mentioned in many chronicles, *e.g.*, Annal. Forl., 223; Annal Bononien, 885; Sanudo, 1138. An anonymous *chronicle (Cod. Vatic., 9453) has the following entry for the year 1450: "Pestis ingens in Tuscia et fere per totam Italiam in qua multa milia hominum periere." Vatican Library. See also Cod. epist., 81, 312, 313.

Teutonic Order, "is sadly scattered and put to flight; in fact, there is no Court left. One man embarks for Catalonia, another for Spain, everyone is looking for a place where he may take refuge. Cardinals, bishops, abbots, monks, and all sorts of people, without exception, flee from Rome as the apostles fled from our Lord on Good Friday. Our Holy Father also left Rome on the 15th July, retreating from the pestilence, which, alas!—God have mercy!—is so great and terrible that no one knows where to dwell and preserve himself. His Holiness goes from one castle to another, with a little court and very few attendants, trying if he can find a healthy place anywhere. He has now moved to a castle called Fabriano, in which he spent some time last year, and has, it is said, forbidden, under pain of excommunication, loss of preferment and of Papal favour, that anyone who has been in Rome, whatever his rank, should come within seven miles of him,* save only the cardinals, a few of whom, with four servants, have gone to the said castle and are living there."†

Even in the previous year the Pope had, on the outbreak of the plague, fled from Rome with some few members of the Court and gone first to the neighbourhood of Rieti, and then to the castle of Spoleto, whence he was driven by the

* Not under pain of death, as stated by Voigt, Stimmen, 70; see *ibid.*, 160. In the previous year Nicholas V. had on a similar occasion proposed the same penalty. See *Letter of "Nicholas Nannis, legum doctor" to Siena, d.d. Spoleti, 1449, Juni, iv., Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives at Siena.

† Voigt, Stimmen, 70, 71; see 159-161. The lengthened sojourn of the Pope in Fabriano promoted the erection of buildings in the quiet little town. See Reumont, Kl. Schriften, 70. For the movements of the Pope in the year 1450 see the Cronica di Rimini, 966, and regarding the longing of the Romans for his speedy return, *Michael Canensis de Viterbio, ad b. d. n. Nicolaum V., P. M., Cod. Vatic., 3697, f. 9b. Vatic. Library.

malady. In August he was at Fabriano, where the air seemed to be particularly pure. No one was admitted within the city without necessity; the aged Aurispa was the only one of the secretaries whom the Pope retained about him; business was mostly suspended, so that there was but little to be done; many members of the Court succumbed to the pestilence. Poggio mockingly declared that the Pope wandered about after the manner of the Scythians.* The same thing happened when the plague revisited the Eternal City in the summer months of 1451 and 1452.†

It has been suggested that Nicholas V.'s extreme fear of death was due to an excessive love of life,‡ but another explanation seems more probable. In the year 1399, when

* See the somewhat contradictory accounts of Graziani (616 *et seq.*) and the Cronica di Rimini (964). Poggio's letters of the 9th and 12th August, 1449, are in Tonelli's edition, iii., 6, 11. Cardinal Colonna, in a letter to the Marquess Lodovico Gonzaga, written from Montefalco, June 14, 1449, says that he will inform him where he is, because they are continually moving about on account of the epidemic: "Noi venimo pur hieri qui partiti di Spoleto per la morte di un cortisano et lessere cascato amalato un altro. Simile se parti el rev. Msgr. di Messina. Doman si partira Msgr. delli Ursini. N^ro S^re festa in lo cassaro (= Castle). Hoggi sonno intrati in Spoleto li ambaxatori di Francia." Gonzaga, Archives at Mantua.

† Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 408. In the Milan State Archives (Pot. Est.) I found a letter, unfortunately partly destroyed by damp, written by the well-known Nicodemus de' Pontremoli to Francesco Sforza, d.d. ex urbe, 29 Julii, 1451, and speaking of the Roman plague of that year. After informing him that the plague was again claiming victims, he observes: "Poi etiandio qui sono caldi exterminatissimi piu che mai se recordi homo vivo; el medesimo se dice de Napoli. Ma in omne modo omne nactione fuge volentire Roma ali tempi mo, et meritamente perche in vero e sepulchro de valenti huomini et e horribile stancia se non per chi ha el modo a viverci cum picola fatica e delicamento."

‡ Voigt, *loc. cit.*

the plague was raging in Lucca and the physicians had forsaken the city, the Pope's father was appointed physician by the remaining citizens. He accepted the perilous post, but soon afterwards died, most likely stricken down by the terrible malady in the exercise of his calling.* May not this circumstance account for the apprehensions of Nicholas, who was timid by nature, and at the time in indifferent health? It must also be observed that at this period the idea of contagion was gaining ground among the doctors. The black death and subsequent epidemics had afforded but too ample opportunities for the study of the subject, and the plague was much better understood than it had been. Natural science had made considerable progress, and enlightened physicians in the fifteenth century took little account of the influence of the stars, and directed their chief attention to the laws of contagion. Isolation consequently came to be regarded as the most essential of preventive measures, and it is impossible to estimate the number of human lives that may have been thus preserved during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, even though it was very imperfectly carried out.†

When the pestilence ceased with the first cold of winter the Pope returned to Rome. Pilgrims again began to pour in, their journeys being facilitated by the peaceful condition of Italy. "So many people came to Rome," according to an eye-witness,‡ "that the city could not contain the strangers, although every house became an inn. Pilgrims begged, for the love of God, to be taken in on payment of a good price, but it was not possible. They

* Sforza, 90.

† Haeser, iii., 186-187. Martin V. also favoured this theory, and went from place to place to escape the plague. Voigt, Stimmen, 74. See also Massari, 39, and Vol. i., p. 229.

‡ Paolo dello Mastro, Cronache Rom., 18.

had to spend the nights out of doors. Many perished from cold; it was dreadful to see. Still such multitudes thronged together that the city was actually famished. Every Sunday numerous pilgrims left Rome, but by the following Saturday all the houses were again fully occupied. If you wanted to go to St. Peter's it was impossible, on account of the masses of men that filled the streets. St. Paul's, St. John Lateran, and Sta. Maria Maggiore were filled with worshippers. All Rome was filled, so that one could not go through the streets. When the Pope gave his solemn blessing, all spaces in the neighbourhood of St. Peter's, even the surrounding vineyards, from which the Loggia of the benediction could be seen, were thick with pilgrims, but those who could not see him were more numerous than those who could, and this continued until Christmas."

Among the strangers of note who visited Rome during the Jubilee of 1450 we must give the first place to an artist —the celebrated painter, Roger van der Weyden, or Ruggiero da Bruggia, as the Italians call him.* Many of his works had already been purchased by Italian princes and patrons of art, and were greatly esteemed.† It was probably as he passed through Florence on his way to Rome that this great master received from the Medici the commission to paint the picture of the Madonna with the Holy Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, and the physicians, Saints Cosmas and Damian, which is now one of the treasures of the Städel

* See Alph. Wauters, Roger van der Weyden, etc. [Gand, 1846] (Extr. du Messager des sciences hist. de Belgique), 15-16.

† In the year 1449 Ciriaco of Ancona saw one of Roger's paintings, which belonged to the Marquess of Ferrara (Antichita Picene, xv., 143). Facius mentions several in the possession of King Alfonso, as well as a genre picture in Genoa. Schnaase, viii., 163 *et seq.*, 190, note 1.

Gallery of Frankfort-on-Maine.* The influence of Italy is evident in this beautiful work, and in others from the hand of the same master, especially in a charming picture representing St. Luke taking the portrait of the Blessed Virgin while she suckles the Divine Infant (formerly in the Boisserée Collection, and now in the Munich Pinakothek), and again in the Middelburg Tryptick, now at Berlin.† A modern writer on art is probably correct in his idea that the journey of 1450, although undertaken solely from motives of devotion, was an artistic revelation to the Flemish painter, who, by a comparison with foreign schools, learned to form a more correct estimate of his own talents and needs, and of those of his country. From this time he gave up painting life-sized figures and violent effects and gold back-grounds. He still chose striking and dramatic subjects, but the surroundings of his figures are now real, and they stand forth from an architectural perspective or a sunlit landscape full of graceful details. This was an approach to the manner of his predecessor, Van Eyck, and, moreover, a return to that of his own earlier days and to the mild harmonious tone most congenial to the piety and artistic sense common to himself and his fellow-countrymen. His best works were produced at this period, and he initiated a school, which, as compared with that of Van Eyck, manifests marked progress.‡ It would be impossible to say how many of the other painters, artists, and scholars, who went

* N. 100. See Passavant in the Kunstblatt, 1841, p. 19. A small copy is given in the Messager de Gand, 1838, p. 113; and the Blessed Virgin alone, without the attendant figures, in v. Quast-Otte, Zeitschr. für christl. Archäologie und Kunst (Leipzig, 1858), ii., Plate, 1.

† See Messager de Gand, 1836, p. 333, and Schnaase, viii., 186-187.

‡ Schnaase, viii., 2nd ed., 195.

as pilgrims to the capital of Christendom in 1450, were touched by the like influence.*

Jakob von Sirk, Archbishop of Trèves, once the most ardent partisan of the Council, was amongst the princes of the Church who were seen at Rome in the Jubilee year. He came, accompanied by a hundred and forty knights, to make his peace with the Holy See. Cardinal Peter von Schaumburg, Bishop of Augsburg, and the Bishops of Metz and Strasburg were also there, with other German prelates. Many saintly personages, too, were pilgrims, as, for example, St. Jacopo della Marca, St. Didacus, and the celebrated St. John Capistran.† It was, more-

* G. L. Kriegk, Deutsches Bürgerthum im Mittelalter (Frankfurt, 1868), 350, justly observes that the numerous pilgrims of these times exercised an important influence on the progress of civilization, by multiplying subjects of information and materials for reflection, and bringing about, between the inhabitants of different countries, an intercourse which had its effect on the manners and ideas of each, the more so as the majority of the pilgrims belonged to the less wealthy classes of society, and made the journey on foot. Abbot George von Michaelbeuern, who rode to Rome in 1450, "causa devocionis," spent one-and-twenty days on his journey there, and as many more on his way back, and his expenses amounted to fifty-two golden florins; see Filz. Gesch, des Salzburg. Benedictinerstifts Michaelbeuern (Salzburg, 1833), ii., 370-371. The description of the Abbot's pilgrimage mentioned in this work is no longer to be found in the Archives of the Monastery at Michaelbeuern, where, however, in a Monastic Record of the fifteenth century (A., new signature V.A. a.1), seventeen lines, f. 66^{b}, *relate his journey. This short notice contains the characteristically German observation regarding Nicholas V., "Qui fuit natus de simplici progenie." Certainly in Germany the Pope's lowly origin would have rendered it almost impossible for him to become an Archbishop; see Höfler, ii., 2, 362.

† See Manni, 60. Chmel., ii., 453. Ciaconius, ii., 912. A document, *Cod., 1608, of the City Library at Trèves, omitted by

over, at this time that Jacopo Ammannati Piccolomini, afterwards the famous Cardinal, turned his steps to the Eternal City, where he subsequently entered the service of Cardinal Capranica, the friend of all learned men.*

Numerous princes made the pilgrimage in 1450; the Pope welcomed the Duke Albert of Austria, gave him at Christmas a blessed sword, and granted him many spiritual favours in token of his affection for the House of Austria. It is probable that many Austrian nobles accompanied the Duke; the aged Count Frederick of Cilli was certainly in Rome this year.† We must also mention the Margravine Catherine of Baden, Landgrave Louis of Hesse, and Duke John of Cleves, who visited the seven principal churches on foot, and was received with great honour by

Hontheim, refers to the Archbishop's absence from Trèves in the year 1450: "Charta de anno 1450 concernens custodian reliquiarum in ecclesia cathed, depositarum in absentia archiepiscopi." For the favours which the Archbishop received from the Pope, see Görz, Regesten, 191. In the City Archives at Cologne, I found among the Imperial papers of Frederick III. a *Letter from Ruprecht, Bishop of Strasburg, to Cologne, dat. Dachstein, 1450, Mai 22 (sexta post dominicam Exaudi), which says: "As we have been a good while away from our chapter on holy pilgrimage to Rome, and now by the grace of Almighty God have lately returned to our country and chapter," etc.

* See Aretin, Beiträge, ii., 91, and the very rare work of Seb. Pauli, Disquisiz. istorica della patria e compendio della vita di G. Ammanati Piccolomini (Lucca, 1712), 39, 41.

† Chmel., ii., 452. Recent investigations have proved that the Pope's mother did not visit Rome in 1450 (as even Rio, ii., 39, amongst others, had asserted). See Sforza, 258, 260. The mistake regarding Frederick III.'s presence in Rome, mentioned *supra*, p. 78, note ‡, is to be found even in St. Antoninus, tit. xxii., c. xii., § 3.

the Pope,* Johannes Dlugoss, "the first Polish historian who wrote in the grand style," and Nicodemus de Pontremoli, the trusted Ambassador of the Duke of Milan.†

This would seem the fitting place to remark that the Jubilee year gave birth to a little literature of its own, a portion of which has since been printed, while a good deal more exists only in manuscript.‡ We have the two editions

* See Liber benefact. Animæ, 34. Chmel, ii., 629. Before his journey to Rome the Duke of Cleves had made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; he went from Rome to Naples in the end of November, 1450 (Arch. Napol., vi., 258). For an account of his journey and his sojourn in Rome see Teschenmacher, Annal. Cliviæ. (Franc., 1721), 303, and Clevische Chronik., published by Dr. R. Scholten (Cleve, 1884), from the original MS. of Gert van der Schuren.

† Regarding Dlugoss, see Caro, iv., 425. Zeissberg, Polnische Geschichtschreibung des M.-A. (Leipzig, 1873), 213 *et seq.*, 215–217. Nicodemus mentions his presence at Rome in 1450, in the Despatch of the 4th April, 1455, given in the Appendix (State Archives at Milan). Another ambassador of Fr. Sforza's, Francesco Butigella, also proposed to go to Rome for the Jubilee; see his *Despatch to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1449, Dec. 7. Fonds. Ital., 1585, f. 102, of the National Library, Paris.

‡ Of such *"Tractatus de anno jubileo" I have noted the following:—(*a*) Trèves: Town Library, a manuscript treatise on the Jubilee of the year 1449, bound up with the Incunabula, N. 1613 ("Iste liber est domus St. Albani juxta Trev. ord. Carth."). (*b*) Wolfenbüttel: Ducal Library, Cod. 264, Helmst., f. 62, 65: "Tractatus brevis et compendiosus de anno jubileo a quodam Carthus. s. theol. prof. editus" (perhaps identical with the treatise by Jakob von Jüterbogk?). (*c*) Cod. 32 of the Benedictine Abbey of Zwiefalten, according to Serapeum (Intelligenzblatt, 1859, p. 99), contains a "Tractatulus de anno jubileo," written in 1449. (*d*) In Cod. 278 of the Town Library at Mayence there are a number of treatises by Jakob von Jüterbogk, after which appears the indication, "De anno jubileo." Time did not permit me to investigate them. Cod. 562 of this library, not now in its place, also contained a work regarding the Jubilee year.

of a treatise by the Canonist, Giovanni d'Anagni, a man distinguished by the love of God and of his neighbour. Jakob von Jüterbogk and the Dominican, Heinrich Kalteisen, dealt with the subject of indulgences from the ecclesiastical point of view, and Johann von Wesel wrote against them.* St. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, wrote concerning the pardon of the "golden year," at a date later than 1450.† Provost Felix Hemmerlin, of Soleure, in Switzerland, composed a dialogue between the Jubilee year and the Cantor Felix, in which the former successfully answers all doubts and prejudices regarding the validity of the Jubilee indulgence, and explains the conditions on which it may be gained by sinners of every position and degree. Hemmerlin's tone is grave and devout, and the dialogue contains many interesting passages which throw a vivid light on evils existing in the ecclesiastical life of Switzerland. He is unsparing in his

* For some account of Giovanni d'Anagni, see Cronica di Bologna, 724; Annal. Bonon., 890; Aless. de Magistris, Istoria della città e S. Basilica catt. d'Anagni (Roma, 1749), 44, and Schulte, 320, 322. Hain, 943 *et seq.*, alludes to his work. The treatise on Jakob von Jüterbogk, in Walch, Mon., ii., 2, 163 *et seq.* See Kellner, *loc. cit.*, 327-329, and Ullmann, i., 278-282; the latter also (i., 255, 259 *et seq.*, 282 *et seq.*, 287 *et seq.*, 417) notices that of Joh. v. Wesel. According to the Serapeum (Intelligenzblatt, 1859, p. 153), three leaves of Kaltersen's "De indulgentiis" were preserved in the Library of the Abbey of Zwiefalten, which has been transferred to Stuttgart. Notwithstanding the kind exertions of Heyd, these three leaves were not to be found, either in the Royal Public Library or the Royal Court Library. Manni, 66-67, speaks of Jubilee medals.

† "Decisio consiliaris supra dubio producto de indulgenciis," etc. Besides the edition mentioned by Fischer (Typograph. Seltenheiten [Nürnberg, 1804], v., 89 *et seq.*), I found in the Frankfort Town Library (Prædic., 1356) another "impressum per Fredericum Creussner civem Nurmbergen."

denunciation of the Beguines, of mendicant friars who hunt after benefices and money, and of ecclesiastics neglectful of their duty. "Canons," he says, "who are not present in choir and yet receive remuneration for fulfilling this duty, are no better than thieves and robbers, and must, even if they be prelates, make restitution of their revenues, or they will not be partakers of the graces of the Jubilee year." Hemmerlin also speaks at length, and with great force, against concubinage.*

A description of Rome, written by Giovanni Rucellai, a Florentine merchant, who made the pilgrimage in 1450, has lately been published, and is full of interesting matter. Amongst other things, he speaks of the catacomb beneath the church of St. Sebastian as always open, and constantly visited by the pilgrims.†

"Perhaps," says the chronicle of Forli, "it may have been in order to moderate the Pope's joy at the unwonted and extraordinary concourse of pilgrims, and to preserve him from pride, that an event was fated to occur which caused him the deepest sorrow."‡ A very beautiful German lady of rank, who had undertaken the pilgrimage to Rome,

* See Fiala, 493-494. At a later period, under the influence of passion, Hemmerlin unfortunately endeavoured to counteract the effect of his words by writing the "Recapitulatio de anno iubileo;" see *loc. cit.*, 507 *et seq.* An extract from the "Dyalogus" and from the "Recapitulatio" may be found in Reber, 328-333.

† See Arch. della Soc. Rom., iv., 575. See N. Muffel's Beschreibung der Stadt Rom. (W. Vogt, Stuttgart, 1876), 37.

‡ *"Volse la fortuna forse per mettere qualche passione per freno al diletto del piaxere chel papa forse piglava dela grandissima intrada e magnificentia non piu di sue di veduda per la qual allegreia portava perigolo de tal superbia che forse bisognio per suo meglio achadesse alcuna cosa a dare afanno chel piacere alquanto denigrasse." Giovanni de Pedrino, Cronica di Forli, f. 242. Cod. 234 of the private library of Prince Bald. Boncompagni, in Rome.

was, in the district of Verona, set upon and carried away by soldiers. Sigismondo Malatesta of Rimini was generally looked upon as the instigator of this crime, which caused great excitement in Italy, but notwithstanding the careful inquiries at once set on foot by the Venetians, the mystery was never cleared up.* The disaster was all the more distressing to the Pope, inasmuch as it was calculated to deter many rich and distinguished personages from setting forth on a journey which was already deemed in itself most perilous.†

Nicholas V. was yet more deeply affected by a terrible calamity in the Holy City itself. On the 19th December‡

* See Sanudo, 1137; Giornali Napol. 1130, and Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Frid., iii., 172. The aforesaid *Cronica di Forli also ascribes the deed to Sigismondo Malatesta. Among more modern writers, Tonini (203 *et seq.*) endeavours to exculpate him.

† The pilgrims accordingly made their wills before starting. Grotefend, i., 394, mentions the will made by a citizen of Frankfort who meant to go to Rome.

‡ This date is certain ; Paolo di Benedetto di Cola dello Mastro in the Cronache Rom. (18) gives the 18th December as the day; a clerical error, which Manni (62) might have avoided. In the MS. copy of Paolo's Chronicle, preserved in the Chigi Library at Rome (Cod. N. ii., 32, f. 16 *et seq.*), September is substituted for December, an alteration easily explained by a misapprehension of the abbreviated name of the month (Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 110, has not noticed this error). N. della Tuccia (214) stands alone in assigning the catastrophe to the 24th December. The accident at the bridge of S. Angelo struck all Italy with horror, and is mentioned by almost every contemporary Italian chronicler, and even by those of other nations. See Mon. Germaniæ, Deutsche Chroniken, ii., 381 ; Deutsche Städtechroniken (Augsburg), ii., 196. Among the accounts of the event which are at present known, only three are by eye-witnesses, viz., that of Paolo di Benedetto di Cola dello Mastro (Chronache Rom., 18-20) and the short notices in Tuccia (215), and in the Annal. L. Bonincontrii (155). I have been fortunate enough to discover two new accounts,

a greater crowd than ever had assembled in St. Peter's to venerate the holy handkerchief and receive the Papal benediction. At about four o'clock in the afternoon* the Pope sent word that, in consequence of the lateness of the hour, the benediction would not be given that day, and all the people hurried home by the bridge of St. Angelo, which was encumbered with shopkeepers' booths. On the bridge the crowd unfortunately came in contact with some horses and mules, which had taken fright, and a block ensued.† A great many of the pilgrims were in a moment thrown down and trodden under foot by the advancing masses, or else pushed into the Tiber. Meanwhile, the multitudes, who filled all the streets leading from St. Peter's, pressed onward in utter ignorance of what had taken place, and, but for the presence of mind of the Castellan of St. Angelo, the catastrophe might have been yet more appalling in its extent. He caused the bridge to

namely, (1), in the State Archives at Florence, a long *Letter from Giovanni Inghirami to Giovanni de' Medici. Inghirami was not himself present at the dreadful scene, but derived his information from eye-witnesses. (2) In the State Archives at Milan, a *Despatch from the Milanese Ambassador, Vincenzo Amidano, dated Rome, 1450, Dec. 21st. Both documents are given in the Appendix, N. 4 and 5.

* "Circha a ore, 23," according to *G. Inghirami and Paolo. The copy of Paolo's Chronicle in the Corsini Library at Rome and Tuccia (214) both speak of the twenty-fourth hour.

† Infessura (1132) mentions a report that the mule which first took fright belonged to Cardinal Barbo, and Platina (713), and a notice in the *Cod. Regin., 2076, f. 535 (Vatican Library) assert this positively ("cujus rei causa fuit mula Car^lis Barbi"). Further details are given in the Cronica di Bologna, 696. See also Sanudo, 1137. The Chronic. Eugub, in Muratori, xxi., 988, has a very different version of the story. Shopkeepers' booths on the bridge of St. Angelo, such as are now to be seen on the Ponte Vecchio at Florence, are mentioned by Raph. Volaterran., 234.

be closed, and brave citizens held back the advancing throng, but the fatal crush on the bridge continued for a whole hour. Then the citizens began to carry the dead into the neighbouring Church of San. Celso. "I myself carried twelve dead bodies," writes the chronicler, Paolo dello Mastro. More than a hundred and seventy corpses were laid out in the church, and this number, of course, does not include such as had fallen into the river.* According to most of the contemporary accounts the victims exceeded two hundred, and this estimate cannot be far from the truth.† Some horses and a mule also perished.

* Tuccia (215) says that the bodies of seventeen of these unfortunate people were taken out of the Tiber at Ostia, and that they held one another fast by the clothes.

† Paolo dello Mastro (19) says that a hundred and seventy-two dead were brought to San Celso from the bridge; *Inghirami mentions a hundred and seventy-six (and this number appears in the fourth Bavarian continuation of the Sächsischen Weltchronik, Mon. Germaniæ, Deutsche Chroniken, ii., 381). Tuccia (215) has a hundred and seventy-seven. It is impossible to ascertain how many perished in the Tiber; Tuccia (215) expressly says that comparatively few of the bodies were recovered. Sanudo (1137), however, reckons those who were drowned at a hundred and thirty-six, and those who were trodden down on the bridge at two hundred. The following quotations will show how widely authors vary in their estimate of the number of victims. Jac. Phil. Bergomas, 298^{b}: "More than a hundred slain on the bridge, many thrown into the river." Annal. L. Bonincontrii, 155: "Centum viginti hominum fuerunt attriti et quidam in Tiberim præcipitati. Hoc ego certius affirmare ausim, quod mortuos paullo post deferri in ædem sacram ibi propinquam vidi." Sabellicus, Enead., 10, lib. 5 (Opp., 944): "A hundred and thirty dead buried in San. Celso." Infessura, 1132; Æ. Sylvius, Europa, c. 58; Palmerius, 239-240; Manetti, 924; Cronica di Bologna, 696; Platina, 713; Vespasiano da Bisticci, § 24; *Despatch of V. Amidano and *Cod. Regin., 2076: "ad 200†" (others cast into the river). Cronica di Rimini, 966: "270†." Tuccia, 215: "300†." Chronicle of B. Zink (Städte-

People who escaped with their lives had their clothes torn to pieces in the crowd. "Some were to be seen," says an eye-witness, "running about in their doublets, some in shirts, and others almost naked. In the terrible confusion all had lost their companions, and the cries of those who sought missing friends were mingled with the wailing of those who mourned for the dead. As night came on, the most heartrending scenes were witnessed in the Church of San. Celso, which was full of people up to 11 o'clock; one found a father, another a mother, one a brother, and another a son among the dead. An eye-witness says that men who had gone through the Turkish war had seen no more ghastly sight."* "Truly," writes the worthy Paolo dello

chroniken, v., 198) : "More than 300 were drowned." A. Dathus, Opp., clxxxvii. : "Supra, 350†." F. Mariano Fiorentino, in his MS. Chronicle of the Franciscan Order in Vitorelli (292), and F. Hemmerlin (see Reber, 333): "400†." St. Antoninus, xxii., c. xii., § 3: "Quadringenti et multo plures suffocati et aliqui in Tiberim lapsi." Ist. Brescian, 867 : "More than five hundred dead." Schivenoglia, 124 : "4,000†." Giornali Napol., 1131 : "Gente infinita†." A narrative (*Caso occorso in Roma lagrimevole l'anno del giubileo, 1450), in the Cod. Urbin., 1639, f. 329-333, giving the 16th May as the date of the accident, and stating that three hundred and fifty-six persons, who had been trodden to death, were buried in San. Celso and the Campo Santo, and that sixty corpses were found in the Tiber, is quite unworthy of credit. This fabulous account further asserts that "the Emperor, who was at the time in the city, immediately caused the castle of St. Angelo to be occupied by two hundred men, lest the people should revolt!"

* *Letter of G. Inghirami on Dec. 27th, 1450, State Archives at Florence; see Appendix, N. 5, and the passage in B. Zink's Chronicle (Städtechroniken, v., 196). Zink conversed with two Germans who had been present at the catastrophe; he concludes his narrative with the prayer, "O Lord Jesus Christ, have pity on them all, and be merciful to us through Thy divine grace. Amen."

Mastro, "it was misery to see the poor people with candles in their hands looking through the rows of corpses, and as they recognized their dear ones their sorrow and weeping were redoubled." The dead were for the most part Italians from the neighbourhood of Rome, chiefly strong youths and women; there were but few old people or children among them, and scarcely any persons of high rank.* At midnight, by command of the Pope, a hundred and twenty-eight were carried to the Campo Santo, near St. Peter's, where they were left all the Sunday for identification. The rest of the bodies were either brought to Sta. Maria della Minerva or buried in San. Celso. Their garments were laid together in one part of the church. "My father," says Paolo dello Mastro, "was appointed to take charge of them: many persons, who did not know if they had to mourn for one belonging to them, hastened there, and were assured of their loss."

This terrible event inflicted a deep wound on the paternal heart of the Pope. He could not, indeed, attribute any blame to himself, for he had done all that was possible to maintain order in Rome, and had caused its narrow streets to be widened—yet the tragedy took such hold upon him that he fell into a kind of melancholy.†

* *Inghirami in the above-mentioned letter, and Paolo dello Mastro, 19.

† "Il papa se ne ammalò di melancolia." Istorie Bresc, 867, Niccola della Tuccia, who was at the time in Rome, says (215): "Di questo successo il papa n' ebbe gran manenconia e ne pianse." See A. Dathus, *loc. cit.*, and Vespasiano da Bisticci, Nicola, v., § 24. Infessura, a violent enemy of the Papal rule, bears witness (1132) that in the Jubilee year Pope Nicholas V., with the greatest diligence and zeal, and without any assistance, made the best preparations for the thousands of pilgrims. He then mentions the misfortune of the 19th December, and it would seem as if the preceding observation was intended to guard against the possibility of

In order to guard against the possible recurrence of such an accident, Nicholas V. had a row of houses in front of the bridge cleared away, so as to form an open space before the Church of San. Celso. In the following year two chapels, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen and the Holy Innocents, were erected at the entrance of the bridge, and mass was daily offered for the souls of the victims. These chapels remained until the time of Clement VII., who replaced them by the statues of the Apostles,* which now stand there.

The Pope's rejoicing in the glories of the Jubilee year was marred by yet another circumstance; the French ambassador demanded that a General Council should be summoned to meet in France; Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who was at the time in Rome to obtain the Pope's permission for the coronation of Frederick III., soon afterwards, in a solemn consistory, made request in the name of his King that it should be held in Germany, inasmuch as Frederick did not mean to consent to its meeting in any other country. This silenced the French and delivered Nicholas V. from a serious difficulty.†

any blame being attached to the Pope. Adinolfi, Il Canale di Ponte, 6, records the improvements made by Nicholas V. in the streets of Rome. In the face of such facts, Kolde, M. Luther (Gotha, 1884) permits himself to say: "It seemed prudent to provide the hundreds of thousands of pilgrims with some few worldly pleasures, besides spiritual gifts. The Pope instituted Jubilee games (!), and it mattered little that on this occasion hundreds perished by the breaking down (!) of one of the Tiber bridges, for their souls were certainly saved" (p. 4).

* Manetti, 924. Palmerius, 240. Sanudo, 1137. Jac. Phil. Bergomas, f., 298^{b}. Adinolfi, *loc. cit.*, 6. For further particulars regarding the construction of the two chapels see Gori, Archivio, iv., 294-295; Müntz, i., 151 *et seq.*, and Bertolotti, Artisti Lombardi, i., 17.

† Voigt, ii., 19 *et seq.*

Immense sums of money poured into Rome during the Jubilee Year, especially at its beginning and at its close, when the concourse of pilgrims was greatest. A chronicler mentions four classes as chiefly benefited: First, the money-changers; secondly, the apothecaries; thirdly, the artists, who painted copies of the holy handkerchief; and fourthly, the innkeepers, particularly those in the large streets and in the neighbourhood of St. Peter's and of the Lateran.*

On this occasion, as in previous Jubilees, the pilgrims brought an immense number of offerings. Manetti, the Pope's biographer, says that an exceedingly large quantity of silver and gold found its way into the treasury of the Church, and Vespasiano da Bisticci tells us that Nicholas V. was able to deposit a hundred thousand golden florins in the bank of the Medici alone. From the Chronicle of Perugia we learn that money was dear at this time, and could only with difficulty be obtained, because "it all flowed into Rome for the Jubilee."†

The Pope thus became possessed of the resources necessary for his great schemes, the promotion of art and learning; the poor also had a share of the wealth.‡

The moral effect of the Jubilee, in its bearing on the

* Cronache Rom., 20. According to Giovanni Rucellai, in 1450 there were a thousand and twenty-two inns with sign-boards in Rome, besides a great many without them. Arch. della Soc. Rom., iv., 579. In the fifteenth century there was great devotion to pictures copied from the handkerchief of St. Veronica. See the notices from the Inventory of the Bohemian Hospice in Rome in the Mittheilungen für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen (1874), xii., 210 *et seq.*

† Manetti, 924 *et seq.* Vespasiano da Bisticci, and Graziani, 624. Nicholas V. caused gold coins to be struck in remembrance of the Jubilee. See Venuti, 12 *et seq.*; Bonanni, 49, and Manni, 70-71.

‡ Manni, 70-72.

Papacy, was even more important than its material advantages.

The experience of all Christian ages has shown that pilgrimages of clergy and laity to the tombs of the Apostles at Rome are a most effectual means of elevating and strengthening the Catholic life of nations, and of uniting them more closely to the Holy See; and, moreover, that every movement of the kind is in many ways fraught with blessings. The great pilgrimage to Rome, the perennial fountain of truth, had a peculiar value in an age still suffering from the consequences of the schism. Faith seemed to gain new life, and the world saw that the Vatican, whose authority had been so violently assailed, was still the centre of Christendom, and the Pope its common Head.*

"It was striking," says Augustinus Dathus, "to see pilgrims come joyfully from all lands, most of them with bundles on their backs, despising the comforts of their own country and fearing neither heat nor cold, that they might gain the treasures of grace. The remembrance of those days still rejoices my heart, for they made manifest the magnificence and glory of the Christian religion. From the most distant places many journeyed to Rome in the year 1450 to visit the Head of the Catholic Church and the tombs of the Princes of the Apostles. Truly this Jubilee year is worthy to be remembered throughout all ages."†

The Jubilee was the first great triumph of the ecclesiastical restoration,‡ and it was the Pope's desire that its renovating influence should be felt in every part of Christendom. The idea was in itself a fresh evidence of the

* Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 110. See Droysen, ii., 1, 139.

† A. Dathus, Op., f. clxxvii. See also the words of Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa in Düx, ii., 5, note.

‡ Droysen, ii., 1, 138.

right understanding and goodwill of Nicholas V.,* and in order to carry it into effect he decided to send special Legates to the nations which had been most affected by the troubles of the last decade. These Legates were to labour for the establishment of a closer union with Rome, and for the removal of ecclesiastical abuses, and to open the spiritual treasures of the Jubilee to the faithful who were unable to visit the Eternal City. The Jubilee Indulgence was also extended by the Pope to those countries for which no Legate was appointed. A visit to the Cathedral of their Diocese, and an alms to be offered there, were generally the conditions substituted for the pilgrimage, which to many was an impossibility.†

"In all countries and in every direction," as one of Cusa's biographers justly observes, "men had been for a long time sinning much and grievously. It was fitting then that the reconciliation should be general. The awakening of a sense of sin was to be for all classes—for clergy as well as laity—for high and low, a solemn recall to duty, and a means of moral restoration; and when hearts were thus changed, there was room to hope that the reformation of ecclesiastical life, which had been so long desired and so solemnly guaranteed, might at last become a reality."‡

In August, 1451, the Pope sent Cardinal d'Estouteville to France, with a special mission to undertake the reform

* Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 200.

† Hungary, Poland, the Spanish Kingdoms, and Naples were among the countries on which these favours were conferred. See Raynaldus, ad an., 1450, N. 6, Manni, 67, and Caro, iv., 456, 481. Regarding Naples, see Arch. Napol., vi., 412. The Pope also authorized many Bishops to grant the Jubilee indulgence to their flocks. See Geissel, Der Kaiserdom zu Speyer, 2nd ed. (Köln, 1876), 165.

‡ Scharpff, 153.

of the Cathedral Chapters, and of the Schools and Universities. The edicts issued by him on this occasion for the University of Paris manifest the skill and zeal with which he fulfilled his trust.*

D'Estouteville remained in France until the end of 1452, without, however, accomplishing the principal end of his mission, which was the restoration of peace with England; to his honour it must be recorded, that he initiated the proceedings by which justice was done to the memory of the Maid of Orleans.†

Before the end of December, 1450, Nicholas V. had sent, as Legate to Germany, Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, a prelate renowned for learning and purity of life, who had already done much to promote the general peace of the Church, and the reconciliation of Germany with the Holy See. He was now commissioned to publish the Indulgence of the Jubilee, and to labour for the pacification of the kingdom, especially for the conclusion of the contest between the Archbishop of Cologne and the Duke of Cleves, and for the reunion of the Bohemians. The chief object of his mission, however, was to raise the tone of ecclesiastical life and thoroughly to reform moral abuses in Germany, where the Council of Basle had found so many partisans, and where the years of neutrality had produced great confusion in the affairs of the Church, and allowed

* Reformatio Universitatis Parisiensis facta a card. Tutavilleo, in Bulaeus, v., 562-577. See Crevier, Hist. de l'Université de Paris, iv., 168 *et seq.*; Ullmann, ii., 322, 325; and Daniel, Etud. Class., 160 *et seq.*, 402 *et seq.* Regarding the nomination of d'Estouteville, see the *Document from the Secret Archives of the Vatican, in Appendix, N. 9.

† Reumont, iii., 1, 255. Raynaldus, ad an., 1451, N. 8. G. Görres, Jungfrau von Orleans (Regensburg, 1834), 343. D'Estouteville returned to Rome on the 3rd January, 1453. See *Acta consist. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

religious indifferentism to assume serious proportions.* The Pope granted the most ample powers to the German Cardinal, and even authorized him to hold Provincial Councils.†

Little attention has been paid to the remarkable fact, that Cusa's appointment encountered violent opposition from certain parties in Germany, who, untaught by the events of the previous ten years, still adhered to the un-Catholic principles of the Council of Basle. Although the assembly had given convincing proofs of its absolute incapacity to correct ecclesiastical abuses, there were still pedants who would accept reform only from a Council, and to whom any measure of the kind, proceeding from the Pope, appeared utterly obnoxious, even if carried out by so eminent and distinguished a man as Cusa.‡ Others were anti-Roman to such a degree, that the dignity enjoyed by the Legate as a member of the Sacred College created a feeling of distrust in their minds.§ Yet all might have been proud to welcome the zealous and sagacious Cardinal

* Jakob von Jüterbogk, in his *"Tractatus de malis," gives a very gloomy picture of the state of Germany, see especially cap. 20: "De penis ac plagis mundi," and cap. 23: "De statu religiosorum." Cod. 34 of the Cathedral Library, Trèves.

† Regarding the significance of Cusa's appointment, see Jäger, i., 25-26, 29, and Chmel, Kirchliche Zustände, 28. A separate Bull was issued for each one of the affairs entrusted to the Cardinal. That concerning Bohemia is in Raynaldus, ad an., 1450, N. 12, and that for the conclusion of the dispute between Cologne and Cleves is published in the Tüb. theol. Quartalschrift, 1830, p. 171 *et seq.* The authorization to proclaim the Jubilee is wanting. The long-sought Bull for the reform of the German Church is given in the Appendix, N. 6, from the Regesta of the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ As, for example, the well-known Felix Hemmerlin; see Fiala, 514.

§ See the letters of the Carthusian Prior, Vincenz von Axpach, in Pez, Thes. nov., vi., 3, 327 *et seq.*

who came speaking their own tongue, and was thoroughly acquainted with all the concerns and the needs of the Fatherland; and, as time went on, it became evident that Cusa discharged the duties of his important office in the spirit of a genuine reformer, and for the good of his country.*

He looked on the work of ecclesiastical reform as one "of purification and renovation, not of ruin and destruction, and believed that man must not deform what is holy, but rather be himself transformed thereby." And, therefore, first of all and above all, he was a reformer in his own person. His life was a mirror of every Christian and sacerdotal virtue. Justly persuaded that it is the duty of those, who hold the chief places in the Church, to exercise the office of preachers, he everywhere proclaimed the Word of God to both clergy and laity, and his practice accorded with his preaching. His example was even more powerful than his sermons.† Detesting all vanity, he journeyed modestly on his mule, accompanied only by a few Romans,

* Fiala, 514, note 1.

† Janssen, i., 9th ed., 3. Scharpff, Cusa als Reformator, 262 *et seq.* There is no complete account of all Cusa's journeys as Legate. In regard to his labours in Northern Germany, K. Grube's work, which we have repeatedly cited, holds the first place, but, unfortunately, this author was not acquainted with Sauer's article in the Zeitschrift des Westfäl. Gesch.-Ver., 1873, to which is added (172 *et seq.*) an "Itinerar des Cardinals Nic. von Cues während seiner Legation von 1451-1452." Cusa was, as Scharpff (*loc. cit.* 263) justly observes, one of the best and most zealous preachers of the fifteenth century. He esteemed the office very highly, and considered that the successors of the apostles were bound by the most sacred obligations to exercise it. His own conscientious care in this matter is testified by an entry in the copy of his collected works, preserved in the Franciscans' Library at Trent, where the hand of a contemporary has noted the times and places of a hundred and thirty sermons delivered by the Cardinal. Among

and scarcely to be recognized, save by the silver cross which the Pope had given him, and which was mounted on a staff and carried before him. On arriving in any town his first visit was to the church, where he fervently implored the blessing of heaven on the work he had taken in hand. Many princes and rich men brought him splendid presents, but he kept his hands pure from all gifts. Amongst his companions was the holy and learned Carthusian, Dionysius van Leewis, a man filled with the most ardent zeal for the renovation of monastic life.*

the places are Mayence, Erfürt, Magdeburg, Hildesheim, Coblence, Trèves, Maestricht, Minden, Aix, Nymwegen, Louvain, Cologne, and Haarlem. He preached twice at Neustift; eighty times (not fifty, as Scharpff [263] and Jäger [142] have stated) at Brixen; thrice at Wilten; thrice at Bruneck; once at Innsbruck; also at Taurn, at Säben, and elsewhere; see *Karpe, Tirol. Literaturgesch. Bibl. Tirol., 1261, vi., f. 12^{b}, in the Ferdinandeum at Innsbruck. MSS. of Cusa's sermons are in: (1) Cues, Hospital Library, Cod. F., 53; see Serapeum, xxvi., 55. (2) Mayence, Town Library Cod. 392. (3) Munich, Court Library, Cod. lat., 7008 (Fürst, 108); 18711 (Teg., 711); 18712 (Teg., 712) [regarding both of these see Scharpff, 263]; 21c67 (Thierh., 67). (4) Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Vat., 1244. (5) Vienna, Library of the Dominican Monastery, S. 18, Ser. iii., f. 191-204: Sermo Moguntie factus sub themate: "Confide filia, fides tua te salvum fecit."

* Sinnacher, vi., 357. The Carthusian, Dionysius, (†1471) at this time wrote a work, "De munere et regimine Legati," and a treatise on the reform of monks. The support which he rendered to the Cardinal in the fulfilment of his difficult task may be estimated by his stern and free-spoken rebuke, addressed to the Bishop of Liège, for conduct unbecoming an ecclesiastic. Scharpff, 177 *et seq.* For further particulars concerning Dionysius, who was a prolific author, see Acta SS., ad. d., xii., Martii, 245 *et seq.*; Fabricius, i., 448 *et seq.*; Freib. Kirchen-Lexikon, iii., 2nd ed., 1801 *et seq.*; Allgem. Biogr., v., 246-248; Theologische Studien und Kritiken, 1881, and the Monographs of J. Houghton (Col. 1532, see Barbier, Dict. des ouvr. anon., iv.), and J. Cassani (Madrid, 1738).

Nicholas of Cusa, who left Rome on the last day of the year 1450,* began his arduous labours, in February 1451, by holding a Provincial Synod at Salzburg. We have, unfortunately, but scanty details regarding this assembly; it is, however, evident that a renewal and strengthening of communion with Rome and a restoration of the relaxed discipline of religious houses were, together with the proclamation of the Jubilee Indulgence, its principal objects. The Cardinal thoroughly understood the root of the malady with which the Church in Germany was afflicted. A real change for the better could only be accomplished by a strengthening of the slackened bonds which bound Northern and Southern Germany to Pope Nicholas V., whose general recognition was but of recent date, and by a thorough reform of the relaxed religious orders. The decrees of the Synod over which Cusa presided are framed with these purposes. "Every Sunday henceforth," it was ordained, "all priests are at Holy Mass to use a prayer for the Pope, the Bishop of the Diocese, and the Church." By this rule, not only each bishop, but each individual priest, was obliged weekly to renew his solemn profession of communion with the Pope, and the consciousness of ecclesiastical unity was thus rendered more vivid. The decree was, within a month, to be published in every Diocese of the Province of Salzburg, and thenceforth to be binding on all priests. An indulgence of fifty days was granted for its exact observance.†

* This date, which Jäger (i., 30) gives as uncertain, is established by the Acta consist., f. 22, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Jäger, i., 30-31, who had already recognized the significance of this decree. The same collect was also prescribed by the Legate at the Synods of Bamberg, Magdeburg (see infra, p. 122), Mayence (Binterim, vii., 277), Cologne (Hartzheim, v., 418), and Brixen (Bickell, 34). With regard to the Salzburg Synod, see Hartzheim, v., 923-927, and Dalham, 221-224. The decree "Quoniam Sanc-

It is hardly necessary to dwell on the great importance of this opening act of Cusa's career as Legate in Germany. It bound the clergy of this vast ecclesiastical province by the closest ties to the Holy See, and formed a powerful check against any schismatical movement. The need which existed in Southern Germany for measures of this character was amply proved by the opposition of the Brixen Chapter, when the Pope appointed Cusa bishop of that Diocese.*

The subject of monastic reform, which next engaged the attention of the Synod of Salzburg, was equally urgent.

tissimus" for the reform of monasteries, given by Dalham, was promulgated by Cusa for his Diocese of Brixen, on the 2nd May, 1452. In the document on this subject, preserved in the Government Archives at Innsbruck, the Salzburg decree is inserted. A comparison with Hartzheim and Dalham shows a number of slight variations from the text, and another date, viz., Dat. Salzburgae die mercurii 10 mensis Febr., 1451. For the proclamation of the Jubilee Indulgence, see Archiv für Oesterr. Gesch. iv., 300; and for the opposition to the Pope at Münster, and the consequent interdict, Sauer, Münst. Stiftsfehde, 105 *et seq.*, 111 *et seq.*

* The Chapter of Brixen had elected Leonhard Wiesmayer bishop; Nicholas V., however, in virtue of his right of provision, nominated Cardinal Cusa to the vacant See. The Chapter, to whom the appointment was communicated by the Pope on the 25th March, 1450, considered it an infringement of their right of election, and Duke Sigismund looked on it as a breach of the Concordat. The *original draft of the Chapter's appeal to the Pope, when more fully informed, and to a General Council, dated 1451, January 27th, is preserved in the Government Archives at Innsbruck (Brixener Archiv. Urk., 51), there is a German epitome in Sinnacher, vi., 352-354; see also Jäger, i., 6-28. The letters of the Carthusian Prior, Vincenz von Axpach in Pez. Thes. nov., vi., 3327 *et seq.*, give us an idea of the fanatical anti-Roman feeling of many of the Southern Germans; and Chmel, Kirchliche Zustände, 20, bears witness to the diminution of the influence of the Holy See in the Diocese of Passau, from the time of the discord engendered by the Council.

The spring-time of monastic institutions was past. In many convents the spirit of strict observance and the cultivation of learning had sunk very low.* At Salzburg the cardinal had only time to sketch out the plan of his future work in this field, for he was anxious to proceed on his journey so as to meet the King of the Romans at Vienna. Frederick III. granted him the official investiture of the See of Brixen, with all the customary formalities, and confirmed, by a special diploma, his episcopal privileges and immunities in the beginning of March,† at Wiener-Neustadt.

On the 3rd March Cusa issued a circular letter from Vienna to all Benedictine abbots and abbesses of the province of Salzburg, informing them, that, in virtue of the Papal commission, he had appointed Martin, abbot of the Scotch Foundation in Vienna; Lorenz, abbot of Maria-Zell; and Stephan, prior of Melk, apostolic visitors of their order. Having God before their eyes, and without regard to any other consideration, they were carefully and exactly to investigate and report upon the condition of the convents. In the event of resistance they were to invoke the aid of the secular arm, and to apprise the Legate, so that he might take all proper proceedings. They were, above all things, to insist on the strict observance of the three essential vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Dispensations accorded in former visitations were, without exception, revoked as contrary to the rule. A plenary indulgence, on condition of the performance of an appointed penance, was to be granted to those religious who,

* Chmel (Kirchl. Zust., 43 *et seq.*) has collected a mass of information regarding the Austrian religious houses.

† See Sinnacher, vi., 355. Jäger, i., 33. I have seen the original document, dated 1451, March 1st (not 3rd, as Sauer, 172, has it), with a very well-preserved seal in the Government Archives at Innsbruck, Brix. Archiv. Urk., 21.

by their lives, showed themselves worthy of it. The document concludes by exhorting all concerned to receive the visitors with honour, and unreservedly to make known everything to them. All, without distinction of rank, were to be regarded as excommunicate, and their monasteries as under an interdict, in cases of disobedience, after the lapse of the three days following the service of the monition, required by the canons.* The apostolic visitors at once set about their difficult, and in many cases thankless, task. Stephan von Spangberg, the Prior of Melk, being shortly promoted to a bishopric, was replaced by Johann Slitpacher, a monk from the same house, and King Frederick III. granted letters of safe-conduct to the visitors, each of whom was accompanied by a chaplain and a servant. Abbot Martin generally made the opening address; Abbot Lorenz questioned the religious individually, examined churches, abbeys, cells, farm buildings, etc., and drew up the instrument of reform; and Slitpacher acquainted the monastic chapter with its several clauses.†

The Archduchy of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, the Province of Salzburg, and a part of Bavaria were visited, and about fifty houses of both sexes reformed.‡

* Dalham, 224-225. Hartzheim, 925-927. Scharpff, 161 *et seq.*

† Wichner, iii., 184.

‡ For the history of the visitation, see the Diary of Abbot Martin in Pez, Script. rer. Austr., ii., 623 *et seq.* The documents regarding this matter are still, for the most part, unpublished, and accordingly a conclusive judgment as to the success of the reform is impossible. Braunmüller, in the Studien aus dem Benedict.-Orden, iii., 1311 *et seq.*, treats of the *"Recessus visitationis monasterii S. Emeranni," dated 1452, February 18th, in Cod. Lat. 14, 196, f. 154-162 of the Court Library at Munich. See also Binterim, vii., 245; Keiblinger, 573-574; Wichner, iii., 184 *et seq.*, 469 *et seq.*; Filz, Gesch. von Michaelbeuern, ii., 374 *et seq.*, and A. Weiss, Vor der Reformation, 23 *et seq.*, on the importance of the monastic reform of this period in general.

Much about the same time the Cardinal turned his attention to the reform of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, entrusting the visitation of their houses to Provost Nicholas of St. Dorothy's, in Vienna, Peter zu Ror, and Wolfgang Reschpeck.*

The negotiations with the Chapter of Brixen in regard to Cusa's appointment having been, by the mediation of Archbishop Frederick of Salzburg, brought to a satisfactory conclusion,† the Legate proceeded by way of Munich, Freising, Ratisbon, and Nuremberg to Bamberg, where he held a Diocesan Synod in the Cathedral. His labours were directed in the first place to the reform of the religious orders. A deplorable contest prevailed at this time in the Diocese of Bamberg between the Mendicant Friars and the Secular Clergy, and, with the full consent of the Synod, he decided to bring the discord to an end by the publication of a canon of the Lateran Council of 1215. Everyone, whether exempt or non-exempt, who failed to worship in his parish church on Sundays and festivals, was to be deprived of communion and refused admission to the church. And, on the other hand, inasmuch as Mendicant Friars, lawfully admitted by the Bishop to the cure of souls, could give valid absolution, even in cases reserved to the Pope, similar punishments were to be inflicted on those who disputed their powers. Furthermore, the Bishop of Bamberg was required to publish in the principal places in his diocese, on the first Sunday in Lent, for the information of

* Keiblinger, 572. Topographie des Erzherzogthums Oesterreich (Wien, 1836), xv., 49 *et seq.*, 55 *et seq.* Chmel, Regesten, N. 2701. Archiv für Oesterr. Gesch., xvii., 393. J. Stülz, Gesch. von. St. Florian (Linz, 1835), 58. The Cistercian Monastery of Wilhering was visited by the Abbot of Morimond in May, 1451. See J. Stülz., Gesch. von Wilhering (Linz., 1840), 66, 601-602.

† Particulars are given by Jäger, i., 36 *et seq.*

the people, the names of the Friars entrusted with the cure of souls, and a list of the cases reserved to the Bishop or the Pope. All controversy on the subject was to be discontinued, and any differences were to be referred to the decision of competent judges.*

Regulations for the reform of houses and various ordinances concerning processions, confraternities, and the Jews, were also promulgated by the Bamberg Synod, and the Salzburg decree, prescribing the prayer for the Pope and for the Bishop of the Diocese at mass, was reiterated.†

In the latter part of the month of May, Nicholas of Cusa, together with four abbots, presided at the fourteenth Provincial Chapter of the Benedictines, which was held in the convent of St. Stephen at Würzburg. On this occasion

* Scharpff, 163-164. The decree is published by Hartzheim, v., 440-441, and L. Cl. Schmitt, Die Bamberger Synoden (Bamberg, 1851), 86, 88.

† Nothing was hitherto known of the Bamberg Synod save the decree regarding the Mendicant Orders. Binterim (vii., 247) considered it improbable that other statutes had been framed at Bamberg. *Cod. 17, 18, Aug. 4to., of the Ducal Library at Wolfenbüttel, however, contains, as Dr. O. v. Heinemann, the librarian, has kindly informed me: *Nicolai Cusani decreta quædam, quæ fecit in Synodo Bambergensi a° 1451, namely: (1) Ut religiosi infra annum regularem observantiam incipiant, f. 11-12^{b}. (2) De pensionibus, f. 13-14. (3) De Judæis, f. 22-24^{b}. (This decree was extended by Cusa on the 20th May, 1451, to the Diocese of Würzburg; see Stumpf, Denkwürdigk. d. Teutsch., besonders d. Fränkisch. Gesch. [Erfurt, 1802], i., 151-154.—Kayser im Archiv für Kirchenrecht [1885], liii., 211, 217 f., shows that Nicholas V. was inclined to treat the Jews with more leniency than Cusa would have shown.) (4) De processionibus et fraternitatibus, f. 24-25. (5) Decree on the contest between the Mendicant Orders and Secular Clergy (published by Hartzheim and Schmitt), f. 25-26^{b}. (6) De oratione pro papa et antistite, f. 26^{b}-27^{b}.

he commanded that the rule of St. Benedict should be observed in all its original strictness, approved the Bursfeld reform, and strongly recommended it to all the abbots. This Chapter was very numerously attended; seventy abbots from the Dioceses of Mayence, Bamberg, Würzburg, Halberstadt, Hildesheim, Eichstädt, Spire, Constance, Strasburg, and Augsburg were present, and amongst them Abbot Johann Hagen, the worthy founder of the celebrated congregation of Bursfeld.* The Cardinal himself celebrated solemn High Mass, and each abbot individually came up to the altar and bound himself by vow to carry out the reform within the space of a year. To ensure the success of the good work, the disused custom of annual Provincial Chapters was re-established, and Abbot Hagen was appointed visitor, together with the Abbot of St. Stephen at Würzburg.† Thus was the good seed widely sown by the Cardinal Legate, for the seventy abbots bore back to their several houses the impulse received at

* Regarding the origin of this congregation, which did for the Benedictines what the congregation of Windesheim did for the Augustinians, see Evelt, 121 *et seq.*, 136 *et seq.* A complete history of the Bursfeld congregation is a desideratum, and MSS. authorities are by no means wanting. In the Cathedral Library at Trèves I noted in Cod. 31, *De reformacionis principacione ordinis b. Benedicti et de conversione et vita hominis dei Henrici abbatis (beginning with the year 1446). Diekamp, in the Zeitschr. für Geschichte Westfalens, No. 41 (1883), p. 141-142, speaks in detail of this MS. Other MSS. on the subject are preserved in the town library at Trèves: Cod. 68, 1144, and others. See also *Cod. 344 of the MS. theolog. in the Town Archives at Cologne. F. X. Kraus, in the Serapeum, xxiv., 367, draws attention to the Parisian MSS. concerning the history of the Windesheim congregation.

† Grube, Legationsreise, 396. The names of the abbots are in the Mayence Monats-schrift für geistl. Sachen (1791, p. 213) in Binterim, vii., 249-250. See Bussæus, Trithemii opera pia (Mogunt., 1605), 1048.

Würzburg; no mere passing emotion, such as is wont to touch the heart for a moment, and then leave it unchanged, but a steadfast, earnest purpose of reform. It is possible, indeed, that, through human weakness, or on account of insurmountable obstacles, some of the abbots may have failed to fulfil their promise within the appointed time, but there can be no doubt that the Würzburg Synod brought forth excellent fruit.*

From Würzburg the Cardinal-Legate, riding on a mule, proceeded through Thuringia to Erfurt, which, on account of its numerous churches, chapels, and convents, was called Little Rome. Of the eleven religious houses in this city, three only were reformed, and in one of these, the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter, Cusa took up his abode. St. Peter's was at the time one of the most important monasteries of the Bursfeld congregation, and subsequently became its chief centre.† On the very day after his arrival (30th May), the Legate began to preach. Hartung Kammermeister, in his Annals, gives the following description of his labours as a preacher, and of his sojourn at Erfurt: "On the Saturday after *Cantate* (4th Sunday after Easter),

* Such is Grube's opinion, J. Busch, 130-131. During his stay at Würzburg, Cusa published other decrees of reform. In *Cod. Palat., 362, f. 89, we find a letter addressed by him to Bishop Gottfried, of Würzburg, d. d. Herbipoli, 1451, Maii, 22, concerning abuses in the collection of tithes; and at f. 90^{ab} are protocols and resolutions sent to four rural deaneries with reference to the above letter. Vatican Library.

† The Chronicle of Nicholas of Siegen, published by Wegele, in the Thüringischen Geschichts-quellen, Vol. ii. (see p. 6), is, as this scholar remarks, an immediate result of the distinction conferred on St. Peter's, and of the share taken by that abbey in the movement of monastic reform, whose spirit inspires and guides its author.

anno Dom. 1451, Nicholas of Cusa, the Cardinal sent by Pope Nicholas, came to Erfurt, when the Council decided that its chief man, Count Henry of Glichen, with some of its servants, friends, and citizens, should ride to meet him and receive him. They had also arranged that the monks from the monastery, and also the university, with the students, in procession, should await his arrival at the outer gate towards Tabirstete, there receive him and escort him to the toll bridge. On the aforesaid bridge the Canons of both Chapters met him, and the Cardinal dismounted from his horse and followed them on foot, in procession, to the Church of Our Lady, and both there and at St. Severin there was grand music in the choir and on the organ. Afterwards the Cardinal again mounted his horse and rode to the Petersberg, where the Canons met him with their relics, and he got off his horse at the steps, and gave the kiss of peace, and followed them on foot, in procession, to the monastery, and those who had ridden forth to meet him followed him on their horses, and afterwards everyone rode home again.

"Now at mid-day of *Vocem jucunditatis* (5th Sunday after Easter), the same Cardinal made a good and beautiful sermon from the pulpit of St. Peter's, where a great multitude came together, and he informed the people why and in what manner our Holy Father the Pope had sent him, and he did the same in presence of all. Again on the Day of the Ascension of our Lord, the Cardinal preached from the stone pulpit at the Kaffate, and a great crowd came, for the people heard him gladly.

"Furthermore, on *Exaudi Sunday* the Cardinal preached from the pulpit of St. Peter's, and very many came from the country into the town, wishing to hear his discourse, and the throng was so great that some men were crushed

and many fainted, and it was supposed that more than two thousand persons were present."*

Nicholas of Cusa also visited all the religious houses of Erfurt, and appointed a special commission, with ample powers of reform. Among its members was the excellent Provost of the Augustinians, Johannes Busch, whose labours have been brought to light by recent researches.† Cusa's solicitude also extended to many Benedictine monasteries in Thuringia, and not being able to visit them all personally, he deputed Abbot Christian of St. Peter to act as his substitute, and the Abbot, in his turn, sought the aid of Provost Busch.‡

In the beginning of June the Cardinal went to Magdeburg, where monastic reform as well as renovation of life among clergy and laity were making the happiest progress under the auspices of the admirable Archbishop Frederick. It is worthy of note that Cusa deviated from the direct road to Magdeburg, in order to pass through Halle and make acquaintance with Johannes Busch, the principal promoter of monastic reform in Northern Germany, with whom he desired to confer regarding the great work in hand.

He entered Magdeburg on Whit-Sunday (June 13) in the morning, and remained there until the twenty-eighth of

* Mencken, Script., iii., 1214. According to Ullmann, Ref., i., 257, the celebrated John of Wesel was one of the Cardinal's audience.

† Grube, J. Busch, 132 *et seq.*, a most valuable monograph. See also Grube, Legationsreise, 398-399. In the Bull which Cusa issued for the reformation of the Augustinian convents, he says that Pope Nicholas V. had, in the first place, charged him with the reform of the religious houses of Germany. Busch, De reformat., in Leibniz, Script., ii., 960. See also Kolde, Augustiner congregation, 88.

‡ Thüring, Gesch-Quellen, ii., 433, and Grube, Legationsreise, 399.

June, devoting the first week of his stay to preaching and the visitation of religious houses, and the second to holding a Provincial Synod.* "This same Cardinal," to quote the Municipal Chronicle of Magdeburg, "granted to all people in our Lord of Magdeburg's Cathedral, in that year of graces, or golden year, the same Indulgences that were granted in Rome in the fiftieth year. The Canons had caused a new pulpit to be made, and when he wished to preach, the pulpit was ornamented with golden hangings. Many came to the sermon. There, on the Sunday after Corpus Christi, the Cardinal went with our Lord of Magdeburg in the procession, which every year is wont to be made with the Holy Sacrament, and the Cardinal himself bore It. It never before had been heard that a Cardinal from Rome had gone in procession here. Two Counts of Anhalt accompanied the Cardinal, and the canopy over the Sacrament was borne by the two Counts and other distinguished persons. Our Lord of Magdeburg bore the Holy Cross, and the Abbot of Berge and the Provost of Our Lady's Church also carried relics. At this time so many people came to Magdeburg that all the streets were thronged. In the afternoon, when it is customary every year to show the relics, the Cardinal and our Lord of Magdeburg went up the aisle and stood beside the priest who showed them, as long as this was going on. Then the Cardinal gave the Benediction to the people."†

The Provincial Synod, in which the Bishops of Brandenburg and Merseburg, as well as the zealous Archbishop Frederick, took part, was held by the Cardinal in the choir of the magnificent Cathedral of Magdeburg. The Jubilee Indulgence and the reform of the religious orders were the

* Grube, Legationsreise, 401. See Breest, in the Märk Forschungen, xvi., 237 *et seq.*

† Chroniken der Deutschen Städte, vii., 401.

principal subjects which occupied its attention,* and Cusa appointed for the several towns and monasteries special confessors, who were empowered to absolve from all sins and ecclesiastical censures, even in cases reserved to the Bishops or to the Pope. The measures resolved upon for the reform of the monasteries were stringent. On the 25th June he issued a Bull, requiring, under pain of deprivation of all privileges and of the right of electing superiors, that, within the space of a year, all religious houses in the whole ecclesiastical province should be reformed, and charging all Bishops to publish these decisions as soon as possible, and to aid in their execution. Special attention was next devoted to the reform of the Augustinians, and, in this respect, the Magdeburg Synod was the counterpart to that of Würzburg, which dealt in like manner with the Benedictines. The excellent Provost Busch was honoured as he deserved to be. The Cardinal declared that Pope Nicholas V. had, in his solicitude for the Order of St. Augustine, given him a commission to visit all its convents within the limits of his Legation. Being unable to accomplish this in person, he intended to nominate deputies, who, in their character of visitors and Legates of the Holy See, were to enjoy all the dignities and rights of an Apostolic Legate, and whose commands were in all particulars to be obeyed by the houses. Provost Johann Busch was appointed in the first place as visitor by Cusa, and with him was associated Provost Doctor Paulus Busse, and all Augus-

* Cusa's teaching regarding the Indulgence has been misrepresented, not only by the Protestant Swalue, but also by the Catholic Scharpff. They have been refuted in von Knoop's article in Dieringers Zeitschr. für Wissensch. und Kunst, ii., 44 *et seq.*, and Grube, Legationsreise, 403. Regarding Archbishop Frederick of Magdeburg, who deserves a special monograph, see Evelt, 141 *et seq.*; Janicke, in the Allg. Biogr., vii., 548 *et seq.*; and Breest, in the Märk. Forschungen, xvi., 202 *et seq.*, 236.

tinian convents of the province of Magdeburg, and of the dioceses of Halberstadt, Hildesheim, and Verdun, its suffragans, were to be subject to their jurisdiction. Cusa charged the visitors to begin with the superior of each house, and to go through all its members to the very lowest, and then to give an accurate account in writing of the result of their inquiries. "They were to correct everything found to be at variance with the rule of the Order and the Hildesheim Statutes, approved by Pope Martin V. at the Council of Constance. In case of grave transgressions, and towards incorrigible offenders, they were to use strong measures, and even to invoke the aid of the secular arm for the eradication of crimes and scandals." Finally, all houses that accepted the reform were to participate in the benefit of the Indulgence. Both the visitors were fully empowered to give absolution in reserved cases and from ecclesiastical censures, and to grant dispensations for all irregularities. They were, moreover, authorized to remove the interdict, and in cases where they were worthy, to confirm provosts and priors who had obtained their prelacies by simony, and to set them free from the obligation of restitution in regard to revenues which they had unjustly enjoyed. Any convent refusing to admit the visitors incurred interdict, and its inmates fell under the greater excommunication, both of which censures were reserved to the Cardinal Legate and the Apostolic See. By the grant of these powers the work of reformation, which had hitherto depended only on the goodwill of the religious houses and the efforts of the bishops, received Papal authorization.*

The labours of the Provincial Synod of Magdeburg were

* Grube, J. Busch, 135-136, and Legationsreise, 404. Leibniz, Script., ii., 956-958. See also, regarding Busch's reforms, Finke in the Zeitschr. für Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburg. Gesch. (Kiel, 1883), xiii., 148 *et seq.*

not yet at an end;* a long list of resolutions for the reform of ecclesiastical affairs was drawn up; regulations were made regarding the carrying of the Blessed Sacrament, the office in choir, and the Jews, and finally a severe edict against concubinage was published.† The decree requiring prayers for the Pope and for the Bishop of the Diocese to be said during Holy Mass, issued for the Province of Salzburg at the beginning of Cusa's Legation, was now enacted at Magdeburg, and is a fresh example of the great Cardinal's care for the promotion of ecclesiastical unity.‡

A cheering token of the revival of piety in Northern Germany appears in the zeal, with which the Bishop and the secular authorities promulgated and carried out the decisions of the Magdeburg Synod. The visitors of the religious houses spared no trouble in the accomplishment of their difficult task, and the fact that they devoted nearly seven weeks to Erfurt bears witness to the thoroughness of their labours in the cause of monastic reform. The convents of St. Thomas at Leipzig and St. John

* As Grube (*loc. cit.*), whose excellent description we may in all other particulars adopt, would seem to infer.

† *Acta concilii provincialis Magdeburgensis. Cod. Vatic. 3934, f. 166 *et seq.* (Vatican Library). See Erdmannsdörffer in the Nachrichten der historichen Commission der Bayerischen Akademie, ii., 2, 98. The **Decree against those who had concubines is dated, Magdeburg, 1451, June 25.

‡ Cusa's Decree "De oracione pro papa et episcopo facienda" is, according to Erdmannsdörffer (*loc. cit.*), to be found in Cod. C. iii., 24, f. 140 of the Casanate Library in Rome. I failed, however, to find it there; there is a decree against forgers of Papal Bulls. Probably the reference given by Erdmannsdörffer is not correct; there is a mistake in the subsequent notice by this scholar (Cod. Vatic. instead of Palat. 362).

at Halberstadt were also visited and reformed this year.*

To this period belongs the Cardinal's well-known prohibition of the veneration of bleeding Hosts, a matter regarding which the result of recent investigations is by no means unanimous.† From Halberstadt, whence this order was issued, the Cardinal went to Wolfenbüttel and Brunswick, and then turned his steps towards Hildesheim. In this town he at once deposed the Abbot of St. Michael's, who had obtained his dignity by means of simony and was averse to the reform, putting in his place a monk from Bursfeld, and thus ensuring the strict observance of the rule.‡ Here, as elsewhere, Cusa made the religious instruction of the people his care. An interesting memorial of his solicitude is preserved in the Hildesheim Museum in the form of a wooden tablet, bearing the paternoster and the ten commandments, which he caused to be hung up in St. Lambert's, the parish church of Neustadt, as an aid to catechetical instruction.§

* Interesting details are given by Grube, J. Busch, 139 *et seq.*; and at p. 146 *et seq.* the opposition subsequently encountered by the reformer is described.

† Scharpff (164), Düx (ii., 19) and Rohrbacher-Knöpfler (203) justify the decision, while Grube (Legationsreise 406-407) regards it as most unfortunate, and as prejudicial to the work of reform. The document is published in Würdtwein, Nov. Subsid., xi., 382-384. See also Zeitschr. f. Westfälische Gesch., Third Series, i., 236; Fiala, 518 *et seq.*, and the detailed account given by Breest in the Märk. Forschungen (Berlin, 1881), xvi., 240 *et seq.*

‡ Leibniz, Script., ii., 402, 412, 801. Grube, Legationsreise, 409-410. In opposition to the idea that Cusa's monastic reform was merely external, Grube justly observes that most of the reformed convents stood firm during the storms of the sixteenth century. See A. Weiss, Vor der Reformation, 23.

§ Grube *loc. cit.* From the time of his sojourn at Hildesheim, the Cardinal Legate began to exercise an influence on the troubles

The Cardinal left Hildesheim about the 20th July,* probably spent some days in the ancient and celebrated convent of Corbie, and then remained in Minden uninterruptedly from the 30th July until the 9th August, labouring with great zeal at the arrangement of ecclesiastical affairs.† His activity is shown by the list of rules by which he sought to amend the deplorable condition of the diocese. The convents of the city of Minden were subjected to a searching visitation, especially the Benedictine Abbey of St. Simon, where discipline had become very relaxed. Here, as in other places, he preached and said Mass in the Cathedral. He also inquired minutely into the condition of the Secular Clergy and the laity, and published ordinances for the better celebration of Divine Service and a severe edict against concubinage among the clergy. As this edict did not at once produce the desired effect, he caused a decree to be affixed to the church doors, threatening any beneficed ecclesiastic, who took back his concubine or kept her elsewhere, with the loss of his income and exclusion from public worship. Should the priest of any

in Münster. See Sauer, Münst. Stiftsfehde, 129 *et seq.* Sauer's work, which is founded in great measure on unpublished documents, is of special value, inasmuch as previous accounts had merely dealt with the ecclesiastical aspect of Cusa's mission.

* On the 19th July, 1451, Cusa issued at Hildesheim a *Bull of Indulgence in favour of the visitors and benefactors of the "ecclesia monasterii beate Marie virginis in Richenberga ordin. canonicor. regul. S. Augustini Hildeshemen. dioc." The original, according to the information kindly furnished me by Prof. Wilmanns, is in the App. dipl., n. 262, of the University Library at Göttingen.

† Sauer *loc. cit.* 153, 173-174. The details regarding his stay at Corbie in Manegold's article "Athanasia," in the Würzburger Zeitsch. (iii., 2, 251), are defective and in some degree incorrect. For an account of the subsequent progress of the reform in Corbie see Evelt, 169 *et seq.*

church permit an ecclesiastic, reasonably suspected of this sin, to enter his church or take part in the worship of God, the whole city of Minden was to incur an interdict which could only be removed by the Cardinal himself, or by the Apostolic See. The erection of new confraternities or congregations was prohibited, lest the laity should be encouraged to trust in a fallacious piety, consisting solely in externals and nominal membership in many brotherhoods.*

While Nicholas of Cusa was thus labouring in Northern Germany to reform the Church from within, the celebrated Minorite, St. John Capistran, was energetically prosecuting the same work in the southern and eastern parts of the kingdom. King Frederick III. had, through the intervention of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, induced the Pope to send this great preacher to Germany, charged with the double duty of reforming his own order, and of combating the religious indifference, the sensuality and the spirit of insubordination, which had long prevailed among the people.†

The Papal mandate, desiring St. John Capistran to proceed to the north, found him at Venice, where he was preaching the Lent.

* Grube, J. Busch, 153-154. See the Minden Decrees in Würdtwein, Nov. Subsid., xi., 385-399. Evelt, 150 *et seq.*, describes the fate of the reform in the Abbey of St. Simon.

† Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Friderici III., 175. Wadding, 1451, n. 1, Chmel, ii., 629. St. John Capistran was also to counteract the Hussite heresy; see Sybel's histor. Zeitschr., x., 60. Just at this time the Duke of Milan had invited him to his dominions, and, when the invitation was declined, had replied that he would esteem a visit from the Saint as the greatest happiness. *Letter from the Duke to St. John Capistran, dated Piacenza, 1451, October 23rd. Regest. in Cod. 1612d., Fonds Ital. of the National Library in Paris.

He immediately started on his journey to Wiener-Neustadt, passing through Carinthia and Styria, where the mountaineers welcomed him with the greatest enthusiasm. "Wherever he arrived," says Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini in his History of Frederick III.* "priests and people met him with the holy relics, received him as ambassador of the Pope and preacher of truth, as a great prophet and messenger from heaven. The people flocked down from the mountains as if St. Peter or St. Paul, or some other of the Apostles were passing by, desiring to touch even the hem of his garment, and bearing their sick, many of whom are said to have returned healed. He was about sixty-five years old, small of stature, thin, withered and worn, mere skin and bone, but always cheerful, powerful in intellect, unwearied in work, very learned and eloquent. He preached every day, treating of high and important matters to the joy and delight of learned and unlearned; to all he gave satisfaction, and persuaded them as he would. From twenty to thirty thousand people came every day to his sermons, and although they did not understand what he said, listened to him with more attention than to the interpreter, for it was his custom first to pronounce his whole discourse in Latin, and afterwards he let the interpreter repeat it.† It was long before he could reach Vienna, and when at the prayer of the Viennese he at last came to their city, they thronged to him in such crowds that the streets were too narrow to hold them. Men and

* Hist. Frid. III., 177 *et seq.*; Palacky, iv., 1, 281 *et seq.*

† In Magdeburg, as the Municipal Chronicle informs us, St. John Capistrân's Latin sermons lasted from two to three hours. The like time was then occupied in their interpretation, so that the audience had to remain from four to five hours. Chroniken der Deutschen Städtes, vii., 392. He also often, as for example in Frankfurt, said Mass after the sermon. See Grotefend, i., 191.

women pressed one upon another, and when they saw him they shed tears of joy, raised up their hands to heaven and praised him, and those who could come near him kissed his garments, and greeted him as a messenger from heaven. He took up his abode with the Minorites, his brethren in religion, and was supported at the expense of the city. The rule of life which, together with his brethren, he observed was the following: he slept in his habit, rose at daybreak, and after much prayer said holy Mass. He then preached publicly to the people in Latin, from a high platform erected for him near the Carmelite Church on the Square, because elsewhere there was not room. A few hours later, when the interpreter also had finished, he returned to his convent, and after spending some time in prayer, went to visit the sick, laying hands on some, and touching others with the biretta of St. Bernardine, and the blood which had flowed from his nose after death. These visits occupied a long time, inasmuch as the sick were seldom fewer than five hundred, and the Saint prayed devoutly for them all. Towards evening he took food, gave audiences, said vespers, and returned to the sick and engaged in devotional exercises with them until after night had set in. After more prayer he at last allowed his body some repose, but his sleep was very short, for he stole from it time for the study of Holy Scripture. Thus did this man lead on earth what may be called a heavenly life, spotless, blameless, and sinless; I boldly say sinless although people were not wanting who accused him of vain ambition." *

* As for example the Saxon Chronicler, Mathias Döring, "the enemy of the Emperor and of his ally the Papacy," who represents St. John Capistran as a vain boaster and deceiver (in Mencken, iii., 19-20). The judgment of Æneas Sylvius was also at a subsequent period less favourable, and when Pope, he would not hear of the saint's canonization. The fanatical Döring (see Ullmann, i.,

Preaching penance wherever he went, St. John Capistran proceeded from Vienna through a great part of Germany. At Ratisbon, Augsburg, Nüremberg, Weimar, Jena, Leipzig, Dresden, Halle, Magdeburg, Erfurt, Breslau and many other places, he was unwearied in proclaiming the Word of God, and won thousands to a better life*. In Moravia he battled with the Hussite heresy and reconciled many to the Church, but the hostility of Podiebrad closed Bohemia

251), in his chronicle, writes of things sacred to all devout men in such language that we can hardly believe our eyes as we read it. He condemns, not merely abuses, but also here and there the very substance of the Catholic faith. When he deals with Indulgences and the Jubilee he betrays his real sentiments: "Tus stille, lat over gan," and scoffs at both. F. W. Woker, Gesch. der Norddeutschen Franciscaner-Missionen (Freiburg, 1880), 19. See also in reference to Döring, Märk. Forschungen, xvi., 198 *et seq.* I am indebted to the kindness of my deceased master, Prof. Floss, for my knowledge of an unpublished * Letter of St. John Capistran's, dated, Vienna "prox. die post octavas Apost. Petri et Pauli A°, 1451," and preserved in Cod. 510 of the University Library of Padua.

* Almost all the chronicles of these cities speak more or less fully of the visits of the great preacher. Regarding his efforts against the Jews, see Stobbe, Die Juden in Deutschland während des Mittelalters (Braunschweig, 1866), 192 *et seq.*, 291; the reports of the Striegauer Stadtbuch in the Zeitschr. für Gesch. Schlesiens, 1865, vi., 378 *et seq.*; Mon-Poloniæ hist., iii. 785, *et seq.*, iv., 1 *et seq.*, and Grünhagen Gesch. Schlesiens (Gotha, 1884), i., 280 *et seq.* Also see Veith, De reb. Capist. in Silesia gestis (Glogau, 1831). F. C. G. Müller, Des Franciscaners J. v. Capistrano Mission unter den Husiten, 1451-1453 (Leipzig, 1867). Zeitschr. für Gesch. der Stadt. Dresden (1883): Capistrano in Dresden. Märkische Forschungen, xvi., 255 *et seq.*; Capistrano's Beziehungen zum Wilsnacker Wunderblut. See also Frind, iv., 37 *et seq.* I may here mention in passing that, according to information kindly furnished me by Prof. A. Jäger, a letter of affiliation from St. John Capistran to the Abbot and religious of the Convent of Stams, dated Wratislaviæ. 1453, April 12th, was to be found in the

to him. The Cardinal of Cracow and King Casimir invited him to Poland, where he continued his labours.*

His own order derived great benefits from his untiring energy. He knew how to arouse the zeal of the German Princes and cities. In most of the places where he preached he either founded a new convent, or obtained for his Observantines possession of one which required reform. It was his special care to fill these houses with learned novices who had been won, by his preaching, from among the undergraduates and students in the university towns.† He strove earnestly in his innumerable discourses to awaken among the people a spirit of true penance and moral reformation. Success crowned his efforts, and in many places men and women brought their dice, cards, false hair, paint, and such like to the public market place and there burned them. "In the year 1454," says an Augsburg chronicle, "Brother John Capistran, of the bare-footed Order, preached here in the church of our Lady, after Mass in the morning about the sixth hour, from the pulpit which had been erected for him, and he did this for eight days together. The men all had to sit on one side and the women on the other, and after dinner, towards evening, he touched all sick people in the court with the Relic of St. Bernardine. Many tresses of false hair and a

Provincial Archives of the Tyrolese Franciscans at Schwaz; it subsequently passed into the Archives of Hall and Innsbruck; the kind exertions of Fr. A. Troger have been unsuccessful in discovering the present place of this valuable document.

* Caro, iv., 455 *et seq.*, and Palacky, iv., 1, 285 *et seq.*, 292 *et seq.*, 360.

† Voigt in Sybel's histor. Zeitschr., x., 56. See Chmel, Kirchl. Zustände, 75. * Fratri Joh. de Capistrano conceditur facultas ædificandi conventus ord. min. in Bohemia, Moravia et Austria dat. iv. non Maii a° 1453, P. A. vii°. Reg. 400, f. 69b., Secret Archives of the Vatican.

pile of gambling tables and cards were burnt in the market place."*

In many places St. John's preaching produced effects which, though supported by ample testimony, appear almost incredible. In Leipzig, for example, after he had preached on death with a skull in his hand, nearly a hundred and twenty students sought admission into different Religious Orders, about half the number being clothed by the preacher himself with the habit of St. Francis. Fifty young men were won for his Order in Vienna, and a hundred and thirty in Cracow, and many of these were students.† The Pope showed his esteem for this marvellous preacher by bestowing on him special faculties and granting indulgences to all who should attend his sermons. He was popularly known as the "holy man" or "ghostly father." ‡

Meanwhile the zealous Nicholas of Cusa had in the brief space of six months traversed the most important districts of his native land, leaving everywhere traces of his presence in beneficent regulations which encouraged the good and were a terror to the evil.§ He now turned his steps to the spot whence monastic reform in Northern Germany had, in the first instance, proceeded, and where many of the happy days of his youth had been spent.‖ Amid general rejoicings he entered Deventer on the 12th August, and

* Chroniken der Deutschen Städte, iv., 325 ; see vii., 391-392. The painter Steinle has represented these effects of the sermons in a picture in the Cathedral at Frankfort, which city the saint visited in October 1454. (See G. L. Kriegk, Deutsch. Bürgerthum im Mittelalter [Frankfurt, 1868], 23, 342, 526, 566, and Grotefend, 1, 59, 101, 191-192.)

† See R. L. Gräfe in Illgens Zeitschr. für histor. Theol. (1839), ix., 69, and Voigt in Sybel's histor. Zeitschr., x., 56.

‡ Grotefend, i., 191.

§ Hartzheim, Vita, 82.

‖ Scharpff, 167-168.

took up his abode with his beloved brethren in religion. It was his delight to share the common life of those virtuous religious; he ate with them, though occupying a special seat in conformity with his dignity, and observed the monastic rule in every particular. In the afternoon, when the brethren were assembled in choir, he delighted them with an edifying discourse. While here the Cardinal also visited Windesheim, where he first delivered a striking sermon, and then proceeded to the church, solemnly celebrated Pontifical High Mass, and imparted to all present the Indulgences of the Jubilee.* Cusa spent more than two months in the Low Countries, visiting Deventer, Zwolle, Utrecht, Haarlem, Leyden, Arnheim, Nymwegen, Ruremonde, Mästricht, Liège, Brussels, and most other places of importance.† His attention was everywhere devoted not only to monastic reform, but also to that of the people. Van Heilo, his contemporary and assistant, writes: "He not only everywhere admonished and punished ecclesiastics, and required them to amend, but also in his sermons instructed the other members of Christian society in all things necessary, so that many, of high as well as of low estate, laity as well as clergy, were greatly moved in spirit by his words."‡

* Binterim, vii., 264-266. The prosperity of the Windesheim Congregation is evidenced by the fact that, according to Grube (J. Busch, 283 *et seq.*), up to the year 1464, it numbered sixty-four convents of men and thirteen of women.

† Scharpff, 183, and more particularly Sauer, 174 *et seq.* In dealing with Cusa's journeys through the Low Countries, we feel the want of a work similar to that in which Grube has so thoroughly informed us of the particulars of his progress through Northern Germany. Kampen (i., 214-216) gives but scanty details, and Wenzelburger, Gesch. der Niederl. (Gotha, 1879), i., hardly mentions Cusa.

‡ Swalue, 59-60, in Scharpff, 179. When in Holland, the Cardinal did not forget his own native land. From Deventer he

Cusa then passed through Luxembourg to enjoy, at his own beautiful home, and among his own people, a short period of well-earned repose. It is related that when his sister Clara came to welcome him at Trèves, at the end of October, in festal array, he would not receive her until she had resumed her simple ordinary dress.*

A foundation, whose origin dates from the Cardinal's sojourn with his family, still keeps alive the memory of his charity and of his affection for his home. He entered into an agreement with his brother John, the parish priest of Bernkastel, and his sister Clara for the establishment at Cues of a hospital where, in honour of the thirty-three years of our Lord's life, thirty-three poor people were to be provided for. The means required for the foundation were to be derived from the property of the family and from the Cardinal's revenues. "Perhaps," says one of Cusa's biographers, "this was the noblest of the fruits brought forth by the Church's summons to penance and satisfaction. The offering of this Christian family at Cues, with the preacher of the Jubilee in its midst, is in the genuine spirit of Christianity, and has been richly blessed by God."†

promulgated a salutary decree for the reform of the clergy of the dioceses of Minden and Osnaburgh (Würdtwein, Nov. Subsid., xi., 399-400).

* Hartzheim, Vita, 133. The monument of Cusa's sister is still to be seen in the Hospital Church at Cues.

† Scharpff, 184. See Düx, ii., 42, 233 *et seq.*, Martini, Das Hospital zu Cues und dessen Stifter (Trier, 1841). The date of the hospital's erection is uncertain, but its existence is mentioned in a Bull of Indulgence granted by Nicholas V. on the 1st May, 1453. Scharpff, 382. By his will, Cusa, after some few other bequests, left to the hospital all his gold and silver plate, as well as the valuable collection of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin MSS., which he had collected during his repeated residences in, and visits to Italy and

The conclusion of Cusa's labours in Germany is marked by the great Provincial Councils of Mayence and Cologne, which brought the blessings of reform within the immediate reach of his own home.*

The Provincial Council of Mayence was opened in the middle of November, 1451, and lasted for several weeks.† The resolutions which it framed may be summed up as follows:—The edict of the Council of Basle regarding the holding of Provincial and Diocesan Synods was adopted. In these Synods the treatise of St. Thomas Aquinas, on "the Articles of Faith and the Holy Sacraments" was to be explained to those entrusted with the cure of souls and to be recommended as a useful handbook. A decree was passed dealing with the usurious practices of the Jews, and another regarding concubinage amongst the clergy, who were to be made subject to the penal laws passed at Basle.

Greece (Martini, *loc. cit.* 15 *et seq.*). Some idea of the importance of Cusa's library may be gathered from the fact that, although many of its treasures have been lost, it still contains three hundred and seven MSS.; see Klein, Ueber eine Handschrift des Nic. v. Cusa (Berlin, 1866), 5, and the excellent Catalogue by Kraus in the Serapeum, xxv., 353-365, 369-383; xxvi., 24-31, 33-42, 49-59, 65-76, 81-89, 97-100. Codices from Cues are to be found in the Bibliothèque de Bourgogne at Brussels (as, for example, 3819, 8873-8877, 9799-9809, 10615-10729; Serapeum, xxiv., 52, and Archiv, viii., 46, 517 *et seq.*, 531); in the British Museum, London (a special work treating of these will appear); also in Paris and in Vienna; see Serapeum, iv., 108; xxiv., 52, and Klein *loc. cit.*

* The reasons why the Cardinal issued no reforming Decrees for the Diocese of Trèves is given by Binterim (vii., 282), who refers to the reforms which Archbishop Jakob had already accomplished there. See J. J. Blattau, Statuta Synod. Trev., i., 309, and Evelt, 146.

† Binterim, 276 *et seq.* During the sitting of this Council a libellous tract on the Indulgence, alms, and other matters was found before Cusa's door. Görz, Trier. Regest., i., a.a. See Gebhardt, 3 *et seq.*

The holding of markets on Sundays and festivals and the abuse of Indulgences were forbidden, as also the erection of fresh confraternities to the prejudice of the public worship in the parish churches. The sentence of interdict was limited by a very wise resolution. In order to keep up respect for the most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, It was to be exposed only on the festival of Corpus Christi and during its octave. Other decrees had reference to abuses in nomination to posts in cathedrals and collegiate churches, and others again prescribed monastic reforms.*

An important mission now removed Cusa for a time from the scene of his labour. Bulls from Rome commanded him in August, 1451 to proceed to England, and also to visit the territories of the Duke of Burgundy, and there, as well as in the adjacent countries, to endeavour to establish that peace which the ever-increasing danger of Turkish invasion rendered so necessary to Christendom.†

* Düx, ii., 43-44; see Fiala, 516 *et seq.* The text of the decrees is given in Hartzheim, v., 398-412, and Martène, Coll., viii., 1005 *et seq.*, and in *Cod. Palat. (not Vatic., as Erdmannsdörffer states in the Nachrichten der histor. Commission, ii., 2, 98, for this Codex contains Epistolæ S. Hieronymi), 362, f. 126a-150a, Vatican Library. I found in a contemporary copy in Cod. ii., 219, of the town library at Mayence, a number of decrees by which "Hermanus Rosenberg decret. doctor, scolasticus ecclesie S. Marie ad gradus Mogunt., rev^mi in Christo patris et domini domini Theodorici archiepisc. Mogunt. in spiritualib. vicarius generalis ac commissarius et executor ad infrascripta ab eodem domino archiepiscopo spec. deputatus" charges the clergy to observe the decrees of the Provincial Council confirmed by Cusa; I shall speak more fully of these documents in their proper place.

† d'Estouteville was sent at the same time to France; see *supra*, p. 104. Also Georgius, 89, 92. Tübing. Quartalschr., 1830, p. 792-795 (Bull to Cusa of 15th Aug., 1451). Four *Bulls, dated Rome, 1451, Sept. 23, giving Cusa a list of faculties for his mission to England, are in the original in the Municipal Archives at Innsbruck. (Brixen Archives, n. 311-314). See also App., No. 8a.

In one of these Bulls, Nicholas V. expresses his confidence that Cusa will, by the exercise of that circumspection and prudence which God has bestowed on him, bring about the much desired peace and become worthy to receive the palm of glory by which God rewards peacemakers. But national animosity was too powerful, and a truce was the utmost that could be obtained.* Having returned to Germany he resumed his work by summoning a Provincial Synod to meet at Cologne. This assembly sat from the 24th February until the 8th March. Its decisions were substantially the same with those of the Synod of Mayence,† and Cusa joined to their publication the following beautiful words, "By the influence of Divine love and the power of the Apostolic Spirit, which, according to the testimony of St. Jerome, never

* Scharpff, 196. Cusa does not seem to have reached England; see Binterim, vii., 267 *et seq.*

† Sauer, 166; Binterim, vii., 280-281 *et seq.*, there are some very good remarks on the effects of the Cologne Decrees. After the conclusion of his embassy in Germany Cusa, in April, 1452, resumed the government of his diocese, and devoted special care to monastic reform, which brought him into conflict with Duke Sigismund. I shall speak of these differences in connection with Pius II. In June, 1452, the Cardinal took part in the Diet of Ratisbon (see Palacky, iv., 1, 294 *et seq.*). On the 19th August his mission to Bohemia was extended to the adjoining countries (*Reg. 399, f. 208b., Secret Archives of the Vatican). In the end of October the Pope sent him to Emperor Frederick III., to reconcile him with the young King Ladislas. See Appendix, No. 10 and 11. Jäger's conjecture (i., 42) that Cusa arrived in Brixen on the 16th April, 1452, is a mistake, for a *Letter from the Cardinal to the Prior "monasterii b^te Marie Virginis in Richenberge ordinis S^ti Augustini canon. regul. prope Goslariam Hildesemen dioec," about monastic reforms is dated "in civitate nostra Brixinen. sub nostro sigillo die decima quinta mensis Aprilis A° 1452." The original with a well preserved seal attached is in the University Library at Göttingen. Appar. dipl. n. 263.

forsakes the chair of St. Peter, and at the present time devotes itself with special solicitude to feeding the flock of Christ, it has come to pass that our Holy Father, Pope Nicholas V., has cast his eyes on this great province of Cologne, and has sent us, although the least of all the Cardinals of the Sacred College, here, to see how you, brethren, his beloved sons, advance in the way of the Lord. Let us, therefore, thank God, who has collected us together for the promotion of holiness, and in order that by mutual consultation things may take a better direction. And as you are here assembled, most worthy Archbishop Dietrich,* together with the honourable chapter and the representatives of the Suffragans, the worthy Abbots, Provosts, Deans, Canons, and other religious learned Priests and Masters in great number, it appears to me that the moment has come when from deliberate, ample, and common consultation a profitable result may ensue. For the sake of a better understanding, I think it well to premise that by these resolutions we do not in any way prejudice any apostolic ordinances published by ourselves or other Legates, nor repeal any provincial or diocesan decrees and laudable customs whatever they may be (in so far as they shall not be amended or limited by the decisions we are now about to publish) nor allow the authority of the Holy See or its Legate, or of the Metropolitan and his Suffragans, or any rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities to be in any way impaired. We shall study to maintain the proved right of each one. Moreover, for the sake of carrying some measure of reform into the affairs of the Church, until God grants us more fitting time for more careful consultation, we, Nicholas, Cardinal and Legate, etc., in virtue of our ample power presiding over this Holy

* Dietrich II., Archbishop of Cologne, from 1414 to 1463; see Corbanus in the Allgem. Biogr., 179-182.

Provincial Council, according to the express consent of the worthy Lord and Father in Christ, Lord Dietrich, Archbishop of Cologne, presiding conjointly with us, of his reverend Chapter and his Suffragans, and the unanimous approval of the whole Synod conclude and ordain as follows,"* etc.

The work done by Cardinal Cusa as Legate in Germany and the Low Countries may be looked upon as the most glorious of his well-spent life, and all honour is due to the Holy See for the selection of an instrument so well-fitted to accomplish a task of rare difficulty.† Truly to use the words of Abbot Trithemius,‡ "Nicholas of Cusa appeared in Germany as an angel of light and peace, amidst darkness and confusion, restored the unity of the Church, strengthened the authority of her Supreme Head, and sowed a precious seed of new life. Some of this, on account of the hardheartedness of men, has not grown up, some has brought forth blossoms which from sloth and negligence have quickly disappeared, but a good part has borne fruit in which we still rejoice. Cusa was a man of faith and of love, an apostle of devotion and knowledge. His mind embraced all provinces of human knowledge, but all his knowledge was from God, and its sole object was the glory of God and the edification and amendment of men."

* Hartzheim, v., 413. Scharpff, 196 *et seq.*

† Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 204. "From the time when the ardour of Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa inaugurated a new epoch," says Janssen (1, 9th ed., 591), "a fresh impulse of life and reform was given to the German Church." See Droysen, ii., 1139.

‡ Trithemius, De vera studiorum ratione, f. 2, in Janssen (1, 9th ed.), 4.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LAST IMPERIAL CORONATION IN ROME, 1452.

THE same pontificate which witnessed the abdication of the last anti-Pope, and the healing of the Schism of Basle, witnessed also the last coronation of an Emperor in Rome. Ever since the conclusion of the Concordat at Vienna, Frederick III. had set his heart on a visit to Rome. He desired that the reconciliation thus effected between himself and the Pope should be sealed by his solemn coronation as Emperor in the Holy City. In spite of the almost universal contempt for authority of every sort which had prevailed for the last ten years and more perhaps, indeed for that very reason, a reaction in favour of the Empire seemed setting in amongst a certain portion of the nations.* Thus, the less Frederick felt himself personally strong enough to assert his rights and bring his surroundings into subjection, the more eagerly did he seek compensation in the prestige that the coronation would confer on him. It was towards the close of the year 1449 that the thought of his journey to Rome began first to be seriously entertained at the Royal Court;† but nothing was done. Frederick's position was such as to render his absence from Germany inexpedient, and the disturbed condition of northern Italy, consequent on the death of the last of the Visconti, was not inviting. The

* Chmel, ii., 622. † Keussen, Reichsstädte, 50.

execution of the plan was therefore deferred, but it was not relinquished.

Later on the project of a marriage between the king of the Romans and Donna Leonora, daughter of the King of Portugal, was added to that of the coronation. In September, 1450, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini was despatched to Italy to enter into negotiations with King Alfonso, Leonora's maternal uncle, for this alliance, and with the Pope for the coronation. With his accustomed dexterity, Æneas Sylvius successfully accomplished both commissions, and then Frederick began in good earnest and with unwonted energy to make his preparations both for the journey and for the reception of his bride. He issued an invitation and requisition to the Princes of the Empire, the Imperial cities, and all the nobles and loyal subjects in his hereditary dominions, in compliance with ancient usage, to attend him on his journey to Rome. The place of meeting was to be Austria for the Austrians and Bohemians, Carinthia for the Hungarians and Bavarians, Ferrara for the Suabians, the inhabitants of the Rhenish provinces, and the Saxons.* Accordingly in his invitation to the Imperial cities, Cologne, Frankfort, and Strasburg, Frederick says that it is his will "to proceed to Rome," in order there to receive the Imperial Crown, and requests the above-named cities to provide him with an escort such as "their laudable ancient customs bind them to supply to the King of the Romans." He will himself "set forth" so as

* Chmel, ii., 634. See Bayer, 96; and 91 *et seq.*, for proof that the statements of Pecci (322) and Voigt (ii., 17) in regard to the nomination of Æneas Sylvius to the bishopric of Siena are false; Bayer has not noticed that the Papal Brief of Sept. 23rd, 1450, relating to this has been printed in Theiner (Mon. Slav., i., 406-407). On Donna Leonora see Birk's interesting paper in the Almanach der K. Akad. der Wissenschaft. Wien (1859), ix., 155-188.

to be at Ferrara by St. Catherine's day (November 25th), from which city he "purposes to start on his progress to Rome." He therefore requests, and "in virtue of his authority as King of the Romans, solemnly enjoins and commands," that the said escort shall be sent by that day to Ferrara, "thoroughly equipped and well provided," as is fitting "in order to accompany him on the said journey, for the honour of the Holy Roman Empire and his own."*

In March, 1451, Frederick sent two of his court chaplains, Jacob Motz and Nicholas Lanckmann, to Lisbon, to effect the formal ratification of his marriage contract. They were also commissioned to conduct the future Empress as far as the Tuscan part of Telamone, where a royal envoy would meet and receive her.†

But, when it became evident that Frederick was seriously intending to proceed to Italy, the obstacles to the realization of his purpose multiplied daily. Not only were there symptoms in Austria of a dangerous agitation against his wardship of the young King Ladislas Posthumus, but the commotion stirred up in Italy also by the news of

* *Fred. III. to Cologne, dated Neustadt, 1451, Sept. 10. Imperial Documents in City Archives, Cologne. See Keussen, 50 *et seq.* The corresponding letter to Frankfort is to be found in abstract in Janssen, Reichscorrespondenz, ii., 114. The Emperor's letter to Strasburg is, according to Ebrard (3), dated Sept. 11th; that to George von Herberstein, Sept. 23. See Chmel, Reg. No. 2721.

† See Lanckmann de Falkenstein, Historia desponsationis et coronationis Frid. III. et conjugis ipsius Eleonoræ, in Pez, Script. rer. Austr., ii., 591-606. This highly interesting narrative beginning with the words "O sacrum imperium," shows that the insignificance of the Empire in the later middle ages has been much exaggerated. "Nothing is a greater proof," says Lorenz, ii., 2nd ed., 282, "of the immense consideration still enjoyed by the Empire even in the remotest parts of Europe, than the account of the reception of the ambassadors in Portugal, and the whole history of the marriage."

his impending arrival was amazing. So great was the alarm of the timid Pope Nicholas V. that he entreated Heinrich Senftleben, then on his way to Germany, to do his utmost to persuade Frederick to desist from his purpose. But the King now displayed that singular stubbornness in his nature which made him blind to all dangers until they were actually upon him.* Regardless of the embarrassments he might be leaving to his counsellors, and of anything that might happen when his back was turned,† he set his face Romewards more resolutely than ever, and all attempts to dissuade him were still further frustrated by the changed attitude of the Pope, who, reassured by the representations of Æneas Sylvius, and perhaps also influenced by other considerations, now favoured his project. He sent him a safe conduct and a cordial letter, warmly expressing the pleasure he felt at the prospect of soon greeting the King in Rome. Meanwhile the worst news continued to arrive from Austria. Æneas Sylvius in his narrative emphasizes the fact that several of those who accompanied Frederick urgently besought him to put off his journey and return at once to Vienna to nip the impending insurrection in the bud. But the King was determined to "cross the Alps."‡ It was at Canale, 1st January, 1452, that his foot first pressed the soil of Italy. The young King Ladislas rode by his side, and the Bohemians, the Hungarians, and his

* Voigt, Enea Silvio, ii., 32.

† Ebrard, ii. On Oct. 2 *Æneas Sylvius wrote from Vienna to Jacobo de Tholomeis de Senis, "Quia ser^mus dominus noster Rex Romanorum intendit in brevi Ytaliam venire ac Romam ire pro corona, volui id tibi significare:" he was to inform the Marquess of Ferrara of this. Cl. x., dist. 4, n. 22, f. 76, State Archives, Florence.

‡ Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Frid., iii., p. 193 *et seq.*; see Bayer., 103 *et seq.*, 108 *et seq.*, 118 *et seq.* The Pope's safe conduct, dated Dec. 17, 1451, is to be found in Chmel, Reg. App. No. 92.

brother, Duke Albert, with his Suabians, had already joined the Royal party at Villach.

Frederick's suite was neither numerous nor brilliant. In all he had not more than two thousand two hundred men, and of these only Albert, Ladislas, and the Bishops of Ratisbon, Gurk, and Trent were of princely rank. Nevertheless, to avoid all possible occasion of umbrage, even this insignificant force was divided, and advanced in separate bands! The alarmists in Italy, who had hitherto expressed so much consternation at the prospect of his royal progress, were silenced perforce, and in fact the reception accorded to the harmless pilgrim was everywhere both friendly and splendid. The republic of Venice, through whose territory Frederick first entered Italy, spared no pains to welcome the future Emperor with befitting honours. Gaspard Enenkel, the imperial councillor, says that "the King crossed all the canals from Tervis to Padua on new bridges erected by the republic expressly for the occasion. There was the King right worshipfully entertained by all the people, clergy and laity, rich and poor, men, women, and children, all falling on their knees, praising him and doing him homage; truly if God Himself had come down from heaven they could hardly have done Him more honour, and all the King's costs were defrayed by the Venetians, till he came to the country of the Marquess of Verona."*

His reception in Ferrara by the Marquess Borso d'Este was exceptionally magnificent. This wealthy prince hoped that Frederick would make him a duke, and to display his liberality he not only defrayed all the King's own expenses during his stay in Ferrara, but also those of the Suabians, Franconians, and Germans from the Rhenish Provinces, who had preceded him there. The

* Enenkel, 134-135.

entertainment of the envoys from the city of Strasburg gives a specimen of the splendour of his hospitality. He sent sixteen different kinds of wine, as much bread as two servants could carry, ten chests of confectionery, three of wax lights, thirty capons, two live calves, and provender enough to load ten men. The chiefs of the party, Burkhardt von Mülnheim and his son, received each a splendid gold ring set with gems, and a costly rosary.* From the moment of Frederick's arrival on the 19th January a succession of various entertainments, pageants, balls, tournaments, etc., began, and were uninterruptedly continued.

In the midst of these festivities a less agreeable event occurred in the unexpected arrival of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, eldest son of the Duke of Milan, whose title Frederick had refused to recognize. This was on January 23rd. He was accompanied by his uncle Alessandro Sforza, and a brilliant retinue of Lombard nobles. He brought rich presents from his father of horses and weapons for the future Emperor, and saluted him in a speech "as long as two chapters of St. John's Gospel." The Duke of Milan had instructed Filelfo, a man in high repute for his skill in such compositions, to prepare this address, and gave him minute directions as to its length, matter, and arrangement.† Galeazzo's audience took place on the 24th. The Duke's little son delivered his oration so admirably that not only the Germans, but the Italians also were amazed. "One would have thought," wrote Ales-

* *Letter of the Secretary John to the Council of Strasburg, dated Florence on St. Stephen's Day (December 26th), 1451, in the Strasburg City Archives (a.a. n. 202). See Ebrard, 9-10. On the festivities at Ferrara, see Joh. Ferrariensis in Muratori, xx., 463, and Diario Ferrar., 198.

† Buser, 55. On Fred. III. at Ferrara, see also Frizzi, Memo., 14-15, and Magenta, i., 450.

sandro Sforza to his brother, "that one was listening to a practised orator of thirty, and he is but eight years old. Everybody wondered at the child, and the King himself expressed his satisfaction."* Alessandro assured Frederick of his brother's loyal devotion, and besought him to visit Milan on his homeward journey. The King declined the invitation, but courteously, for he knew only too well that he had no power to enforce his imperial rights against Sforza's usurpation.†

"After this" (24th January), says Enenkel, "the King proceeded to Bologna, which is a great and strong city belonging to the Pope, who has a legate there who is a cardinal, and resides in the palace with many retainers. There is also a bishop there, and an old university having many students, and a broad and handsome square with great gates. The cardinal with all his retinue, and the bishop, with his clergy, and the university, and the burghers and all the people rode forth to meet the King, and received him with the greatest honour, and placed his throne under a canopy in the bishop's court. Also they supplied him with more than enough of everything that he could want, and he had free quarters at all the inns."‡

From Bologna Frederick crossed the Apennines to Florence. Æneas Sylvius draws a vivid picture of the

* Alessandro Sforza to the Duke of Milan. Ferrara, Jan. 25, 1452. Original in Cod. 1586, p. 30-31, Fonds Ital. National Library, Paris.

† Besides the letter already quoted, see *Despatches of Gabriele da Narni to Fr. Sforza, Ferrara, January 24th, 1452, *loc. cit.*, p. 29, in the National Library, Paris. This narrator says that the whole Court was amazed at the presents from Milan, which were valued at 4,000 ducats. Many other papers relating to the mission of Galeazzo Maria are also preserved in this collection, which is taken from the Milanese Archives.

‡ Enenkel, 135.

rapture of the Germans at the enchanting loveliness of the landscape on which they gazed from these heights, and especially of their appreciation of the stately beauty of the city. The reception here was even more magnificent than at Ferrara and Bologna. "The Florentines received him right royally. There were upwards of a thousand horsemen splendidly attired in silk and gold, velvet and scarlet; and all knelt before him and gave him the keys of their gates, humbly declaring themselves and all their goods to be the King's, and that he might do, and ordain, and command there as he willed, being their rightful and natural lord, since they belonged to him and to the Holy Roman Empire. The clergy came to meet him outside the city, bearing the Host, and all knelt, and with them noble ladies and maidens, all decked out and adorned in the best that they had, and all received the King on their knees, and with them a multitude of the common folk, men, women, and children." *

We see how great was the reverence still felt for the Roman Empire; but Frederick was, neither in power nor character, a fitting representative of the highest temporal dignity in Christendom. This fact did not escape the notice of the Italian envoys who accompanied him. On this point we have most interesting testimony, drawn from this very sojourn in Florence. Sceva de Curte, Sforza's ambassador, who was commissioned to invite the King to

* Enenkel, *loc. cit.* 135. Bayer (129) had already noticed Æneas Sylvius's error in making Frederick enter Florence on the 21st January. The true date is the 30th, given by Niccola della Tuccia (215). Muratori (Annali, 1452) also names this day, with a reference to St. Antoninus, in whom, however, I cannot find the passage. Frederick left Florence on the 6th March. See dispatches of Sceva de Curte to Fr. Sforza, dat. Florence, February 7th, 1452. Fonds Ital., 1586, p. 41, in the National Library, Paris.

Milan, there to receive the crown of Lombardy, found it extremely difficult to obtain an audience; it seemed more important to Frederick to choose presents for his bride than to attend to public affairs. He spent all his time in looking at pearls and jewels, gold and velvet dresses, silken and woollen stuffs, "as if he had been a pedlar." "He buys little or nothing," says this ambassador, "and meanwhile he keeps the Signoria of this noble city, the Lord Carlo di Arezzo, many burghers, the ambassadors from Siena, and the Marquess of Ferrara waiting from morning till night, so that all Florence laughs at him, which I much lament."*

It was in Florence, also, that the Papal Legates, charged with the Holy Father's greetings, joined the King; one was Calandrini, step-brother to the Pope, the other Frederick's old acquaintance, Carvajal.†

Siena was the next stage in the journey, and it was there that the future Emperor and his bride met for the first time. After a long and perilous voyage she had arrived at

* *Despatches from Sceva de Curte to Fr. Sforza, Florence, February 4th, 1452. See Buser, 56, and *Despatches from Niccolo Arcemboldi, Sceva de Curte, and Jacopo Trivulzio to the same, of the same date. Fonds Ital., 1586, p. 35 and 36, in the National Library, Paris.

† In the *Acta Consistorialia (Secret Arch. of the Vatican), the despatch of the Legates is not mentioned; on the other hand, in a *Despatch from Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dat. Rome, January 18, 1452 (Cod. Z., 219 Sup. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan), I found that both had been chosen on the 17th January. On the 27th January the Pope announced their coming to Frederick; see Chmel, Reg. App., No. 93. According to Columbanus (523), they left Rome on the 30th January and arrived at Florence on the 4th February. This latter statement is corroborated by the despatch from the three Milanese Ambassadors of February 4th (*loc. cit.* National Library, Paris).

Leghorn on February 2nd. In front of the Porta Camullia a marble pillar, bearing the arms of the Roman Empire and of Portugal, still marks the spot where the scene took place, which, later, was immortalized by Pinturicchio's pencil. Æneas Sylvius witnessed, and thus describes it: "When the Emperor first caught sight of his bride in the distance, he turned pale, for her stature appeared to him too low. But when she drew near, and he beheld her beautiful countenance and dignified bearing, his colour returned and he smiled, for he saw that he had not been deceived, and that his bride was even more lovely than report had made her. She was sixteen years of age, of middle height, with an open brow, black and sparkling eyes, a very white neck, and a faint colour in her cheeks. Her form was perfect, but her beauty was eclipsed by the gifts of her mind."

All the resources of that festive art in which the Italy of the Renaissance so excelled were displayed for the entertainment of the noble pair during their stay in Siena.*

At first sight the alarm displayed by Nicholas at the approach of so pacific a guest seems incomprehensible. By his command all the defences of the city were set in order, the guards were doubled at the gates, the Capitol, and the Castle of St. Angelo, and in addition to this, the Pope had sent for two thousand mercenaries and appointed thirteen district marshals to keep watch over all parts of

* Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Frid. III., p. 269–270. See L'incontro di Federigo III. con Eleonora di Portogallo sua novella sposa ed il loro soggiorno in Siena. Narrazione per Luigi Fumi e Aless. Lisini (Siena, 1868). The statement that the Florentines had hoped that they might have entertained Frederick and Leonora together in their city, for which Æneas Sylvius is the only authority (see Bayer, 130), is confirmed by the *Despatches of the three Milanese Ambassadors of February 4th, 1452 (*loc. cit.*, National Library, Paris).

the city.* Why all these precautions? Was the Pope really afraid of Frederick? It seems more probable that what Nicholas feared was not Frederick, but certain dangerous elements in Rome itself, where the republican party was again beginning to stir. An Emperor who would be almost always absent was a more acceptable master to these people than a Pope whose rule, however mild, was an ever present restraint. Thus it appears likely that the motive, which induced the Pope to desire his Legates to obtain from Frederick at Siena a sworn promise that he would respect the Papal rights, was rather mistrust of the loyalty of the Romans than any doubt of the Emperor's good faith. Nicholas knew the weakness of his character, and hoped thus to guard against the danger of the pressure which might be put upon him from certain quarters to induce him to assume the government of the city.† We shall still better understand the Pope's anxiety

* Infessura, 1133; Nic. della Tuccia, 216, *Despatches from Donatus de Donatis to Florence, d.d. ex urbe Romae, xviii. Jan., 1451 (st. fl.); Braccio di Baglioni el quale e stato qui circa un mese, mi disse oggi havere havuto incomandamente dal Papa andare a mettere in ordine la sua compagnia per poter fare quello gli sara comandato et che questo medesimo e suto mandato dire aglaltri condottieri. Stimasi gli fara venire tutti con le loro compagnie presso a Roma. Cl. x., dist. 2, n. 22, f. 8. Florentine State Archives.

† Chmel, ii., 704, 705. Æneas Sylvius is the only authority for this demand of the Pope's and Frederick's reluctance at first to comply with it. See Gengler, Ueber A. Silvius (Erlangen, 1860), 22. As to the formula of the oath, see Bayer, 131, note 1. That many in Rome expected the King to arrive there earlier is plain from a *letter of Cardinal Scarampo to Onorato Gaetani, Rome, February 7th, 1452: "El Re de Romani sera infra pochi di a Roma per pigliar la corona et mi pare che a questo singolare acto si degia retrovare el nostro m^co Filiano vostra figliolo, el quale pora pigliar la militia de la S. M^ta honorevolmente." Original in the Gaetani Archives at Rome, ii., 33.

if we consider that the idea of the old Roman Empire was far from being extinct. It was but quite lately that Valla, in his refutation of the gift of Constantine, had declared that it was absurd to crown as Emperor a prince who had abandoned Rome; that in truth the crown belonged to the Roman people.*

The reception of the future Emperor was as splendid as the Pope could make it; he told the Milanese Ambassadors that he wished to show extraordinary honour to Frederick, and was prepared to spend from forty to sixty thousand ducats for the purpose.†

Frederick travelled from Siena by Acquapendente, Viterbo (in which city he was scared by an unseemly brawl in the streets) and Sutri. It was during this journey that, as they were gazing together on the "billowy Campagna with its girdle of shimmering heights," the King prophesied to Æneas Sylvius his elevation to the Papacy.‡

On the evening of March 8th he drew near to the Eternal City, and was met by the deputation sent out to welcome him. First appeared the greater portion of the nobility, the Colonna and Orsini, with a host of retainers, then the Pope's treasurer with the militia of the city, finally the Papal Vice-Chamberlain, with the Roman senators and the most eminent of the citizens. From Monte Mario he beheld that marvellous panorama of the valley of the Tiber, and Rome spread out before him, looking like a sea of houses, which Dante describes as "overpowering." There

* Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 117. See Vallæ Opp., 790.

† *Despatches from Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, Rome, January 18th, 1452: "N. S^re come gia avisay V. Cels. dice voler honorar questo imperatore excessivamente et fa mentione spendervi da le xl^m fin in lx^m ducati se ce restara tanto." Cod. Z., 219 Sup. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

‡ Pius II. Comment., 20.

he lingered awhile, asking questions, and hardly able to tear himself away from the enchanting spectacle of the seven-hilled city, with all her monuments and towers, lighted up by the evening sun. The German knights were equally delighted; this view of the true capital of the whole world was enough in itself, they declared, to repay them for all the toils of the journey. At the foot of the hill Frederick found the Cardinals assembled to greet him. The King was given to understand that this honour had not been accorded to former Emperors; whereat those who, like Æneas Sylvius, had read history, could not help remembering that there had been a time when the Pope himself came out as far as Sutri to meet the Emperor. "But," he adds, "all earthly power is subject to change; in former days the majesty of the Empire eclipsed all lesser dignities, now the Pope is the greater."*

An ancient custom forbade Frederick to enter the city on the night of his arrival, and he passed it outside the walls in the villa of a Florentine merchant. Donna Leonora was lodged in another villa. The royal suite encamped in the meadows of Nero, where the Pope had provided gorgeous silken tents, blue, red, and white. Many, however, with the King's permission, entered the city. Among these was

* Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Frid. III., p. 275-276. The story told with "republican glee," according to Gregorovius, by Infessura (1133) of Frederick's having hardly noticed the Cardinals while he treated the Senators with the greatest distinction, seems very improbable, and nothing of the kind is to be found in any of the numerous other narratives. The ambassadors of all the Italian powers also went to meet the King, those of Milan and Florence four or five miles out of Rome in order to snatch the precedence from the Venetians; they placed themselves as near as possible to Frederick. See the Despatches from the Milanese ambassadors to Fr. Sforza dated Rome, March 11th, 1452. Fonds Ital., 1586, p. 47, 48, in the National Library, Paris.

Æneas Sylvius, who at once hastened to the Pope, again to repeat in the most solemn manner his assurances of the loyalty of Frederick's intentions. Nicholas, however, still thought it wisest to be on his guard.

On the following day, March 9th, all the bands composing the royal escort were summoned for a grand review in the meadow opposite the Porta di Castello. But when the counts and knights and also the mercenaries of the free cities appeared each with their own banner, on a sudden came an order from the King that these should be "put away," and all march under the royal standard alone. "At which," says the Strasburg narrative, "there was great demur on the part of all the soldiers and burghers, but more especially from the captain of the Company of St. George, who said that it was an unheard of thing that the flag of St. George should be thus slighted, and that though he were under the very walls of Rome he would return home with all his men, unless the banner of this honourable and illustrious Company were permitted publicly to enter the city; and that in the memory of man no Emperor or King had ever refused this." However, all opposition was in vain; "there was much murmuring amongst the knights and men-at-arms and burghers, but in the end all had to submit, and march into Rome under the Imperial standard alone."* This ensign, "a single-headed eagle on a banner

* Ebrard 12. *Cf.* Wencker, Dissert. de Pfalburgeris, Usburgeris, et Glevenburgeris (Argentor., 1698), iii., 19. Accounts of the disputes in regard to precedence between the Italian ambassadors before the procession are to be found in the Despatches of the Milanese ambassadors, dated Rome, 11th and 16th March, 1452. Fonds Ital., 1586, f. 47, 48, and 53-55, National Library, Paris. For the procession itself, see specially Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Frid. III., p. 277 *et seq.*, and a plan of it drawn from a Benedictine source (Ordinatio ingressus Frid. III. in urbem, in Pez, Script. rer. Austr., ii., 561 *et seq.*), which Lorenz (ii., 140) aptly designates any kind

of cloth of gold hung on a gilt staff," was borne by the Burgrave Michael of Magdeburg, and the naked sword of the King was carried by the Marshal von Pappenheim.

The bride followed at some distance behind the King; "her horse was covered with a golden cloth, and she wore a beautiful mantle of gold and blue, and a costly gold necklace." The Papal horsemen, three thousand strong, in gorgeous armour, with bright helmets adorned with plumes, closed the procession, followed by a rear guard of two hundred Roman mercenaries on foot. Each division was accompanied by a band of trumpeters, to the intense delight of the populace, which had flocked in from all quarters to witness the pageant, and money was scattered amongst them.*

At the Porta di Castello the King was received with great pomp by all the "clergy and prelates, and numbers of bishops, abbots, provosts, and other religious men with their holy symbols and ornaments, under canopies hung with gold and silk. Truly it was a glorious sight, and if God Himself, made Man, had come down upon earth they could not have reverenced Him more, for they had a cross and censers, and they sang with joyous voices: *Ecce ego mitto Angelum meum vobis qui præparabit viam ante me.* The chamberlains who went before him threw much money among the people, and the mayor of the city carried a splendid sword behind him, and all the burghers and noble Romans, and a great number of noble ladies and damsels, knelt down before the King and welcomed him, as did also the common folk, of whom there was so vast a multitude

of "ordre de bataille." See also Bayer, 140, n. 5, and a *Despatch from the Sienese envoys: Cristoforus miles, Georgius doctor, and Franciscus Patricius, dated Rome, March 9th, 1452. Concistoro, Lettere ad an. 1451. Sienese State Archives.

* Chmel, ii., 715. See Columbanus, 526.

that it was a wonder to see; and all kept holiday on that day and on the two following ones as though it had been Easter Day or Christmas." "The King and Queen rode under two canopies to the minster of the Prince of the Apostles, St. Peter; there the King alighted at the foot of the steps, and some of the cardinals went down to meet him, and led him up to where the Holy Father sat on his throne, surrounded by his clergy and officers. Then the King kissed his foot and offered him gold, whereupon the Pope stood up and gave the King his hand, who kissed it, and at the third time the Pope embraced the King and gave him the kiss of peace on one cheek; then the King knelt down before him and the Pope bent over him for a space, and after that he made the King sit down by his side." *

On the following day Nicholas fixed the 19th March for Frederick's coronation, that being the anniversary of his own coronation. The intervening time was spent by Frederick in visiting the objects of interest in the city, and in frequent interviews with the Pope. In these the King's Austrian difficulties, in which he desired the support of Nicholas, were discussed, and also the affair of the crown of Lombardy, which he wished to receive from the hands of the Holy Father, his relations with Sforza in Milan being such as to make it impossible to accept it from him. The Milanese ambassadors did their utmost to dissuade the Pope from granting the iron crown, but in vain; they had to content themselves with a protest.†

This coronation and the celebration of the royal

* Enenkel, 137.

† See Arch. St. Lomb. (1878), v., 138 *et seq.* See report of the Milanese ambassadors of the 17th March, 1452, given by Chmel in the Notizblatt (1856), vi., 30-32, and the other despatches of the same ambassadors (specially that of March 7th). Fonds Ital. (1586), p. 45-46. National Library, Paris.

marriage were arranged to take place together. On the 16th of March, after hearing a solemn Mass, the royal pair kneeling before the high altar in St. Peter's, received their costly wedding rings from the hands of the Pope, and the nuptial benediction from his lips. Then, after a second Mass, Frederick knelt again at the feet of Nicholas, and was crowned King of Lombardy with the iron crown which he had brought to Rome for the purpose.*

On the following Sunday (*Lætare,* March 19th†) the imperial coronation took place, with the insignia brought from Nuremberg. The Pope was seated on his throne in front of the high altar in St. Peter's, on his right the college of cardinals, on his left the bishops and prelates.

* Voigt, ii., 45. Æneas Sylvius incorrectly gives March 15; Muratori in his annals, Chmel (Reg.), and Lichnowsky (vi., iii.), follow him. But that his coronation as King of Lombardy actually took place on the 16th March is set beyond doubt by the documents cited by Bayer (145), and also by the *Despatches of the Sienese ambassadors, dated Rome, March 16, 1452 ("Hora avisamo la V. S. come questa mattina la M^ta^ del Imperatore piglia la corona dell' argento, la quale secondo la consuetudine soleva pigliare a Milano"), and March 17th. ("Ier mattina seguito la coronatione dell' argento.") Concistoro, Lettere ad an. 1451. State Archives, Siena.

† In regard to this important day also is much chronological confusion. Æneas gives the 16th March, Infessura (1134) the 18th. Though Infessura's dates are very untrustworthy (he gives March 10, 1133, as the day of the wedding), yet many later writers have followed him, *e.g.*, Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 121. It is, however, certain that March 19th was the date. Besides other authorities, this date is given by the Liber benef., 16, by Mussel, who was an eye witness (Städtechroniken, xi., 743), also by the *Despatches of the Sienese Ambassadors, Rome, March 19th, 1542 ("Questa mattina si fa la coronatione dell' imperatore,") March 20 ("Heri segui la coronatione dell' imperatore et dell' imperadrice con gran triumphi"), Concistoro, Lettere ad an. 1451, State Archives, Siena.

Outside the sanctuary two tribunes were erected for the King of the Romans and his consort. First of all Frederick had to take the oath which Louis the Pious was supposed to have sworn, and was then admitted into the college of the Canons of St. Peter's and clad in the imperial robes. Then, before the altar of St. Maurice, first the King and then the Queen were anointed on the shoulder and right arm with the holy oil. From thence they returned to their tribunes to hear the solemn coronation Mass. "Then they began to sing the Mass," says Enenkel, "and after the gloria, the Pope read the collects, first that for the day, and then the collect for the Emperor, who sat close by on his chair clad in the sacred robes of the Emperor Charles, a thing which had not for many hundred years happened to any Emperor, and which was accounted a very great honour and singular grace of God. After the gospel the Emperor and Empress were led by the Pope before St. Peter's altar, there the Emperor knelt down and the Pope read for some while over him, and put the holy crown of the Emperor Charles upon his head; and he said all to him in Latin. Then he put the holy sword of Charles, bare, into his hand, and thus made the Emperor a knight of St. Peter; he girded on the sword, drew it and waved it, and put it back into its scabbard.

"After that the Pope put the holy sceptre into his right hand, and the royal orb into his left hand, all with goodly collects.

"When all this was ended, he kissed the Pope's foot and seated himself again in his chair; then his brother, Duke Albert, and other princes, lords, knights, and men, also those of the imperial cities, knelt before him and wished him joy and all happiness.

"After this the noble King Ladislas and the Duke of Teschen led forward the fair young Queen; she was richly

attired, her head was bare and her hair very lovely to behold, falling in waving tresses over her neck behind; thus she was brought before St. Peter's altar and anointed, and many collects were said over her. Then the costly crown which had been specially prepared for her was put upon her head, and she was led back to her chair."*

When all the ceremonies were done, the Emperor and Empress received Holy Communion from the hands of the Pope.† At the conclusion of the service the Empress returned to her palace, while the Emperor remained to perform the duty of holding the Pope's stirrup and leading his horse from the church door. This done, he mounted his own, and both rode together to the Church of Sta. Maria Traspontina, where, after giving him the Golden Rose, the Pope took leave of the Emperor.‡ Then Frederick rode to the bridge of St. Angelo, where he bestowed

* Enenkel, 138.

† No Imperial coronation at Rome has been so minutely described as was this last one. See Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Frid. III., p. 290 *et seq.*; Enenkel *loc. cit.*; Columbanus, 530 *et seq.*; Lanckmann, 597 *et seq.*; an anonymous account in Janssen, Reichscorresp., ii., 117-121; Hodoeporicon Frid. III., in Würdtwein Subs. dipl., xii., 29 *et seq.* (on Enenkel's connection with this account, see Bayer, 123); and finally the narrative of the Papal singer, Goswinus Mandoctes, in Chmel, Op., No. 98. There are also several unprinted documents. In the Archiv für ältere Gescht., i., 421, a MS. on the subject from Munich is specified. Among the *Despatches from the Sienese Ambassadors, that of March 20th is especially interesting, because it confirms the story of the fall of the Pope's mitre, for which hitherto Æneas Sylvius had been the only authority (Bayer, 146). It says: "Fatto tutto l'atto de la coronazione al papa cadde la mitria che fu tenuto malo augurio." *Loc. cit.*, State Archives, Siena.

‡ This is correctly stated by Columbanus (533), other accounts agreeing with his, *e.g.*, that in Janssen, Reichscorrespondenz, ii., 119. Æneas Sylvius (Hist. Frid. III., p. 293) gives Sta. Maria in Cosmedin erroneously, as is obvious to anyone with the slightest

the honour of knighthood on his brother Albert, and more than two hundred nobles, many of whom, however, were not soldiers, and had never drawn a sword.* When these ceremonies, which occupied about two hours, were concluded, the Emperor rode to the Lateran, where the solemnities of the day were closed by the great coronation banquet.

On the following day several of the Ambassadors presented congratulatory addresses, in high-sounding words, which but little corresponded with the truth, for in the political world the Imperial coronation passed almost unnoticed, though to Frederick personally it was the most brilliant moment in his life.†

knowledge of the topography of Rome, nevertheless he has been followed by many authors, including Voigt, ii., 46; Bayer also (146) does not question it. Reumont, too, is in error (iii., 1, 21) in saying that the Golden Rose was given on the following day.

* This ceremony was performed, according to Enenkel (138), in the middle of the bridge of St. Angelo ("Castle of St. Angelo," in Reumont, *loc. cit.*, is evidently a misprint). The number of knights is very variously stated. According to Æneas Sylvius, Mandoctes, and Enenkel, there were three hundred; Zantfliet (Chronic. in Martène, Ampl. Coll., v., 478) says two hundred and eighty-one; Columbanus (534) more than two hundred; Paolo dello Mastro (21), two hundred and fifty-six "Ultramontanes" and only three Italians; Niccola della Tuccia (220), two hundred and seventy-five, among whom nine were Italians; according to the account in Janssen (ii., 120), there were two hundred and three; according to the Annal. L. Bonincontrii (156) two hundred, of whom seven were Italian; finally, the *Despatches of the Sienese Ambassadors of March 20th give two hundred and sixty-three. In the Gaetani Archives at Rome (ii., 33), I found the *letter of Card. Scarampo to Onorato Gaetani, dat. Rome, Feb. 7, 1452, mentioned above (p. 148, note †), in which there is a reference to this.

† Voigt, in the Allgem. Deutsch. Biographie, vii., 450. The Pope published the Coronation on the same day; see Chmel Regesten, App., No. 96, and Bull., v., 108 *et seq.*

The newly-crowned Emperor remained in Rome until the 24th March, on which day he started for Naples to visit his relative King Alfonso.* During this interval the two heads of Christendom again met frequently. These interviews resulted in a series of bulls in Frederick's favour; he received numerous indulgences and privileges, and a bull of excommunication was launched against the Austrian rebels.†

The journey of the Imperial pair to Naples was like a triumphal procession. In all the places through which Frederick was to pass, the pageant-loving Alfonso had given orders for the most magnificent receptions, and provided with lavish prodigality for every want. Naples itself was like a fairy city, drowned in a giddy whirl of theatrical performances, tournaments, sports, dances, and festivities of all descriptions.‡

* *Despatches of the Milanese Ambassadors, dated Rome, March 27, 1452. Fonds Ital., 1586, p. 65[b]. National Library, Paris. Muratori, in his Annali, and Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 122), incorrectly give the 23rd. The Emperor went first to Velletri (see Borgia, Velletri, 366), the Vicecamerlengo and Card. Colonna accompanying him to the frontier of the Papal States. See the *Despatches of the Milanese Ambassadors, Rome, April 3rd, 1452. *Loc. cit.* p. 67, National Library, Paris.

† *Cf.* Bayer, 144 and 147, and Chmel's exhaustive enumeration of all these tokens of the Papal favour in the Sitzungsberichten der Wiener Akad. Phil. Histor. Kl., viii., 60-112, and ix., 273 *et seq.*

‡ Birk, Donna Leonor, *loc. cit.*, 175. On the Neapolitan Festivities, see Facius in Grævius, 158; and A. Panormita, Speculum boni principis, lib. iv., c. 4. On the "Mistero della Passione" represented in Sta. Chiara, see F. Torraca, Sacre Rappresentaz. del Neapolit. in Arch. Napolit., iv., 119 *et seq.* (1879). These festivities are also mentioned in the *Despatches of the Milanese Ambassadors, N. Arcemboldi, and Nicodemus, Rome, April 18 and 24, 1452. Fonds. Ital., 1516, p. 94, 95, and 104-105,

From these festive scenes the Emperor was suddenly torn by the news of the attempted flight of his ward Ladislas, whom he had left behind at Rome. In consequence he started at once for that city and arrived there on April 22nd; the same evening he had a long interview with the Pope.* In an open consistory he again thanked the Holy Father and the cardinals for the honourable reception they had given him. It was in this assembly that Æneas Sylvius made that fiery speech against the Turks, in which those remarkable words about the council, which have already been quoted,† occur. Then Frederick set out on his homeward journey, now become urgent

National Library, Paris. That the apprehensions expressed by these Ambassadors in regard to the visit to Naples (Buser, 57) were well-grounded, is proved by the document brought to light by Chmel (Mat., ii., No. 8), in which Alfonso promises the Emperor to assist him in obtaining Milan. The Florentine Ambassador at Milan, Dietisalvi, also speaks with anxiety of this journey. *Cf.* his *Despatches of the 30th March, 1452. Cl. x., dist. 4, n. 22, f. 125. State Archives, Florence.

* Not on the 16th, as Lichnowsky (vi., 113), nor yet on the 23rd, as Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 122), following Infessura (1134), states. The true date is given in the *Despatches of the Milanese ambassadors of April 18th and 24th (the latter also mentions that the Pope had a careful watch kept over Ladislas) and in a *Despatch from Nello to Siena, Rome, April 23rd, 1452. "Yesterday the Emperor arrived and was received with great honour." "Heri sera di nocte la S. Sua stette con la S^{ta} di N. S^{re} fino a hora tre di nocte." Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives, Siena. Eccard's copy of Infessura's Diarium (ii., 1886) rightly gives April 22 as the date of the Emperor's return.

† *Supra* p. 50. For the violent quarrel for precedence in the papal chapel between the Milanese and Venetian envoys in the presence of the Pope and the Emperor on April 25th, see the *Despatches from N. Arcemboldi and Nicodemus de' Pontremoli, Rome, April 25, 1452. Fonds Ital., 1586, p. 106, National Library, Paris.

owing to the state of things in Austria, where a resort to arms to contest his wardship of Ladislas was imminent. "Yesterday morning," says one of the Sienese envoys on April 27th, "the Emperor left the Eternal City. Both he and his suite were loud in their expressions of satisfaction at the noble reception given them by the Pope.* Nicholas V., who through his representatives Cardinals Calandrini and Carvajal conducted his guest as far as the frontier, was no less pleased that the coronation had passed off peacefully and without disorder.†

The Emperor did not venture to return through Milan, rightly judging that Francesco Sforza was not to be trusted; and in fact the Duke of Milan, already allied with France, had also come to an understanding with Frederick's enemies in Hungary and Vienna.‡ He, therefore, chose the route by Florence and Ferrara, in which latter place, with great pomp, he bestowed on Borso d'Este the title of Duke of Modena and Reggio. This was the only imperial act of any importance that Frederick performed during this expedition to Rome.§ The negotiations begun in Ferrara, for the restoration of peace in Italy, never got

* Nello to Siena, Rome, April 27th, 1452: "La M^ta^ dello imperadore si partette da N. S^re^ tanto ben contento quanto e possibile e tutta la sua brigata et chiamansi molto ben contenti tutti del grande honore (che) la sua S^ta^ li ha facto." Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives, Siena.

† Infessura, 1134.

‡ This was one of the causes of Frederick's hurried return. One effect of Sforza's intrigues was to make the Emperor more pliant in the negotiations relating to the investiture. Buser, 60, 65.

§ Bayer, 158. For the festivities at Ferrara see Muratori, Script., xviii., 1091, and Frizzi, 15 *et seq*. Borso gave the Emperor a present which was valued by the Milanese ambassador Antonio da Trezzo at 30,000 ducats. See the *Despatches from the same ambassador to Sforza, Ferrara, June 13th, 1452. Fonds Ital., 1586, f. 131 in the National Library, Paris.

beyond the first preliminaries; the ambassadors of Aragon held aloof, and the Emperor was too much taken up with the troubles in Germany to pursue them any farther.* From May 21st to June 1st Frederick remained at Venice, where, as before, a series of entertainments were offered to him.† But all this pageantry could not conceal the political insignificance of the empire. When the Emperor attempted to speak to the Doge of Venice about the pacification of Italy, the Doge replied that the Venetians had just declared war against Sforza with good hopes of success; consequently, under present circumstances the honour of the republic forbade any such negotiations. "We are sensible," said the Doge, "of the respect due to the most exalted of earthly dignities, and that the Emperor should not be put off with words; therefore, we have at once announced our decision, which is irrevocable." Thus Frederick had not long to wait for an opportunity of testing the value of his new dignity. Before he left he again visited the shops, (but in disguise, that he might not be called upon to pay imperial prices), and made more purchases.‡

Under the circumstances we cannot be surprised at the severe judgment passed upon Frederick's expedition to Rome by the usually indulgent Archbishop, St. Antoninus of Florence. "Nothing appeared in him of the majesty of an Emperor, neither liberality nor understanding, for he almost always spoke by the mouth of another. But everyone could see how greedy he was, how he loved gifts

* Despatches from Nic. Arcemboldi to Fr. Sforza, Florence, May 6th, 1452, and Ferrara, May 19th, Fonds. Ital., 1586, f. 111-112 and 119-120, National Library, Paris.

† Sanudo, 1143-1144. See P. G. Molmenti, La Dogaressa di Venezia (Torino, 1884), 233 *et seq.*

‡ Voigt, ii., 60-61.

and sought for them. At last he went home, leaving behind him a sorry impression of his rapacity."* In fact Frederick had traversed the Italian peninsula not as Emperor and lord, but merely as a tolerated guest, under the safe conduct of the Princes and cities. Of outward show there had been enough and to spare, and his reception everywhere had been respectful, but all this thinly veiled the mistrust with which he was regarded by more than one of the Italian States.† Without any increase of power the newly-crowned Emperor returned to his hereditary dominions, where the insurrection broke out immediately. In vain did Nicholas threaten the insurgents with the severest penalties of the Church; they answered by an appeal to a future Council.‡ They compelled the helpless Emperor, whose Empire did nothing for him, to release King Ladislas. But the details of these occurrences belong to the history of the Empire.

Frederick III. was the first Emperor of the illustrious house of Hapsburg who was consecrated and crowned in Rome. He was also the last King and Emperor to whom this honour was vouchsafed.

* Chronicon, iii., tit. xxii., §3. How Poggio mocked at Frederick is well-known (Epist., x., 21; Tonelli). The gibe flung at his heels by one of the Milanese envoys mentioned by Buser, 61, is not without interest.

† Bayer, 162.

‡ The writ of appeal is in Pray, Annales, iii., 112-114. See Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Frid. III., p. 357 *et seq.*, and Bayer, 168 *et seq.*

BOOK II.

NICHOLAS V. AS PATRON OF THE RENAISSANCE IN ART AND LITERATURE.—RESTORATIONS AND NEW BUILDINGS IN ROME AND THE STATES OF THE CHURCH.—ALBERTI.—FRA ANGELICO DA FIESOLE.—ROME, THE COURT OF THE MUSES.—FOUNDING OF THE VATICAN LIBRARY

CHAPTER I.

PATRONAGE OF THE RENAISSANCE IN ART.

For the history of the world, the true significance of the reign of Pope Nicholas V. is not to be found in the political and ecclesiastical events that we have hitherto been recording. Full of confidence in the vitality and force of the Christian idea, this highly cultured Pontiff ventured to place himself at the head of the Renaissance both in art and in literature; and it is in this that the real importance of his Pontificate consists. In thus lending the resources and authority of the Holy See for the promotion of learning and art, he inaugurated a new era both in the history of the Papacy and in that of culture.

In the learned and literary world the elevation of the poor professor of Sarzana was greeted with exultation. All who had ever come in contact with the new Pope were aware of his ardent love for learning and for the ideal in all its forms. "He would wish," he once said, "to spend all he possessed on books and buildings." Francesco Barbaro, like Nicholas, a votary of the Christian Renaissance, in his graceful congratulatory letter, quoting Plato, counts the world happy, since now the wise are becoming its rulers, or its rulers are becoming wise. All eyes turned hopefully towards Nicholas, expecting the dawn of a new era, and these hopes were not disappointed. Hitherto he had had nothing but his health and his time to offer to the cause of learning; now it soon became evident that the

Pope was resolved to devote all his means and his influence to its service.*

Nicholas's plan was to make Rome, the centre of the Church, a focus of literature and art, a city of splendid monuments, possessing the finest library in the world, and in so doing to secure in the Eternal City an abiding home for the Papacy.

It is of essential importance that the Pope's motives in this undertaking should be rightly appreciated. He has himself declared them in the Latin speech which, on his death-bed, he addressed to the assembled Cardinals. This speech, preserved by his biographer Manetti, is the expression of his last wishes, and explains the guiding principle of all his actions and the end at which he aimed.†

"Only the learned," says the Pope, "who have studied the origin and development of the authority of the Roman Church, can really understand its greatness. Thus, to create solid and stable convictions in the minds of the uncultured masses, there must be something that appeals to the eye; a popular faith, sustained only on doctrines, will never be anything but feeble and vacillating. But if the authority of the Holy See were visibly displayed in majestic buildings, imperishable memorials and witnesses seemingly planted by the hand of God Himself, belief would grow and strengthen like a tradition from one generation to another, and all the world would accept and revere it. Noble edifices combining taste and beauty

* Geiger, Renaissance, 121. See Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, note 1, (in answer to Voigt.)

† Manetti, 947-957. That this speech has been very considerably touched up and embellished by the biographer is highly probable, but there is no reason to doubt its essential accuracy. See Tommasetti, in Arch. de Soc. Rom., iii., 115; De Rossi in Studii e Doc., A°. ii. (1881), fasc. 2, p. 87, and Kayser, 222.

with imposing proportions would immensely conduce to the exaltation of the chair of St. Peter." The learned Pope fully realized what an important influence the visible presence and past memories of the Capitol had exercised on the history of the Roman people.*

The fortifications erected in Rome and in the Papal States were intended, the Pope explains, to serve as defences against both external and internal enemies. If his predecessors had protected themselves in a similar manner, against the Romans more especially, they would have been spared much tribulation. "If," said Nicholas, "We had been able to accomplish all that We wished, our successors would find themselves more respected by all Christian nations, and would be able to dwell in Rome with greater security both from external and internal foes. Thus it is not out of ostentation, or ambition, or a vain-glorious desire of immortalizing Our name, that We have conceived and commenced all these great works, but for the exaltation of the power of the Holy See throughout Christendom, and in order that future Popes should no longer be in danger of being driven away, taken prisoners, besieged, and otherwise oppressed."

It has been asserted † that love of fame was the ruling

* See Rio., ii., 25.

† Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii., 2nd ed., 62. In support of this Voigt gives a reference to a passage in Manetti (925); this, however, by no means affirms that love of fame was the predominant motive of the actions of Nicholas. After speaking of the large sums of money which flowed into the Papal treasury during the Jubilee, Manetti goes on to say:—Ex nova tamen et inopinata prædictarum pecuniarum acquisitione, non modo ad cœptorum operum prosecutionem, sed amplificationem etiam et aliorum hujus modi innovationem mirum in modum animum applicuit ut ob perpetuam magnorum ædificiorum constructionem *Romanæ*

motive which guided Nicholas in all his actions, and that this is the true explanation of the splendour of his court, his buildings, his libraries, his liberality towards learned men and artists. It is evident from these words, spoken on the brink of eternity, that this assertion is false. A man, to whose detestation of all untruthfulness and hypocrisy both friends and foes alike bear witness,* would not have lied thus upon his death-bed. No doubt Nicholas may not have been wholly insensible at all times to the seductions of fame, but a selfish desire for his own glory was never with him the first motive. This has been admitted even by some who heartily detest the Papacy. "All that Nicholas undertook," writes one, "was directed towards the exaltation of the Holy See; the one object of his ambition was to increase its dignity and authority by the visible splendour of its monuments, and the intellectual

ecclesiæ honor et Apostolicæ sedis gloria simul cum singulari et præcipua Christianorum *Populorum omnium devotione abundantius ac latius amplificaretur* et ob assiduum insuper novorum præclarorumque operum cum traductionem tum compilationem *præsentibus et posteris studiosis hominibus plurimum adiumenti præberet.* . . . Atque huius suæ mentalis tam magnæ ac tam vehementis cum ad ædificandum tum ad traducendum et compilandum et libros congregandum applicationis, *etsi duas commemoratas causas in primis fuisse intellixerimus*, tertiam nihilominus propriæ gloriæ cuius suapte natura avidissimus erat, adeptionem ac sui nominis propagationem non immerito accessisse existimamus et credimus etc. Burckhardt is more discreet than Voigt (Geschichte der Renaissance, 11), and contents himself with simply quoting both Manetti's statements and the Pope's speech. See also Müntz, i. 72 *et seq.*

* Vespasiano da Bisticci, who knew the Pope intimately, is emphatic on this point. (§ 8) "Era un uomo aperto, largo, sanza sapere fingere o simulare, e nemico di tutti quegli che simulavano o fingevano."

influence it would exert, by making it the centre of the learning of the world."*

The great architectural undertakings which the Pope thus justified partly on practical and partly on ideal grounds consisted of new buildings and of restorations. In the latter he only continued the works begun by his two immediate predecessors, to repair the neglect which had wrought such havoc in the city during the absence of the Popes at Avignon, and the disastrous period of the schism But in the former he struck out wholly new paths.

Manetti, enumerating all the Pope's undertakings with the minuteness of a loving biographer, zealous for the honour of his hero, classes them under three heads, according as they were intended for defence, for sanitation or embellishment, and finally for piety. "The Pope had five things at heart, all great and important works, to rebuild the city walls and restore the aqueducts and bridges; to repair the forty churches of the stations; to rebuild the Vatican Borgo, the Papal Palace, and the Church of St. Peter's."† It has been justly remarked that the three last named projects are closely connected together and differ essentially from the two first. They are, in fact, the offspring of the new era, conceived in the genuine spirit of the Renaissance, while the others do not depart from the traditional lines of the medieval Popes.‡

The restorations of Nicholas are very extensive and embraced an enormous number of buildings, both religious

* Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 137. Zöpffel writes also, in Herzog's Realencyklopädie (x., 2nd ed., 527):—"It was neither ostentation nor the love of fame that impelled him in all this, but his desire to exalt the dignity of the Holy See in the eyes of all nations."

† Manetti, 930.

‡ Dehio, Bauprojecte, 242.

and secular. His first care was for the forty churches in which, during Lent, the stations were held. The little church of San. Teodoro, at the foot of the Palatine hill, was twice in the hands of his workmen. The interesting church of San. Stefano Rotondo, which had been seen by Flavio Biondo, in 1446, roofless, with its mosaics in ruins, and its marble slabs cracked and peeling from the walls, underwent a thorough renovation. By order of the Pope restorations of various kinds were executed in the churches of the Holy Apostles, San. Celso, Sta. Prassede, Sta. Maria in Trastevere, Sant. Eusebio, Sta. Maria Rotonda (the Pantheon). At the same time those already commenced in the great Basilicas were continued, and new works begun. The restoration in the Churches of Sta. Maria Maggiore, San. Paolo, and San. Lorenzo fuori le mura were especially extensive and important. On the Capitol Nicholas rebuilt the palace of the Senators, and erected a new and beautiful edifice for the conservators.* The papal palaces, adjoining the churches of Sta. Maria Maggiore and the Holy Apostles, were also restored.†

One of this Pope's greatest merits was the attention he bestowed on the water supply of the city. Nothing perhaps shows more plainly the state of decay in which Nicholas

* Muntz, i., 139-150. Reumont, iii., 1, 379 *et seq.* Bertolotti, Artisti Lombardi, i., 15 *et seq.* Adinolfi, ii., 16, 173. The works in Sta. Maria in Trastevere are mentioned in the *Oratio episcopi Atrebaten. Rome in funeralibus Nicolai, P.P. v., Cod. Vatic., 5675, Vatic. Library. The necessity of restoring San. Paolo is noted in a *Despatch of Donatus de Donatis and Florence, November 30th, 1451. See x., dist. 2, n. 22, State Archives, Florence.

† Müntz, i., 144, 146 *et seq.* Perlbach, 20. Adinolfi, ii., 214. Cugnoni, 98. In spite of the indefatigable energy of Nicholas an immense number of ruined buildings still remained in Rome in 1453. See Perlbach, 18.

found it, than the fact that the majority of its inhabitants were dependent for water on the Tiber and the various wells and cisterns; the only aqueduct which, though out of repair, still remained serviceable was that of the Acqua Vergine.* Nicholas restored this, and thus made habitable that part of the city which was more distant from the river. An ornamental fountain, to which the name of Trevi was given, was erected at the mouth of this aqueduct in 1453; it was probably designed by the famous Alberti.†

Rome also owed to Nicholas much clearing away of ruins and masses of rubbish, which in many places had made the streets impassable, and he began to pave them and make them more regular. But his plans for improving and embellishing the city went much further than this. By his command Alberti had prepared designs ‡ for pavilions and colonnades, which were to be erected for protection from the sun on the bridge of St. Angelo and other exposed places in Rome. The reopening of the abandoned parts of the city also occupied his attention. Very soon after his election, on May 23rd, 1447, in order to check the growing desertion of the extensive district called de'Monti, he issued an edict granting special privileges to all who should build houses in that region.§ This enactment, which was confirmed a year later, was, however, not more successful in producing the desired effect than the earlier efforts of the magistrates, or those

* "Such was the penury," says the author of the Römischen Briefe, "to which the once wealthy city had been reduced."

† Vasari, Alberti, iv., 55. Müntz, i., 156-157.

‡ Müntz, i., 70, 157.

§ *Privileges granted by Nich. V. "Pro felici directione status urbis, d.d. Romæ, 1447, x. Cal. Jun. (= May 23rd) Pont. nostri anno primo" (Poggius). Lateran Archives, F.F., i., 65. I owe these, and other contributions from these still uncatalogued Archives, to the kindness of the late Prof. C. Vincenzi.

of Sixtus V., in later times. The district "de'Monti" is to this day, in proportion to its size, the most thinly peopled part of Rome.*

With a just appreciation of the needs of the times, the indefatigable Pope also turned his attention to the improvement and protection of the approaches to the city. The wooden central arch of the Milvian Bridge (Ponte Molle) was replaced by a stone one; and at its entrance, on the right bank of the river, a strong tower was begun, which was finished by Calixtus III., whose arms, the ox of the Borgia, it bears. The other bridges in the neighbourhood of Rome, such as Ponte Nomentano, Ponte Salaro, Ponte Lucano, were repaired and fortified. The bed of the Anio was cleared and made navigable, so that it could be utilized for the transport of the large stones from the Travertine quarries.†

In 1451 the Pope's apprehensions on the occasion of the visit of Frederick III. hastened the restoration of the city walls, which in many places were in ruins. Along the whole boundary of the city proper, from the Flaminian gate by the river as far as the Ostian gate, we still trace the handiwork of Nicholas, whose name appears on the mural tablets more frequently than that of any other Pope.‡

* Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 721. *Confirmation of Privileges, d.d. Romæ, 1448, xii. Cal. Sept. (= August 21st), in the Lateran Archives, F.F., i., 68. Sixtus V. refers to these privileges in his *Bull "Quemadmodum," d.d. Romæ, 1589, 22 Martii, which was issued for a similar purpose. Archives of the Secretariate of Briefs.

† Manetti, 937. Papencordt, 501. Reumont, iii., 1378.

‡ Reumont, *loc. cit.* Müntz, i., 158 *et seq.* Perlbach, 20. For the medal which Nicholas caused to be struck, representing the city surrounded by a wall, with the old legend, "Roma Felix," see Bonanni, 51, and Venuti, 11-12.

But all this shrinks into utter insignificance when compared with his colossal designs for the rebuilding of the Leonine city, the Vatican, and the Church of St. Peter's.

No part of Rome had suffered more than the Leonine city, which had always formed a separate town in itself. Eugenius IV. had opened a road through the ruins and rubbish to the bridge, and had endeavoured to attract inhabitants to it by remitting all taxes within its precincts for a period of twenty-five years. Nicholas proposed, in close connection with the plans for the new Vatican Palace and Church of St. Peter's, to rebuild it altogether in the style of the Renaissance, and thus create a monumental residence for the Holy See.

Manetti's minute description of this vast project transports the imagination of the reader to Eastern lands, where such vast palaces and temples are reared for the habitations of gods and kings.*

The tomb of St. Peter, actually situated at the one extremity, was to be the ideal centre of this grandiose plan.† The opposite extremity was to be formed by a large square in front of the Castle and Bridge of St. Angelo. From this square three straight and broad avenues were to start, and terminate in another vast open space at the foot of the Vatican hill; the central avenue was to lead to the Basilica, the one on the right to the Vatican Palace, that on the left to the buildings facing it. These streets were to be flanked with spacious colonnades to serve as a protection against sun and rain, and the lower stories of the houses were to be shops, the

* Rio, ii., 22. Manetti's description, 931-939, is best given in Reumont (iii., 1380 *et seq.*) and Dehio (Bauprojecte, etc.). I have drawn the account given above from both these authorities.

† Dehio, Bauprojecte, 247.

whole street being divided into sections, each section assigned to a separate craft or trade. The upper stories were to serve as dwelling-houses for the members of the Papal Court; architectural effect and salubrity were to be equally considered in their construction.

The principal square, into which these three streets were to run, and of which the right side was to be formed by the entrance to the Papal palace, and the left by the houses of the clergy, was to measure five hundred and fifty feet in length and two hundred and seventy-five in breadth. In its centre there was to be a group of colossal figures representing the four Evangelists, which was to support the obelisk of Nero; and this again was to be surmounted by a bronze statue of the Saviour, holding a golden cross in His right hand. "At the end of this square," continues Manetti, "where the ground begins to rise, broad steps ascend to a high platform, with handsome belfry, adorned with splendid marbles, on the right hand and on the left. Between and behind these is a double portico having five portals, of which the three central ones correspond with the principal avenue coming from the bridge of St. Angelo, and the two side ones with the two other streets. This quasi-triumphal arch leads into a court surrounded with pillars and having a fountain in the centre, and finally through this into the church itself."

All that the progress of art and science had achieved, in the way of beauty and magnificence, was to be displayed in the new St. Peter's. The plan of the church was that of a Basilica with nave and double aisles, divided by pillars, and having a row of chapels along each of the outermost aisles. Its length was to be 640 feet, the breadth of the nave 320, the height of the dome inside 220; this was to be richly decorated, and the upper part of the wall was to be pierced with large circular windows, freely admitting

the light.* The high altar was to be placed at the intersection of the nave and transepts, and the Papal throne and the stalls for the Cardinals and the Court within the apse. The roof was to be of lead, the pavement of coloured marbles, and behind the church was to be a Campo Santo, where the Popes and prelates should be interred, "in order that a temple, so glorious and beautiful that it seemed rather a Divine than a human creation, should not be polluted by the presence of the dead."† An immense pile of buildings at the side was destined for the accommodation of the clergy.

The Papal city, which, by its natural site, was detached from the rest of Rome, was to be fortified in such a manner, says Manetti, that no living thing but a bird could get into it. The new Vatican was to be a citadel, but at the same time to contain all the elegance and splendour of a palace of the Renaissance. A magnificent triumphal arch was to adorn the entrance. The ground floor, with spacious halls, corridors, and pavilions, surrounding a garden traversed by cool rivulets and filled with fruit trees and flowers of all sorts, was to be the summer habitation. The first floor was to be furnished with all that was required to make winter agreeable; while the airy upper story was to serve as a spring and autumn residence. The Papal palace was also to include quarters for the College of Cardinals, accommodation for all the various offices and

* Manetti, 934 *et seq.* See Reumont, iii., 1380. Dehio, Bauprojecte, 249. Jovanovits, Forschungen über den Bau der Peterskirche zu Rom. (Wien, 1877). Grundriss, p. 29. For the history of the building of St. Peter's I shall recommend the reader to refer to the studies and critical papers on this subject by R. Redtenbacher in the Zeitschr. für bildende Kunst, Jahrg., 9 *et seq.*, and the more recent work by the same author, Architectur der Ital. Renaissance, (Frankfurt, 1886), 392.

† Manetti, 936. Dehio, Bauprojecte, 250.

requirements of the Papal Court, a sumptuous hall for the coronations of the Popes and the reception of Emperors, Princes, and Ambassadors, suitable apartments for the Conclave, and for keeping the treasures of the Church, several chapels, and a magnificent library.*

Some modern writers have looked upon this project as chimerical; it would, they say, have required the lifetime of twenty Popes and the treasures of a Rameses to carry it into execution.† The contemporaries of Nicholas judged otherwise, and justly, for the Pope, at the time of his election, was only forty-nine; and with all the resources that he could have accumulated during his peaceful Pontificate, what might he not have accomplished if, instead of only lasting eight years, it had continued for fifteen or twenty! What he actually achieved during the short period granted him is amazing. Almost all the absolutely necessary restorations and an immense number of new buildings had already been completed when death overtook him, just at the moment when he would have been free to concentrate all his powers on the creation of the Papal city. At fifty-seven, life was not too far advanced to make the building of a new palace, or a church, even on a magnificent scale, or the rebuilding of a quarter of a city impossible tasks for a man who had talent, materials, and money at his disposal in lavish profusion.‡

A modern writer of considerable acumen in regard to all that relates to the history of art has taken great pains to ascertain to whom the intellectual proprietorship of this

* Manetti, 934. Dehio, Bauprojecte, 246.

† Gregorovius, vii. (3rd ed.), 621. Rohrbacher-Knöpfler. 400, and Springer, Rafael und Michelangelo (Leipzig, 1878), 99.

‡ Müntz, i., 71 *et seq.* Kinkel, 2972. Creighton, ii., 330. We must not forget what an enormous amount of building Sixtus V. accomplished during the five years of his reign.

vast architectural scheme, thus minutely described by Manetti, should be assigned. After a careful comparison between Manetti's description and the doctrines laid down in Alberti's work on architecture, he has come to the conclusion that the whole plan, not only in its general conception, but also in all its details, can be ascribed to no other mind.*

Matteo Palmieri, in his brief chronicles of the year 1452, says: "The Pope, wishing to build a more beautiful church in honour of St. Peter, had laid the foundations, and already carried the walls, (in the apse of the choir only), to a height of 52 feet; but this great work, in no wise inferior to that of olden times, was first interrupted by the advice of Leon Battista, and finally stopped altogether by the untimely death of the Pope. Leon Battista Alberti, a man of a most sagacious spirit, and well versed in all the arts and sciences, laid before the Pope his learned works on architecture." †

The above-named writer drew from these words an extremely probable conclusion. Nicholas had at first no intention of pulling down the venerable Cathedral of St. Peter's. The works mentioned in his account books, such as the restoration of the portico, the repaving of the floor, renewing the mosaics, doors, and roof, and filling the

* Dehio, Bauprojecte, 250. Springer had already remarked, in the work quoted above (p. 176, n. †), that the description of Nicholas's architectural plans read like a chapter of L. B. Alberti's work on architecture. "That Alberti was head architect, and had the control of all Nicholas's undertakings in this line, seems to me beyond doubt," writes Janitschek, 1879 (p. 117). The reason that neither M. E. Müntz nor I have hitherto succeeded in finding his name in the "Libri d'entrata et spesa," in the Roman State Archives, probably is that he received his remuneration in benefices. This hypothesis has been confirmed; see Mancini, 312.

† Palmerius, 241.

windows with stained glass, manifest, on the contrary, that his object was to repair and secure the ancient sanctuary and preserve it as long as possible. It was only the choir that he purposed actually to rebuild. Then the great Alberti, the humanistic architect, appeared before the humanistic Pope, and presented to Nicholas his ten books on architecture, the compendium of all his science and all his aspirations. The impression produced was instantaneous, profound, convincing. A comparison between Palmieri's statement, the testimony of the earlier account books, and Manetti's description places the matter beyond doubt. Clearly the perusal of this book, further supported by the eloquence of its gifted author, was the turning point with Nicholas in his building plans. The earlier conservative designs were discarded "by Leon Battista's advice," and the new colossal scheme adopted.*

The unsafe condition of the old Basilica, of which we shall speak presently, may have had an important influence on this decision. But before a single step had been taken towards the rebuilding of St. Peter's, all was stopped by the premature death of the Pope.† Later on, the project

* Dehio, Bauprojecte, 253. For the projected works of restoration in St. Peter's, *cf.* Müntz, i., 109, 113-115, 120, 121-124, and Gaz. des Beaux Arts (Paris, 1879), vol. xix., Les Architectes de St. Pierre de Rome, 353 *et seq.* I hold with Dehio, (Bauprojecte, 252) that the Pope, before he adopted Alberti's project, had intended to preserve and restore the aisles of the old Basilica; only the Choir, which, apparently, was in the worst condition, was to have been rebuilt. Herr Janitschek is preparing a monograph on Alberti. Meanwhile he has published a valuable preliminary paper in the Repert. f. Kunstwissenschaft, vi., 38 *et seq.* See Springer, Bilder aus der neuern Kunstgeschichte (Bonn, 1867), 69-103; Yriarte, 182 *et seq.*; and Müntz, Précurseurs, 83 *et seq.* See Müntz, also, for the "heathen tendencies" of this great art theorizer and architect of the Renaissance.

† So Dehio thinks. Bauprojecte, 254, 255.

was resumed by Julius II., immediately upon his accession to the Papal throne, but on different designs.*

To many the thought of pulling down this venerable temple, which had witnessed the rise and growth of the Papacy, and the first grasp of Christianity on the ancient world, was painful.† In later times, also, the same sentiments have provoked some severe judgments on Nicholas for his action in this matter. But in the opinion of one who has carefully gone into its whole history, the rebuilding of St. Peter's had become an absolute necessity. "It was," he affirms, "only a question of sooner or later. Before fifty years were out this most interesting building must either have fallen of itself or else have been pulled down. From an architectural point of view the plan of the ancient Christian basilica is perhaps the most daring that exists. Its three upper walls, pierced with windows, rest on slender columns unsustained by buttresses or supports of any kind, and when once they have in any notable degree fallen out of the perpendicular, the case of the building is hopeless, it must be pulled down. This can easily be understood by anyone, and needs no special knowledge of the rules of architecture. Two unexceptional witnesses testify that this was the case with the old St. Peter's. Leon Battista Alberti states that the southern wall leant outwards to the extent of three braccia (4 ft. 9 in.), and he adds, "I am convinced that very soon some slight shock or movement will cause it to fall. The rafters of the roof had dragged the north wall inwards to a corresponding degree." The testimony of the archivist, Jacopo Grimaldi, is perhaps still more telling, because unintentional. He says that the paintings

* Geymüller. Entwürfe für St. Peter, 81.

† *Cf.* the words of Maffeo Vegio in his most valuable description of the Church of St. Peter's compiled between 1455 and 1457, in Piper, 671 *et seq.* Acta Sanctor. Jun., vii., 80.

on the south side are practically invisible, from the dust which gathers upon them on account of its slant, while those on the north wall can be seen; he estimates the deflection at five palms (3ft. 1½in.).*

If, however, we may acquit Nicholas of having needlessly laid hands on the venerable basilica of Constantine, we cannot hold him guiltless in regard to the other ancient buildings from which he ruthlessly purloined the materials for his own. In doing so he only followed in the footsteps of his contemporaries and predecessors. Nevertheless it seems strange that a Pope, who so highly appreciated the literature of the ancients, should have shown so little regard for their other creations. The account books of his reign are full of notices of payments for the transport of blocks of marble and travertine from the great Circus, the Aventine, Sta. Maria Nuova, the Forum, and, most of all, the Coliseum. More than two thousand five hundred cart loads were carried away from this amphitheatre in one year alone.† Similar reckless-

* Geymüller, Entwürfe für St. Peter, 135-136. The passage from Alberti, is in his work, "De arte ædif.," lib. i., cx.; that from Grimaldi, in Müntz, i., 118. Burckhardt also (Gescht. der Renaissance, 13), thinks that the next earthquake would have shaken down the old St. Peter's. See also the testimony of Nicholas V. himself (Bullar. Vatic., ii., 138), which Geymüller has overlooked: "Cum videamus basilicam principis apostolorum . . . in tecto collabi ac ita deficientum, ut ruinam minetur," etc., d.d. Romæ, 1451, v. id. Jul., P. A. Vo.

† Müntz, i, 105-109; Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., p. 547, note; 628, note; Bertolotti, Artisti Lombardi, i., 32 *et seq.*, and Adinolfi, i., 376. In the twelfth century foreigners also looked upon Rome as a stone quarry. See the instance cited by Burckhardt, Cultur, i., 326. For the destruction of the monuments, see Vol. i., p. 215 *et seq.* Eugenius IV. took stone from the ancient buildings. See Arch. st. Ital., Third Series, Vol. iii., pt. i., p. 213; as did also Vitelleschi. See N. della Tuccia, 168. Out of Rome too,

ness was, unfortunately, displayed in the destruction of a precious memorial of Christian antiquity, the mortuary chapel of the Anician family, built against the apse of St. Peter. Had not the humanist Maffeo Vegio, as he says, by accident, found his way into the abandoned and forgotten "Templum Probi," popularly called the house of St. Peter, before it was demolished, we should have known nothing of the interior of this most interesting mortuary chapel, or of the epitaphs of Anicius Probus and Faltonia Proba.* In justice, however, it must be said that on other occasions Nicholas showed great reverence for the relics of the old basilica, and was really careful to preserve the work of his predecessors. Thus he replaced the tomb of Innocent VII., and had the slabs of porphyry, which formed the ancient pavement, kept together and laid by. When the workmen employed in building the choir of St. Peter's found some Christian graves, he was so delighted that he presented them with ten ducats apiece. He caused a chalice to be made out of the gold ornaments found in these tombs.†

Notable alterations were made by Nicholas in the Vatican Palace. The account books show that these were commenced in the first year of his reign, and a special "architect of the Palace" appointed. The Pope began by causing one set of rooms to be restored and decorated, and then proceeded to the execution of the plan described by

e.g., in Rimini, the old monuments were mercilessly destroyed. See Yriarte, 194 *et seq.* The exportation of antique statues from Rome also began very early. King Alfonso carried off two in Oct., 1440. See Arch. st. Napol., vi., 254.

* See Vegio, Acta Sanctor. Jun., vii., 78 *et seq.*

† Müntz, i., 119. The sarcophagus of Probus, remarkable for its sculptures, stands now in St. Peter's in the small recess by the Cappella della Pietà.

Manetti. Thus, by his command, the new library, the hall for the equerries, the Belvidere, and the new chapel of St. Laurence were successively built. According to Panvinius Nicholas also built a new chapel dedicated to his own patron Saint. Walls and towers rose rapidly around the restored papal citadel; one of the latter is still in existence.* The building, which was being thus transformed, dated from the time of Nicholas III. If we ascend the great staircase of Pius IX., says one who knows Rome thoroughly, and thus enter the court of Damasus, the old building will be on our left, the greater part of its front concealed by the loggie of Bramante, and its longer side touching the great court of Julius II. In its present state the ground-floor dates from Alexander VI., the first-floor belongs to Nicholas V. The famous "stanze," whose walls were covered a little later with Raphael's paintings, together with those adjoining them and the so-called chapel of St. Laurence, remain, for the most part, architecturally unaltered, but, with the exception of the chapel, have been entirely repainted. The chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, on the other hand, built by Eugenius IV., and decorated by Nicholas V., was destroyed in the course of the alterations made by Paul III. The proportions of these "stanze" are singularly noble and harmonious, while the expanse of unbroken surface which their walls present and the semi-circular spaces above them corresponding with the intersecting arches of the ceilings make them peculiarly adapted for the reception of large compositions.†

* Müntz, i., 115 *et seq.*

† Reumont iii., 1, 383. Platina says that the alterations made by Nicholas V. were so sweeping that hardly any trace remained of the old edifice of Nicholas III. As early as 1450 Rucellai praises the beauty of the renovated Vatican, and also of the Papal gardens, "con una peschiera et fontana d'acqua" (*Cf. supra* Manetti's description). Arch. della Soc. Rom., iv., 572.

In his choice of artists and architects Nicholas fully maintained the cosmopolitan traditions of the Papal Court. Martin V. had bought the little portable altar, now in Berlin, painted by Roger van der Weyden; Eugenius IV. had sat for his portrait to Jean Fouquet; Nicholas, whose ambition it was to make Rome the capital of the world, drew artists of all sorts thither from every part of Italy, and from Germany, the Netherlands, France, and Spain.* The exuberant artistic life of Florence, and Nicholas's former relations with that city easily account for the preference accorded in general to Florentine masters. Alberti has been already mentioned. Associated with him we find the celebrated Bernardo Gamberelli, surnamed Rossellino. Before them another Florentine, Antonio di Francesco, had already entered the service of Nicholas. From the year 1447, his name appears in the account books as architect of the Palace, and he retained this post until the death of the Pope. His salary was liberal, ten gold florins a month; Rossellino received fifteen; Fioravante, also an architect, only from six to seven ducats. The fact that this Fioravante degli Alberti, a Bolognese, who, for his versatility, was nicknamed Aristotle, was employed by the Pope, has only been discovered quite recently. It was he who, in 1452, transported four gigantic monolith pillars from an old

* Müntz, i., 95-96, 179 *et seq.*; Kinkel, 3002; Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 664; Bode, Ital. Portraitsculpturen (Berlin, 1883), 18. In regard to the Italian artists see Bertolotti's numerous publications, giving the results of his study of Archives, especially Artisti Lombardi, i., and Artisti Modenesi, Parmensi e della Lunigiana in Roma nei secoli, xv., xvi., and xvii. (Modena, 1882); Artisti Supalpini in Roma (Mantova, 1885) and Artisti Veneti in Roma (Venezia, 1885). This great scholar has also collected together the names of the Swiss artists who had worked in Rome since the fifteenth century in a paper in Bollet. Stor. della Suizzera Ital. (1885), vii.

edifice behind the Pantheon, and placed them in the choir of St. Peter's. And there is no doubt that he was the person selected to put into execution the Pope's design of placing the obelisk on the four colossal figures of the Evangelists.*

The architects appointed by the Pope had a number of clerks of the works under them, whose business it was to test the materials supplied, and measure the work done, under contract. Amongst those employed in this subordinate capacity, we find the names of artists of considerable merit. For the execution of the works three different systems were employed. Under one, the architects and workmen were paid fixed salaries monthly or daily, and had all materials found for them. Under a second, the work was paid by the piece. Finally, under the third, the whole building was put into the hands of a contractor, who provided both labour and material, and must consequently have been a man of considerable means. The most notable of these was a Lombard from Varese, Beltramo di Martino, to whom was entrusted the choir of St. Peter's, a portion of the new city walls, and the fortress of Orvieto. In some years the reimbursements received by him from the Pope on account of these works amounted to from twenty-five to thirty thousand ducats. "It is easy to see," says a modern writer, "what a population of workmen all these new buildings and their accompaniments must have drawn into Rome, and how rapidly an artisan class of citizens must have sprung up in the midst of the medieval herdsmen."†

The capacity displayed by Nicholas in harmonizing the

* Müntz, i., 79-83. For the transport of the four monoliths see Mussel, Beschreibung Roms, 48. See Anz. für Kunde Deutscher Vorzeit, 1877, p. 302.

† Kinkel, 2972. Müntz, i., 104. The wood carvers were mostly from Florence, the stonemasons from Lombardy; Bertolotti, Artisti Lombardi, i., 13 *et seq.*

various branches of art, and assigning to each its proportionate place, was even more admirable than his largeness of conception and refinement of taste. With true insight, he made architecture the queen to whom all the rest were subordinate. If sculpture seems less favoured by this art-loving Pope, the cause is to be found in the circumstances which interrupted his work and left it unfinished; in the completed designs an ample part was assigned to it.* Nicholas did much to promote and encourage the art of marquetry (*Intarsia*). The chapel of the Madonna della Febbre and his own study were richly ornamented with inlaid woods.† Finally, painting was extensively employed in the decoration both of St. Peter's and the Vatican, and, amongst the many painters of whose services Nicholas availed himself, the foremost place must undoubtedly be given to the unique genius of Fra Giovanni Angelico da Fiesole (1387–1455).

This "charming master of inspired simplicity" brought religious painting to a height of perfection that it had never hitherto attained, possibly to the greatest which it is capable of attaining.‡ "In his work the medieval ideal

* Müntz, i., 74, 87 *et seq.*

† *Ibid.*, 76. For the position of marquetry (the art of producing designs in inlaid woods of various colours) in the arts of the Renaissance, see Burckhardt, Gesch. der Renaissance, 253 *et seq.*

‡ Weiss, iii., 883. See Lermolieff, Die Werke der Ital. Meister (Germ. trans., Leipzig, 1880), 80, and Burckhardt, Cicerone, iii. 4th ed., 531. The latter rightly sees in Fra Angelico a genius of the very first order, who has no counterpart in the whole history of painting. Lübke agrees with him, Grundriss, 3rd ed., p. 438. "In that which constitutes the highest perfection of Christian art," says Weiss, "the animation of the outward form with the true spirit of Christianity, Angelico can never be surpassed." According to Crowe-Cavalcaselle (ii., 171), Fra Angelico also stands on a level with Raphael and Michaelangelo in power of expression and mastery of the technical resources of his art.

in response to the new life infused into it by the bracing air of the Renaissance, bursts forth into gorgeous blossoms; through him we see exactly how the kingdom of heaven, the angels, the saints, and the blessed were represented in the devout thoughts of his time, and thus his paintings are of the highest value as documents in the history of religion."*

"If," says the biographer of Fra Bartolommeo della Porta, "Giotto, at times, in his force and depth resembles the prophets of the Old Testament or the Psalmist pouring forth his soul-stirring lays, or the face of Moses resplendent with the reflection of the Deity, Fra Angelico is the image of the Disciple of love. He is the painter of eternal love, as Giotto and Orcagna are the painters of the faith. For him, as for St. Francis of Assisi, the whole universe is a hymn, and in all things he sees the reflection of the uncreated love of their Divine Maker. The world lies bathed in those golden beams which diffuse light and warmth throughout all creation. Like St. Francis he dwells in a region so far removed from all the discords of this world that with him some rays of light reflected from the sun of spirits fall even on the bad. Through all the heavenly circles his gentle spirit yearns upwards to the throne of infinite pity, from thence he looks down upon the world; he is the herald, the prophet, the witness of the Divine mercy."† Thus the pictures of the lowly Dominician impress us almost like a vision.

No one more truly appreciated Fra Angelico than Nicholas V. The relations between the Pope and the

* Burckhardt, Cicerone, 4th ed., 530-531.

† Frantz, Fra Bartolommeo della Porta. Studie über die Renaissance (Regensburg, 1879), 23-24. See also Card. Wiseman, Misc. Writings, p. 400, n. 1; Förster, Gesch. der Ital. Künst, iii., 191 *et seq.*, and Görres, Mystik, ii., 155 *et seq.*

devout artist, who never took up his pencil without prayer, soon ripened into friendship;* their acquaintance had probably begun in Florence. Those wonderful paintings in the cloister of St. Mark's, which to this day are the delight of all lovers of true art, belong to the time when Nicholas was a student in that city. The frescoes begun by Fra Angelico in the Vatican for Eugenius IV., and, alas! destroyed under Paul III., were its most precious ornament at the time that Nicholas ascended the Papal throne. While still occupied with these he had other work also to do for the Pope. The account books of 1449 make mention of a study built for Nicholas in the Vatican, decorated with *Intarsia* work and gilt friezes and cornices, and in one it is positively stated that some paintings were executed in this chamber by Fra Giovanni da Firenze (Fiesole) and his pupils. We gather further from these accounts that Fra Giovanni di Roma who was a painter on glass, furnished two windows for this room, one representing the Blessed Virgin and the other Sts. Stephen and Lawrence. But to this day we find paintings by Fra Angelico of the lives of these saints, in good preservation, on the walls of the chapel of St. Laurence. Hence the inference almost amounts to a certainty tnat this celebrated chapel and the study mentioned in these books are identical, the latter having afterwards been converted into a private oratory for the Pope.† The three walls of this chamber are covered with a double row of paintings, depicting the principal scenes in the lives of St. Stephen and St. Laurence. Fra Angelico thus gives visible expression to the popular custom of uniting the names of these two heroes of the Christian faith in a common invocation, which had prevailed ever since the time when their venerated remains had been deposited together in the

* Marchese, Memorie, i., 4th ed., 370 *et seq.*, 375 *et seq.*

† Müntz, i., 126, 127-128. Kinkel agrees with him (2987).

same tomb, in the old basilica of San Lorenzo fuori le mura.*

The charm of these pictures is indescribable and unfailing, however often they may be visited. Though past sixty when he painted them, as in Orvieto, Fra Angelico's freshness of conception and mastery of art show no traces of failure or decay.† The ordination of St. Stephen, the distribution of alms, and, above all, the picture of St. Stephen preaching, are three paintings which are as perfect in their way as the best examples of the greatest masters. It would be difficult to imagine a group more admirable in its composition, or more graceful in contour, than that of the seated and listening women in the last named picture. In that of the stoning there is, no doubt, some weakness in the delineation of the fanatical rage of the executioners, but this defect was inseparable from those qualities which are the painter's chief glory. His imagination, habitually dwelling in a region of love and devout ecstasy, was out of its element in such scenes of hatred and fury.‡

But, beyond this, the paintings in this room possess also a special interest, because they show, besides an increase in perfection and power in his own line, how far Fra Angelico was from turning away from the progress of his time, as one might, perhaps, have expected him to do.§ In many of these compositions the influence of the antique is unmistakably evident. The beautiful basilica in which St.

* Rio, ii., 35, 36. That Nicholas V. adorned the walls of his study with representations of the lives of the Saints is a further proof that he belonged to the Christian humanists.

† Burckhardt, Cicerone, ii., 4th ed., 533.

‡ Rio, ii., 36; Burckhardt *loc. cit.*; Förster, Fiesole (Regensburg, 1859), 10, and Marchese, i., 4th ed., 373 *et seq.*

§ Burckhardt, Cicerone, ii., 4th ed., 534. In these pictures, which have been admirably photographed by Braun, Sixtus II. is represented with the features of Nicholas V.

Laurence stands while distributing alms shows how quickly Fra Angelico had grasped the principles of the new architecture: its proportions are as chaste as they are noble. The picture of the same saint before the judgment seat of the Emperor Decius is an archæological restoration. Above the hall the Roman eagle is represented, surrounded by a laurel wreath. The only reminiscence of the Gothic is seen in the Baldacchini over the Fathers of the Church, everywhere else the classical style is supreme. But like his patron and friend, Pope Nicholas, Angelico joined to his appreciation of the antique an intense love for Christianity. Hence in all these compositions the influence of the classical ideal is never permitted to interfere with the Christian spirit which pervades them.* He has thus proved that even in the domain of art, the Renaissance, rightly understood, was capable of leading to a higher perfection.

Many other eminent painters were also attracted to Rome by Nicholas. From Perugia came Benedetto Buonfiglio, one of the most distinguished of Perugino's predecessors, from Foligno Bartolommeo da Foligno, the

* Müntz, Précurseurs, 101 *et seq.* See Hettner, 141. During his stay in Rome Fra Angelico was also commissioned by Nicholas V. to paint a chapel in St. Peter's and illustrate various books. See Marchese, Memorie, i., 4th ed., 383. He died at Rome, March 18, 1455. His tombstone in Sta. Maria sopra Minerva is still in good preservation (engraved in Tosi, pl. 75), with its beautiful epitaph:

"Hic jacet. ven. Pictor
Fr. Joh. de Flor. Ord. P.
MCCCCLV.
Non mihi sit laudi, quod eram velut alter Apelles,
Sed quod lucra tuis omnia, Christe, dabam.
Altera nam terris opera exstant, altera cælo,
Urbe me Johannem flos tulit Etruriæ."

See Marchese, i., 4th ed., 387; Forcella, i., 418.

master of Niccolò Alunno. The latter, according to the account books, painted a hall in the Vatican between 1451-1453. His salary was high, seven ducats a month, with board. In 1454 we find Andrea del Castagno in the Pope's service,* and, according to Vasari, Piero della Francesca and Bramantino were also employed by Nicholas.† Their names do not appear in the books, but there is a long list of others from Rome and its neighbourhood Of these the most eminent, judging by his pay (eight ducats a month), would seem to have been Simone da Roma; he was at work in the Vatican during almost the whole reign of Nicholas. A German and a Spaniard also appear amongst those who received commissions from the Pope.‡

Nicholas followed his own judgment in the distribution of their tasks, as freely as he did in the choice of the artists he employed. Thus, from Piero della Francesca he only required historical pictures; not a single altar-piece or religious painting of any kind was entrusted to him. His pictures contained portraits of Charles VII., the Prince of Salerno, and Cardinal Bessarion, and were placed in the hall in which we now see the miracle of Bolsena and the liberation of St. Peter. Nicholas V. seems to have had a special partiality for stained glass. Not only St. Peter's, but also all the chief rooms in the Vatican, had painted windows. The humanist Maffeo Vegio is loud in his praises of their beauty and brilliancy.§

* Müntz, i., 93 *et seq.* For the painters mentioned in the text, see especially Crowe and Cavalcaselle, iii., 33 *et seq.*, 291 *et seq.*; iv., 126, 137, 148 *et seq.*; and Woltmann-Wörmann, ii., 214.

† Vasari, ed. Milanesi, ii., 492; iv., 17; xi., 277 *et seq.*

‡ See Vol. i., p. 219, note †, and Müntz, i., 94-96. This otherwise unknown German painter, Lucas, must have been a distinguished artist, since, in 1451, we find his salary was the same as that of Benozzo Gozzoli—namely, seven gold florins a month.

§ See Acta Sanctor. Jun., vii., 78. Müntz, i., 134.

The minor arts were equally encouraged by this Pope "For many hundred years," says a contemporary writer, "so much silken apparel and so many jewels and precious stones had not been seen in Rome."* To this large-minded Pope also belongs the honour of having founded the first manufacture of tapestry in Rome. He brought Renaud de Maincourt from Paris, and gave him four assistants and a fixed salary to weave tapestry.† The goldsmiths and gold embroiderers were unable to fulfil all the commissions of the Pope; the resources of Rome and Florence were soon exhausted, and the workshops of Siena, Venice, and Paris were called into requisition. The account books are full of orders for tiaras, copes, and other vestments, censers, reliquaries, crosses, chalices, and ornamental vessels of all sorts for the services of the Church.‡ In this, according to Manetti and Platina, the purpose of the Pope was the same as in his architectural undertakings. The pomp and magnificence displayed in the celebration of the Holy mysteries were equally a means for exalting the dignity and authority of the Holy See. Even in all the lesser details of its accessories and ornaments, the Church was to reflect the splendour of the Heavenly Jerusalem.§

But the indefatigable energy of Nicholas, which

* Kinkel, 3002. Perlbach, 20.

† Kinkel, 3003. Müntz, i., 179 *et seq.*

‡ Müntz, i., 77 *et seq.*, 166 *et seq.* All the appointments of the Vatican were magnificent. The silver vessels for the table were gilt, and some of them enamelled. The MSS. in the library were gorgeously bound, see *infra*, p. 209. For this Pope's solicitude in regard to the solemnity and splendour of the services of the Church, see Raynaldus, ad an. 1447, n. 24; 1449, n. 14, Infessura (Eccard, ii., 1883 *et seq.*) and Manetti, 923.

§ Manetti, 923. Platina, Nic. V. in fine. See Rio, ii. 21, Müntz, in the Gaz. des Beaux Arts (1877), xv., 418.

astonished his contemporaries,* did not exhaust itself in his plans for Rome; the whole Papal States were to be equally efficiently protected and embellished. With a just sense of the dignity of the head of Christendom, this great Pope was determined that the heritage of St. Peter should no longer be at the mercy of the insults and attacks of turbulent vassals. What had been done for Rome by the restoration of the walls and the forts of St. Angelo was to be done also for all the principal places throughout the Papal States. Everywhere ruined walls were rebuilt, churches restored, public squares enlarged and beautified. Assisi, Civita Vecchia, Gualdo, Narni, Civita Castellana, Castelnuovo, Vicarello were fortified and embellished by Nicholas. In Spoleto the magnificent castle of Cardinal Albornoz was completed; in Orvieto the Episcopal Palace, the aqueduct, and the walls were restored. At Viterbo the Pope built baths for the sick on a princely scale. In Fabriano, which was famous for its pure air, and where the Pope resided for some time on account of the plague which had broken out in Rome, he rebuilt the Franciscan Church and enlarged the principal square, which he surrounded with a wall.†

* See Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Frid. III., p. 81; *Despatches of Nicodemus de Pontremoli to Fr. Sforza, d.d. ex urbe, 1452, Jun. 18. Cod. Z, 219, Sup. Ambrosian Library, Milan, and the Letter of "Nello fameglio de N. S^re^." (doubtless the same as Nellus de Bononia, see Arch. della Soc. Rom., vi., 9) to Siena, Rome, May 10, 1451. Concistoro, Lettere ad an., State Arch., Siena.

† On these buildings see Pius II., Comment., 41, 111; Niccola della Tuccia, 56, 59, 215, 235; Bussi, 249, 251; Fumi, 712-713; Müntz, i., 70, 160-164; Rumohr, Ital. Forsch., 194 *et seq.*; Bertolotti, i., 17-19, 29; Cristofani, 319. Nicholas V. also gave assistance to the new building in the Cathedral of San Lorenzo at Perugia, and to the restoration of various monasteries (see Graziani, 623). See Theiner. Mon. Slav., i., 401.

In fact, since the Carlovingians, no Pope had built so much as Nicholas; the fresh eager enthusiasm of the early Renaissance is personified in him.* "The works of Nicholas," said Æneas Sylvius, "are as far superior to anything that the modern world has produced as are the castle of St. Angelo and the buildings of the old empire; they now lie scattered around us like gigantic ruins, but had they been completed the new Rome would have had nothing to fear from a comparison with the old."† From his earliest youth Nicholas had loved and delighted in letters; it was but natural now that he had the powers that, much as he did for art, he should do still more for them. Under him Rome had seemed transformed into a huge building yard, an immense workshop and studio; it became also a vast literary laboratory. For, if architecture was the Pope's hobby, writing and translating and collecting books and translations in libraries was his passion.‡ The humanists had good reason to rejoice at the election of Tommaso Parentucelli. Insignificant and poor as he seemed, and comparatively young for a Pope, for he was only forty-nine, they knew well, most of them from personal acquaintance, how fully bent he was upon throwing the whole weight of his influence and position as head of the Church into the scales on the side of learning.

Poggio, the humanist, who was in a certain sense the Nestor of the republic of letters at that time, in his letter of congratulation to the new Pope, gives eloquent expression to the hopes and wishes of his party. "I beseech you, Holy Father," he says, "not to forget your old friends, or suffer your care for them to grow slack because you have many other cares. Take measures to increase the number of

* Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 624; Springer, Raffael, 99.

† See Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii., 2nd ed., 64-65.

‡ Geiger, Renaissance, 123.

those who resemble yourself, so that the liberal arts, which in these bad days seem almost extinct, may revive and flourish again. From you alone we hope for what has so long been neglected by others. To you is entrusted the glorious mission of restoring philosophical studies to their former honour and pre-eminence, and resuscitating the nobler arts." These words found a glad response in the breast of Nicholas; they reflected his own sentiments.*

"All the scholars in the world," says Vespasiano da Bisticci, "came to Rome in the time of Pope Nicholas, partly of their own accord, and partly at his request, because he desired to have them there." † This, of course, is not literally true, but in point of fact it was the Pope's wish to bind the revival of classical literature as closely as possible to Rome and the Holy See, and with this object, from the very beginning of his reign, he did his utmost to attract all the learned and literary men of his day to his Court. Rising talent was sought out and encouraged, and there was hardly a single literary man of any note who did not receive some recompense or favour from Nicholas. When Mæcenas heard that there were still some distinguished writers in Rome, who lived in retirement, and for whom he had as yet done nothing, he exclaimed, "If they are worth anything why do they not come to me, who am willing to encourage and reward even mediocrity." Had it been possible Nicholas would have been glad to have transported the whole of Florence to the banks of the Tiber.‡

The golden age of the humanists now began. Not

* Poggii Opp, (Basil, 1538), p. 291 *et seq.*; Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, p. 314.

† Mai, Spicil, i., 43.

‡ Villari, i., 57; Papencordt, 501. "In spirit if not in blood," says Voigt (i., 413, 2nd ed.), "Parentucelli was the first Medici of the Apostolic See. He was to Rome what Cosmo was to Florence.

satisfied with those whose services had already been secured by his predecessors, Nicholas summoned a host of new literary celebrities to the Eternal City. In a very short time he had instituted there a veritable court of the muses, composed of all the most distinguished scholars of the day —Poggio, Valla, Manetti, Alberti, Aurispa, Tortello, Decembrio, and many others.*

The first thing that strikes the eye in glancing over the names of this brilliant company is that, like the artists employed by Nicholas, they are almost all strangers. There is but one Roman amongst them. The Eternal City seems strangely barren. Here and there we hear of a scholarly cardinal or prelate, but there is no mention of any improvement in the education of the people, or of intellectual tastes, with one or two exceptions, amongst the nobility, no literary activity in the convents, and no foundations except for theological studies.† To appreciate the full merit of this Pope we must take this state of things into consideration. It was he who, single-handed, turned the capital of christendom into that brilliant centre of art and learning that it became. How much less difficult was the task of Cosmo de' Medici, who was not obliged to begin creating an intellectual atmosphere.‡

Amidst the crowd of learned and literary men who quickly gathered around the Pope the Florentines naturally were admitted to the closest personal intimacy. Here again the noble figure of Alberti is the first to catch the eye; but unfortunately just as in Florence his personality is obscured by the throng of humanists who surround him so also in Rome no details concerning him are extant. Giannozzo Manetti was the most intimate of all with

* See Tiraboschi, vi., 57, and Zanelli, 17 *et seq.*, 83.

† Reumont, iii., 1, 318.

‡ Cipolla, 484-485.

Nicholas. As a Christian humanist he was truly "the man after the Pope's own heart," and in 1451 Nicholas made him Apostolic Secretary, and gave him a magnificent establishment when in 1453 he came to reside in Rome.* Manetti's admirable biography of his generous patron attests his gratitude.

The bookseller Vespasiano da Bisticci was on very intimate terms with Nicholas. His excellent memoirs and sketches of character, which are invaluable to the student of the culture of his time, proclaim him to have been a man of warm heart, vigorous intellect, and sound judgment. The good Giovanni Tortello, the first librarian of the Vatican, also enjoyed a large share of the Pope's confidence.†

Unfortunately in his selection of the men who seemed to him to be necessary for his work Nicholas displayed a readiness to overlook much that was seriously objectionable, which can hardly be justified. Personally the Pope was undoubtedly loyal to the Christian Renaissance, but he was so far carried away by the enthusiasm of the time as to be almost wholly blind to the dangers that were to be apprehended from the opposite side. Thus he accepted from the unprincipled Poggio the dedication of a pamphlet in which Eugenius IV. was almost openly accused of hypocrisy,‡ and did not scruple at raising his salary so as

* Marini, Archiatri, i., 146. Voigt, ii., 82, 2nd ed. On Manetti as an adherent of the Christian Renaissance, see Vol. i., p. 40 *et seq.*

† See *infra*. In regard to Vespasiano de Bisticci, see Reumont, Lorenzo, i., 417, 2nd ed. *et seq.* The Pope's especial favourite was Piero da Noceto, nat. 1397, ob. 1467. See C. Minutoli in the Atti della R. Accad. Lucchese (Lucca, 1882), xxi., *et seq.* The way in which Flavio Biondo was passed over by Nicholas is strange, and has not hitherto been explained (*Cf.* Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 86, Masius 21 *et seq.*).

‡ Poggius, Hist. de varietate fortunae, ed. a D. Giorgio (Lutet-Paris, 1723), 88.

to enable him to live entirely by his muse. When the cynical sceptic was called away to Florence to become a member of the Chancery there, Nicholas took leave of him with regret, and allowed him to retain a nominal secretaryship as a token of regard.* Filelfo, a perfect master in the art of scurrilous vituperation, was invited to Rome, and loaded with favours when he got there. The early death of the semi-pagan Marsuppini alone prevented his being brought thither, and provided for in such a manner as to enable him to give his undivided attention to the translation of Homer.†

Nothing affords a more striking proof of the indulgence with which the humanistic movement had come to be regarded in Rome than the attitude assumed by the dissolute satirist Valla, to whom nothing was sacred. In common with the majority of the adherents of the false Renaissance, Valla was far from being a fanatical sceptic. Even under Eugenius IV. he had written an obsequious letter retracting his former publications, and praying for an appointment. But the Pope very justly refused to be propitiated. Even Nicholas did not go so far as formally to invite to Rome and heap preferments on the author of the book "De voluptate," the declared enemy of the temporal power, the bitter satirist of the religious orders. But he tolerated the presence of such a man at the Papal Court, and even made him apostolic notary.‡ The task

* Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 78, 79.

† Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 96 *et seq.*, 196 *et seq.* *Cf.* Vol. i., p. 27.

‡ Registers of the Secret Archives of the Vatican of Nov. 14, 1448; Marini, Archiatri, i., 241. This honour was the only dignity conferred upon him by Nicholas. Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 89 *et seq.*; *Cf.* i., 2nd ed., 478 *et seq.* There is another side to be considered in judging of these appointments, Nicholas sought at any rate to win over, if not to convert, dangerous opponents. In the case of Valla he seems to have been successful; not so in that of Porcaro. *Cf. infra,* chap. 6.

of translating Thucydides into Latin was entrusted to Valla.

Most of the learned men thus summoned to Rome were employed in translating Greek authors into Latin. This was the Pope's especial delight. He read these translations himself with the greatest interest, liberally rewarded the translators, and honoured them with autograph letters.* Vespasiano da Bisticci gives a long list of translations which owed their existence to this "noble passion of Nicholas V." By this means Herodotus, Thucydides, Zenophon, Polybius, Diodorus, Appian, Philo, Theophrastus, and Ptolemy became now for the first time accessible to students. The delights of drinking in the wisdom of Greece from the source itself was inexpressible.† "Greece," writes Filefo, referring to these translators and to Nicholas's collection of manuscripts, "has not perished, but has migrated to Italy, the land that in former days was called the greater Greece."‡

At a time when the knowledge of Greeks was confined to such a small number of students, these translations were most valuable; they were regarded as a branch of literature to which the most distinguished men did not disdain to devote their energies. Nothing can be more unjust than to speak slightingly of this band of eager workers, whose activity was perpetually kept at fever heat by the admonitions and rewards of the Pope, and call them mere operatives in a great translation-factory.§ The most eminent

* See the letters to Perotti, the translator of Polybius, given by Georgius, 206, 207.

† Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed. 509, 510. It is notorious that the Pope had much to put up with in regard to many of these translations. Those of George of Trebizond especially were almost worthless. See Ersch-Gruber, §1, Vol. lx., 222.

‡ Philelfi Epist., xiii., 1.

§ Geiger, Renaissance, 124.

humanists of the day—Poggio, Guarino, Decembrio, Filelfo, Valla—laboured at these tasks. Their productions were much admired by their contemporaries, and royally rewarded by Nicholas, who was determined, as far as it was possible, to render all the treasures of Greek literature accessible to Latin scholars. Valla received for his translation of Thucydides, of which the original manuscript is preserved in the Vatican Library,* five hundred gold scudi. When Perotti presented his translation of Polybius to the Pope, Nicholas at once handed him five hundred newly-minted Papal ducats, saying that he deserved more, and should receive an ampler reward later. He gave a thousand scudi for the ten first books of Strabo, and offered ten thousand gold pieces for a translation of Homer's poems.

When we compare these sums with the payments made to artists, we begin to realize how enormous they were. At that period the latter were held in far less esteem than scholars and professors. The same Pope who thought nothing of making a present of five hundred gold florins to two humanists, and bestowed on Giannozzo Manetti an official salary of six hundred ducats, paid Fra Angelico at the rate of fifteen ducats a month only, and gave Gozzoli but seven.†

Learned and literary men were the Pope's real favourites; to them he gave with both hands. Vespasiano da Bisticci says that he always carried a leathern purse containing some hundreds of florins, and drew from it liberally on all

* Cod. Vat., 1801 (richly adorned with miniatures). See Vahlen, 359, 360.

† See *supra*, p. 183. According to Müntz (Renaissance, 55) no one towards the close of the fifteenth century could exist in Florence on less than fifty ducats a year. A man could live fairly well on from a hundred to a hundred and fifty, and luxuriously on from two hundred and fifty to three hundred.

occasions. And his manner of giving made the gift itself more efficacious. When he insisted on the acceptance of a present he would represent it as a token of regard rather than a recompense of merit. He would overcome the scruples of modest worth by saying with playful ostentation, "Don't refuse; you may not find another Nicholas." Often he actually forced his rewards on learned men. When Filelfo, conscious of some disrespectful expressions, was afraid to ask for an audience, Nicholas sent for him, and in the most gracious manner reproached him for having been so long in Rome without coming to see him. When he took leave he presented him with five hundred ducats, saying, "This, Messer Filelfo, is for the expenses of your journey." Vespasiano da Bisticci, who relates the story, exclaims enthusiastically, "This is liberality indeed."*

In fact Nicholas was the most generous man of a lavish age. "In the eight years of his Pontificate," says the historian of the Eternal City in the Middle Ages, "he filled Rome with books and parchments; he was another Ptolemy Philadelphus. This noble Pope might have been well represented with a cornucopia in his hand, showering gold on scholars and artists. Few men have had ampler experience of the happiness of giving towards worthy ends."†

If Nicholas had been permitted to accomplish his design of familiarizing the Italians with the literature of Greece, the consequences would have been in the highest degree beneficial. The main evil of the early Renaissance was its

* "Questi si chiamano liberali," Nicola V., §27. Filelfo, §3. "Sub quo enim pontifice," asks D. Birago in his *'Strategicon adversus Turcos,' "fuit unquam sedes ista magnificentior aut splendidior; quis opem tuam frustra imploravit, quis vir dignus clausam sensit in se benignitatem tuam?" Cod. Regin., 835, f. 19. Vatican Library.

† Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 524.

ignorance of Greek. The efforts of Nicholas to correct this deserves the highest praise. Had the culture of the humanists been derived directly from Greek sources rather than from the degenerate Roman civilization, the whole later development of the movement would have been different.* This, as we know, he was unable to achieve. But much was done by the band of scholars whom Nicholas assembled in Rome to promote and diffuse the knowledge of the Greek language and literature, the value and importance of which in the history of culture he so fully appreciated. The writings of Aristotle, disencumbered of the veil thrown over them by the Arabs and schoolmen, were now for the first time really understood. Greek history, hitherto only learnt from compendiums, was now studied in the original writings of its own historians. Herodotus, Thucydides, and many others were by the middle of the century either wholly or partially translated. These translations often left much to be desired both in regard to accuracy and latinity; nevertheless, such as they were, they formed a notable accession to the materials of learning, and were an enormous intellectual gain, especially in stimulating the desire for further conquests.†

But, while fully admitting the value of the literary activity thus fostered by the Pope's liberality, we must not shut our eyes to the dark side. We have already pointed out how little discrimination he exercised in the selection of the scholars whom he invited. It stood to reason that scandals must arise. Like Florence in Niccoli's time, only to a still greater degree, Rome became an arena

* See Körting, i., 154, 316, 401, 413 *et seq.*; ii., 414.

† Opinion of Reumont (iii., 1, 328-329). See Papencordt, 502. See also Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 159.

for literary squabbles and scandalous stories of authors. Bitter feuds were carried on for years together between the Latins and the Greeks, and between individuals, even within both parties.*

The air was thick with the interchange of accusations and abusive epithets. Sometimes they even came to blows. One day in the Papal Chancellery George of Trebizond, in a fit of jealousy, hit the old Poggio two sounding boxes on the ear; then the two flew at each other, and were, with the greatest difficulty, separated by their colleagues. The Pope himself was obliged to interfere, and George, whose translations had proved worthless, was banished.†

Equally disgraceful was the quarrel between Poggio and Valla. "They abused each other," says the historian of the humanists, "like a couple of brawling urchins in the streets. Poggio raged and stormed, as in former days he was wont to do against Filelfo, accusing his adversary of treachery, larceny, forgery, heresy, drunkenness, and immorality, and seasoning his accusations with scurrilous anecdotes and coarse epithets. Valla, whose motto was, 'It may be a shame to fight, but to give in is a greater shame,' twitted Poggio with his ignorance of Latin and of the rules of composition, quoting faulty passages, and altogether affecting to look upon him as already in his dotage."‡

But even apart from these scandals the position of the humanists in the Court under this Pope cannot but appear anomalous. Nicholas embraced every opportunity for

* Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 149.

† George of Trebizond is the most unpleasing of the Greeks of that day. Conceited, boastful, and spiteful, he was universally hated.

‡ Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 150 *et seq.* *Cf.* Villari, i., 101 *et seq.* Invernizzi, 138 *et seq.*

introducing learned men,* who, as Platina remarked, occupied themselves much more with the library than with the Church, seriously compromising that ecclesiastical character which the Court of the head of the Church should display. Under Eugenius, the highest dignities had always been bestowed on monks, now none but scholars or translators were promoted. Not only lucrative, but also responsible posts were conferred upon them; thus Giuseppe Brippi, a poet, was placed at the head of the Papal Archives; and another humanist, Decembrio, was made chief of the abbreviators.† This state of things made it possible for Filelfo, whose ambition after the death of his wife turned towards ecclesiastical preferments, to solicit the necessary dispensation from the Pope in hexameters! In this production, to which the Pope of course returned no answer, Filelfo declares that from early youth he had cherished a desire of devoting himself wholly to Christ, "the ruler of Olympus." ‡ It does

* Poggio, in his letters, sneers at the hosts, or rather legions of secretaries appointed by the Pope, numerous enough to make a good stand against the Turks. Epist., xiii., 8 (Tonelli, iii., 194).

† See Voigt, ii. (2nd ed.), 94-95. Brippi is distinctly named by Valla (Antidot., in Pog. iv.), "papalis regesti præses." Considering the losses sustained by the Secret Archives of the Vatican, it is not surprising that no mention of his appointment should be found. In regard to Brippi, see Vol. i., p. 212, note *; also Vahlen, Vallæ Opusc., lxi., 27 *et seq.*, and Wesselofsky, ii., 40. A series of religious poems by Brippi are to be found in the MS. of the Court Library at Vienna. See Endlicher, Cat. Codd. phil. Bibl. Vind., 269. His Carmina de laudibus S. Alexii. are in Cod. 2837 in the Library of the University at Bologna.

‡ For further details, see Voigt, ii. (2nd ed.), 97; *cf.* 479 *et seq.*, where similar expressions of Filelfo's are quoted. Amongst the extraordinary anomalies of that epoch must be reckoned several of the choir books in the Papal chapel, whose illuminations contain

not appear that this epithet shocked anyone; it was regarded as a Latin turn of expression or a harmless piece of pedantry.

The fact was that the votaries of the false Renaissance had not as yet openly broken with the Church. Doubtless many propositions are to be found in their writings which it would be hard to reconcile with Christian dogma, or the Christian point of view. But these were only *obiter dicta*, which those who uttered them would have been ready to explain away or retract as lightly as they were spoken.* This alone can account for the fact that truly pious men like Nicholas—he was the first Pope who carried the Blessed Sacrament in procession on foot—could regard these things as mere harmless play.

It is evident that the encouragement given to the humanists was a cause of scandal to many at this time, as was also the money spent by Nicolas on his buildings, which it was thought would have been better employed against the Turks.† These foes of the Renaissance were very numerous in the religious houses. At the same time

most unseemly pictures. Cod. 14, in the Archives of the Sistine Chapel (drawn up in the latter end of the 15th century), is, as Domkapellmeister F. X. Haberl kindly informed me, of special importance in this connection; it was not copied till 1482 (Haberl), Bausteine, i., 72). In regard to the care bestowed on music by Nicholas, see Atti e memorie di storia della Romagna, vi., 24-25, and Müntz, Renaissance, 59-90.

* Schnaase, viii., 532-533. See Vol. i., p. 39.

† The Pope's last address to the Cardinals, in which he defends his architectural undertakings, proves the number of these critics to have been considerable. L. Birago also, in his *Strategicon, mentioned *supra*, p. 200, n. *, notices these accusations. Besides the MS. just mentioned, I saw copies of this Strategicon in Cod. Vatic., 3423 (see Georgius, 214 *et seq.*), and in Cod. G., vi., 14, of the University Library in Turin.

a treatise* composed by Timoteo Maffei, the pious prior of the regular Canons of Fiesole, is interesting as evidence of the revolution in opinion which the labours of this large-minded Pope was gradually effecting. He denies the assertion that "saintly ignorance" is becoming in those who are called to the religious life, and that humanistic studies are the ruin of piety. On the contrary, he shows by many quotations, from both sacred and profane authors, how much profit monks, as well as other men, may derive from classical knowledge, and ends with a reference to the Pope, to whom he says nothing could be more agreeable than the pursuit of such studies.†

Ecclesiastical literature was no less dear to Nicholas, who had taken a lively interest in it long before he could have anticipated that he should ever be called to occupy the Papal chair.‡

Here, then, were many deficiencies, and some of them very important. The open-handed Nicholas followed the example of Alexander when he set forth to conquer Asia. He promised a reward of five thousand ducats to any one who would bring him the Gospel of St. Matthew in the original tongue. This, of all possible discoveries, was the one he prized most.§ Gianozzo Manetti was commanded to translate

* *Cod. Vat., 5096, f. 1, "Timothei Veronensis canonici regularis in sanctam rusticitatem litteras impugnantem dialogorum liber primus incipit feliciter; dicatus ad Nicolaum V. summum maximumque Pontificem." Prologus (printed in Maffei, Verona illustr., ii., 88). Liber primus ends, p. 37; Liber secundus, p. 38-87. Besides the MS. in the Vatican Library, of which I possess a complete copy, there is another in the Library of St. Mark's, at Venice. See Valentinelli, ii., 212. I hope at a future period to speak again of this MS.

† See Cod., *loc. cit.*, p. 36.

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 23.

§ Muratori, xx., 593. See Rio, ii., 24. Historical documents also were copied by the Pope's orders. The Vatican Library con-

the "Preparation for the Gospel" of Eusebius, together with various writings by Sts. Gregory Nazianzen, Cyril, Basil, and Gregory of Nyssa. The translation of the eighty homilies of St. John Chrysostom on the Gospel of St. Matthew appeared to the Pope especially desirable. This work was entrusted to George of Trebizond, who here again proved utterly incapable.* Original works in this department were also desired by the Pope. Gianozzo Manetti was commissioned to write an apologetic treatise against jews and heathens, and also to translate the whole Bible from the original Greek and Hebrew texts. Unfortunately Nicholas died before this great work was completed, so that he was unable to reward it as he would have wished, and the plan was never carried out in the manner originally intended.† The famous Dominican Cardinal Torquemada dedicated to him two treatises on canon law.‡ Antonio degl' Agli, a Florentine, afterwards Bishop of Fiesole and Volterra, wrote a book for him on the lives and acts of the Saints.§ In the preface to this interesting work the author declares that, having laid it aside, he resumed it at the

tains many works of this description. Thus I found in Cod. Vatic., 4167, the minutes of the Council held in Rome under Martin I. See the description of this MS. in the Arch. dell. Soc. Rom., iii., 69.

* Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 199 *et seq.* See Zanelli (96) on Perotti and Nicholas V.

† *Loc. cit.*, 82. See Burckhardt, Cultur, i., 3rd ed., 242, 333.

‡ See Georgius, 197, 211-214; *Cf.* Lederer, Torquemada, 264. (There is here a curious error. The author attributes the founding of the Barberina to P. Barbo).

§ In regard to this pious Bishop see Mai. Spicil., i., 273 *et seq.*; Ughelli, i., 399; iii., 336. The dedication of this book begins thus:—"Antonius Allius presbiter sanctissimo d. n. Nicolao P. V. Sanctorum vitas gestaque scribere ac juxta temporum aliquam rationem ordinare digerereque adorsus et desperatione inveniendi quæ certa atque irreprehensibili fide reponere possem perterritus

express desire of the Pope. He also explains its object. Unfortunately, he says, most of the legends of the Saints were full of fables, and written in an uncouth or affected style, which disgusted the humanists and made them despise Christianity. This he hopes to remedy. He has drawn from the best patristic sources, and especially the old Latin Manuscripts, which are more trustworthy than the Greek, as the Popes had early taken pains to verify the acts of the martyrs. The learned Ambrogio Traversari had already perceived the need of such a work, and begun to supply it. For himself he has done his best to make his book worthy of a place in the Papal library; to others he leaves the task of praising Rome's worldly heroes; his only ambition is to celebrate the heroes of the Church.* To conclude, the labours of Nicholas V. as a collector of books were indefatigable and most productive. In his penurious days he had spent every farthing he could spare on the purchase of manuscripts, and even been drawn into debt by his literary voracity; it is easy to imagine with what energy he would proceed now that he found himself in possession of such ample resources.

A noble library was to form the crowning glory of the

cum aliqua iam scripsissem, opus sic inchohatus (*sic!*) relinquere statui. Et nisi pium tuæ sanctitatis, beatissime pater, studium atque hortatus iterum ad scribendum me animasset, cœpta penitus omisissem. Cum igitur tuæ sanctitati pergratum futurum esse opus, ipsemit mihi assereres pium vera atque utili posteritati fore videretur, denuo receptis animis me ad scribendum converti." Cod. Vatic., 3942. Vatican Library.

* *"Hunc primum librum." The dedication proceeds to say: —"His contractioribus a me noctibus lucubratum tuæ sanctitati videndum examinandumque transmitto; quem si tua auctoritate probaveris, maioribus ad eos, qui sequuntur, animis deinceps expediendos accingas." Observations on the arrangement of the work follow. Cod. cit. from the Vatican Library.

new Vatican. The idea of this library, by means of which Nicholas hoped to make Rome the centre of learning for all the ages to come, was perhaps the grandest thought of this great Pope, who was as admirable for his genuine piety and virtue as for his many-sided culture. He wished to place all the glorious monuments of Greek and Roman intellect under the immediate protection of the Holy See, and thus to hand them down intact to future generations.

The zeal displayed by the Pope in the prosecution of this undertaking was unexampled. Not satisfied with collecting and copying the manuscripts that were to be found in Italy, he had agents at work in almost every country in Europe. He sent emissaries to Greece, to England, and to the grand master of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, to discover and buy, or copy all the hidden literary treasures that could be found in these countries.* The influence which the Holy See possessed throughout all christendom was exerted by Nicholas far more for the organization of books than of power. No expense was to be spared; the more spoil his agents brought back the better pleased was the Pope. A rumour reached him of the existence of an exceptionally perfect copy of Livy in Denmark or Norway, and he at once sent the well-known Alberto Enoche of Ascoli, with ample commendatory letters, to procure it. Apparently he was not successful in bringing back anything of much value.† The private agents who were in his service in

* See Philelfi, Epist., xiii., 1, and the *Oratio funebris pronounced by Nicholas Palmerius, O.S.A., Bishop of Catanzaro, and afterwards of Orte and Civita Castellana during the first days of the obsequies of Nicholas V., Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 10, Vatican Library.

† In regard to Enoche see Reumont, in Arch. Stor. Ital., Third Series, pt. xx., 188-190. Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 201-203. (See Reisserscheid in Deutsch Literat.-Zeit, 1883, p. 234). Intelligenz-

Greece and Turkey, both before and after the fall of Constantinople, were more fortunate* in procuring new manuscripts, which were immediately copied and corrected in Rome. Armies of transcribers, many of whom were Germans and Frenchmen,† were perpetually employed in this work. When in 1450 the plague in Rome obliged the Pope to retire to Fabriano, where at that time the best paper was made, he took his translators and copyists with him for fear of losing them.‡

Nicholas V., himself a calligraphist, required all manuscripts to be well executed. The few specimens still existing in the Vatican library are bound with exquisite taste, even when not illuminated. The material was

blatt., Serapeum, 1867, p. 11. Deutsche Städtechroniken, iii., note 5; iv., 281, note, and Mancini, 329. Voigt gives the brief of Nicholas V., in which he recommends Enoche to the Grand-master, Ludwig von Erlichshausen, taken from the Königsberg Archives. In this brief, among other things, the following occurs: "Nolumus enim ut aliquis liber surripiatur, sed tantum modo ut fiat copia transscribendi." But there is nothing to be found in this brief of any command of the Pope to the monks to show their books under pain of excommunication (as stated by Vespasiano). Leo X. was the first to do this, as I shall show in a future volume from a document in the Wolfenbüttel Library.

* Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 203 *et seq.* No doubt many MSS. were destroyed at the fall of Constantinople, but a great many were saved. The Genoese, in a paper *dated February 13, 1461, addressed to Pius II., give an account of a number of books, relics, chalices, etc., which had been safely transported from Pera to Chios (Litt., Vol. xxii., Genoese State Archives. See also in Appendix No. 22 the instruction of Nicholas V., d.d. viii., Id, Oct., 1453, taken from the Secret Archives of the Vatican).

† See Gaye, Carteggio d'Artisti (Firenze, 1839), i., 164.

‡ Manetti, 928.

almost always parchment, and the covers mostly of crimson velvet with silver clasps.*

By means of these strenuous exertions the Pope succeeded, in a comparatively very short space of time, in bringing together a really unique collection of books. "Had Nicholas V. been able to carry out his intentions," says Vespasiano da Bisticci, "the library founded by him at St. Peter's for the whole Court would have been a really marvellous creation."† It was to have been a public institution, accessible to the whole learned world.‡ Besides this Nicholas collected a private library of his own, the inventory of which is still to be found in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.§ This mostly consists of profane authors.

The care of this library was confided by the Pope to Giovanni Tortello, a quiet and unassuming scholar, absorbed in his books, and as well versed in theology as in

* See Burckhardt, i., 3rd ed. *et seq.*, and Müntz in the Gaz. des Beaux Arts (1877), xv., 419. On the dealers in MSS. in Rome, see Serapeum, xiii., 294. Nicholas applied to Cosmo de' Medici repeatedly for Greek codex, see Fabronius, i., 135; ii., 222.

† Mai, Spicil., i., 49.

‡ "Pro communi doctorum virorum commodo." So runs the commendatory brief with which Enoche was provided (already mentioned, p. 208, note †). For previous Papal libraries, see Reumont, iii., 1, 131; G. B. de Rossi, La Biblioteca della Sede Apostolica, in Studi e docum., A° v. (1884), 317 *et seq.*, and Fr. Ehrle's admirable paper, "Zur Gesch. des Schatzes, der Bibliothek, und des Archives der Päpste im xiv. Jahrhundert," in the Archiv für Lit. und Kirchengesch. des M. A. (Berlin, 1885), i., 1 *et seq.*; 288 *et seq.*

§ In the last volume of the Diversor. Nicholai V., published by Amati in the Arch. Stor. Ital., Third Series, P. III., 207-212, and in Sforza, 385-391.

classics.* Few librarians have had so free a hand in regard to expense; his purchases were always sure of a welcome, and the more books he procured the better pleased was his patron. It has been estimated that Nicholas spent more than forty thousand scudi altogether on books.†

The numbers of the volumes in the Papal libraries have been very variously stated, and the discrepancies between writers who had the means of knowing accurately are extraordinary. Tortello, who had drawn up a catalogue, now unfortunately lost, reckoned, according to Vespasiano da Bisticci, nine thousand volumes. Pope Pius II. estimated it at three thousand; the Archbishop St. Antoninus of Florence, only one thousand. On the other hand, Manetti and Vespasiano da Bisticci, in the biographies of Nicholas V., distinctly state that at the time of the Pope's death the catalogue numbered five thousand volumes. This estimate is considered by the latest writers to come nearest the truth.‡

Possibly, however, even this may still be too high. In the Vatican Library there is an inventory of the Latin manuscripts belonging to Nicholas V., which was taken

* Tortello was one of the Pope's most intimate friends. See Cortesius in Galletti, Villani, 227. See Zanelli, 39; Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 90, 94, and Anecdot. lit., iv., 374 *et seq.*

† Assemani, Præf. ad Vol. i. Cat. Cod. MS., Bibl. Vatic., p. 21. On the literature of the fifteenth century, see Reumont, Lorenzo, i. 2nd ed., 382 *et seq.*, 419 *et seq.*, and Wattenbach, Schriftwesen des M. A. (Leipzig, 1871, 2nd ed., 1875). On the price of books, see Savigny, iii., 593 *et seq.*; Schulte, Quellen, ii., 457; Müntz, Renaiss., 57.

‡ Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 208. Geiger, Renaissance, 125. According to a statement in Muratori (xviii., 1095), which seems hitherto to have been overlooked, Nicholas V. left six hundred volumes when he died.

before the coronation of his successor, Calixtus III., on the 16th of April, 1455.* That this inventory is complete seems evident, since it includes the private library of the deceased Pope. The Greek manuscripts are not mentioned, but the Latin are numbered up to eight hundred and seven.† This was a large collection for those days; the most famous libraries were hardly more numerous. That of Niccoli, the largest and best in Florence, only contained eight hundred volumes (valued at four thousand sequins); that of Visconti, in his castle at Pavia, nine hundred and eighty-eight. Cardinal Bessarion, in spite of his influential connections and lavish expenditure, could only succeed in bringing six hundred manuscripts together. Duke Frederick of Urbino's library, which consisted of seven hundred and seventy-two manuscripts, was said to have cost him thirty thousand ducats. The other Italian collections are all under three hundred volumes. Even the Medici in 1456 possessed only one hundred and fifty-eight, and in 1494 about a thousand manuscripts.‡

According to this inventory the Latin manuscripts in the

* "Inventarium librorum latinorum bibliotece d. n. pape Callisti tercii repertorum tempore obitus bo. me. d^ni^ Nicolai predecessoris immediati et per me Cosmam de Monteserrato (see Marini, ii., 146) e. s. d. n. datarium et confessorem factum, scriptum et ordinatum, quod inceptum fuit xvi. Aprilis pont. sui anno p°." Cod. Vatic. 3959.

† Müntz (L'héritage de Nicholas V., p. 420), following an old note, f. 3a of the Cod. Vatic., erroneously counts eight hundred and twenty-four numbers; in his most recent work (La Renaissance, 119) in one place he writes eight hundred and twenty-four, and in another eight hundred and twenty-seven. The number given in the text is that in the notes made by me in the spring of 1884. Fr. Ehrle, S. J., has lately been kind enough to verify its exactitude.

‡ Müntz, La Renaissance, 119-120.

library of Nicholas V. were contained in eight large chests. The contents of the first chest were mostly biblical, those of the second consisted of the works of the Fathers of the Church. The Pope's favourite author, St. Augustine, had sixty volumes, St. Jerome seventeen, St. Gregory six, St. Ambrose fifteen. The third chest contained forty-nine volumes by St. Thomas Aquinas, and six by Albert the Great. In the fourth were twelve books by Alexander of Hales, the same number by St. Bonaventure, twenty-seven by Duns Scotus. In the fifth, amidst many theological and historical works, we first encounter some of the heathen classics, amongst these the gorgeously-bound translation of Thucidydes, presented to the Pope by Valla. The interesting treatise by Timoteo Maffei mentioned above is also to be found here.* The eighty-five volumes which filled the sixth chest consisted almost exclusively of works of theology and canon law. The seventh was devoted mostly to heathen classical authors, Florus, Livy, Cicero, Juvenal, Quintilian, Virgil, Claudian, Statius, Catullus, Terence, Ptolemy, Seneca, Apulian, Vegetius, Frontinus, Macrobius, Sallust, Valerius Maximus, Zenophon, Silvius Italicus, Pliny, Horace, Ovid, Homer in a translation, Justin, Columella, Euclid, etc. The eighth chest contained a miscellaneous collection of profane and ecclesiastical writers.†

No other Pope was ever such a genuine book-lover as the former professor of Sarzana. "It was his greatest joy," says the historian of humanism,‡ "to walk about his library

* *"Item unum volumen, nuncupatum tractatus Thimothei contra rusticitatem sanctam." f. 23b of the above-named M.S. in the Vatican Library.

† I abstain from giving details because M. Müntz and Fr. Ehrle intend to publish this catalogue, the oldest in the Vatican Library.

‡ Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 208. For the picture in the Vatican Library, belonging to the time of Paul V., see Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, ii., 2, 334.

arranging the books and glancing through their pages, admiring the handsome bindings, and taking pleasure in contemplating his own arms stamped on those that had been dedicated to him, and dwelling in thought on the gratitude that future generations of scholars would entertain towards their benefactor. Thus he is to be seen depicted, in one of the halls of the Vatican Library, employed in settling his books," and this, indeed, is his place by right, for he it was who founded that noble collection of manuscripts which still maintains its European reputation.

As the founder of the Vatican Library the influence of Nicholas V. is still felt in our own times in the learned world to a greater extent perhaps than that of any other Pope; this library alone is enough to immortalize his name.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONSPIRACY OF STEFANO PORCARO, 1453.*

STRANGELY contrasting with the glories of the Jubilee and of the Imperial coronations comes the conspiracy which at the very outset of the year 1453, threatened, not only the temporal sovereignty, but even the life of Nicholas V., and there is something peculiarly tragic in the fact that the would-be murderer of the very Pope who had striven to render Rome the centre of the literary and artistic Renaissance was one of the false humanists. The great patron of humanism was himself to taste the fruit produced by that one-sided study of classical literature which, while it annihilated the Christian idea, filled men's minds

* The history of this attempted revolt has lately been treated by O. Tommasini in the Arch. della Soc. Rom., iii., 63–133, and by the celebrated Archæologist, G. B. de Rossi, Gli Statuti del comune di Anticoli in Campagna con un atto inedito di St. Porcari (in the Studi e Documenti A° ii. [1881], fasc. 2, p. 71–103). Both these writers have made use of documents hitherto unpublished. See also Henri de l'Epinois, Nicholas V., et la conjuration d'Etienne Porcari (in the Revue des quest. hist., livr. 61 [Janv., 1882], 160–192), and Prof. Aug. Persichetti, Stef. Porcari e la lapide erettagli a nome del popolo Romano (in La Rassegna Italiana, A° ii. Roma, 1882], fasc. 1, p. 45–69). I was able to supplement these accounts by further information from the State Archives at Milan, Florence, Siena and Lucca, and by the important *Confession of Porcaro, which I discovered in a MS. in the Town Library at Trèves. The last-named document in some degree makes up for the missing record of the trial which de Rossi has vainly sought for in the Roman Archives.

with notions of freedom and with a longing for the restoration of the political conditions of ancient times.*

It would be a mistake to look on the attempted revolt of Stefano Porcaro as an isolated event. In Italy the period of the Renaissance was the classic age of conspiracies and tyrannicide. Such assassinations were for the most part closely connected with the one-sided Renaissance which revived the heathen ideal. Even Boccaccio openly asks: "Shall I call a tyrant King, or Prince, and keep faith with him as my Lord? No! for he is our common enemy. To destroy him is a holy and necessary work in which all weapons, the dagger, conspiracies, treachery, are lawful. There is no more acceptable sacrifice than the blood of a tyrant." In Boccaccio's mouth, indeed, this is little more than a rhetorical phrase, like the pathetic declamations against tyrants often borrowed, especially in the early days of the Renaissance, from Latin authors, and used without any serious conviction or any practical effect.† But as time went on, Brutus and Cassius, the heroes of the humanists, found living imitators in many places.

Pietro Paolo Boscoli, whose conspiracy against Giuliano, Giovanni and Giulio de' Medici (1513) was unsuccessful, had been a most enthusiastic admirer of Brutus, and had protested that he would copy him if he could find a Cassius, whereupon Agostino Capponi associated himself with him in this character. We are told that the unfortunate Pietro, the night before his execution, exclaimed: "Take Brutus from my mind, that I may die as a Christian."‡ In the case of Olgiati, Lampugnani and Visconti, the murderers of Galeazzo Sforza of Milan, we have remarkable evidence

* Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 125.

† Körting, ii., 197, 404. The passage is in the work, "De casibus virorum illustrium," l. ii., c. 15.

‡ Burckhardt, Cultur, i., 3rd ed., 59. See Cipolla, 482.

of the manner in which the ancient estimate of the murder of tyrants had been adopted. These misguided students of the past held fast to an ideal Republic, and defended the opinion that it was no crime, but rather a noble deed to remove a tyrant, and by his death to restore freedom to an oppressed people. Cola de' Montani, a humanist teacher of rhetoric, incited them to commit the crime. About ten days before it was accomplished, the three conspirators solemnly bound themselves by oath in the Convent of St. Ambrose: "then," says Olgiati, "in a remote chamber, before a picture of St. Ambrose, I raised my eyes and besought his aid for ourselves and all his people." So terribly was the moral sense of these men perverted that they believed the holy patron of their city and also St. Stephen, in whose church the crime was perpetrated, would favour the deed of blood. After the Duke of Milan had been slain (1476), Visconti repented, but Olgiati, even in the midst of torture, maintained that they had offered a sacrifice well-pleasing to God. A little before his death he composed Latin epigrams, and was pleased when they turned out well. While the executioner cut his breast open he cried out, "Courage! Girolamo! You will long be remembered! Death is bitter, but glory is eternal!"* We learn from the annals of Siena that the conspirators had studied Sallust, and Olgiati's own words furnish indirect evidence of the fact. A close observation of his character shows that it bore much resemblance to that of Catiline, "that basest of conspirators, who cared nothing for freedom."†

* Burckhardt, Cultur, i. (3rd ed.), 57-58. Geiger, Renaissance, 162. Frantz, Sixtus IV., 180. Villari, i., 32 *et seq.* Cola Montano, Studio storico di Girolamo Lorenzi (Milano, 1875). See Arch. st. Ital., Series iii., t. xxii., 291 *et seq.*

† Burckhardt, i. (3rd ed.), 58.

The man, who sought the life of the noble Pope Nicholas V., had a nature akin to that of Catiline; he had been trained in the heathen school, and was filled with the spirit of the false Renaissance.

Stefano Porcaro belonged to an ancient family, which is mentioned as early as the first half of the eleventh century,* and was probably of Tuscan origin. The ancestral mansion, with its punning crest—a hog in a net—is still to be seen near the Piazza of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, in the Vicolo delle Ceste. The day and year of Stefano's birth are unknown, and it would be difficult to obtain certain information on the subject.† There is no doubt that he devoted himself at an early age, and with enthusiasm, to classical studies. His intellectual capacity and humanistic culture won for him, in 1427, the honourable position of captain of the people in Florence, and the Republic was so pleased with him that, on the recom-

* In the year 1037. See de Rossi, *loc. cit.* 99, who adds many particulars to Tommasini's account of Porcaro's family (124-133). Another notice is to be found in Pachi, 87. See Adinolfi, i., 43, 98, 104. Infessura speaks of a certain Matteo Porcaro, who was in the service of the Colonna, 1137. I also found the following, in the *Divers. Pii II., 1458-1460, f. 45: "Saluato de Porcariis de Roma olim castellano montis alti flor. auri de camera viginti pro complemento omnium pecuniarum per eum habendarum racione custodie dicte arcis." State Archives, Rome. The inscription placed on Porcaro's house by the Common Council of Rome in 1871, says that "pitying the servitude of his country in the time of oppression, he raised the cry for freedom, and was put to death on the 9th January, 1453, by order of Nicholas V."! In contradiction of this unhistorical assertion, see de Rossi and Persichetti, *loc. cit.*

† The Roman Parish Registers only begin with the sixteenth century. When I was last in Rome (in the spring of 1884), I was, like Tommasini (126), unable to find any relevant documents in the Doria-Pamfili Archives; perhaps the new arrangement of these records may have brought something to light.

mendation of Martin V., his appointment was renewed the following year. His sojourn at Florence exercised an important influence on his mental development, for he was there admitted into a circle of celebrated humanistic scholars, and became intimate with Poggio, Manetti, Niccoli, Ciriaco of Ancona, and especially with the Camaldolese monk, Traversari, who had a high opinion of him, and was apparently quite ignorant of the change which had come over his spirit. The classical studies of the Roman knight had filled him with the utmost admiration for the ancient power and glory of the Roman Republic and the virtues of her citizens, and his head had been turned with the idea of her former freedom. Florence then produced a deep impression on his soul, as is witnessed by the eloquent Italian speech which he made as captain of the people, and which was, like the popular discourses of Bruni and Manetti, so widely circulated that copies of it are to be found in almost all the libraries of Italy.* In this speech he declared that Florence seemed to him the ideal of perfect civil and political life, and that the grandeur, the beauty, and the glory of the Florentine Republic dazzled and bewildered him.† The establishment of a similar Republic in Rome became the dream of his ambition. The temper of his mind is shown in his ostentatiously changing the family name from Porcari to Porci, giving out that it sprang from an old republican race, doubtless with the object of suggesting a reminiscence of Cato.‡

* See Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii. (2nd ed.), 68. B. Fontius in Galletti characterizes Porcaro as "disertissimus." In Appendix No. 12, I have given a list of copies of Porcaro's discourses existing in most of the great Libraries of Italy.

† See the passages given by Tommasini (75 N.), from *Cod. Ottob., 3316.

‡ Papencordt, 484. De Rossi, 100 *et seq.* See Burckhardt, i. 3rd ed., 229.

Like most of the humanists, Porcaro loved travelling; he visited France and Germany, and in 1431 returned to his native city, in company with his brother, Mariano.* He must at this time have carefully concealed his republican leanings, for in 1433 Pope Eugenius IV. appointed him Podesta in the turbulent city of Bologna, where he manifested considerable ability in restoring order and quiet. Traversari wrote of him, "All men admire him, and praise his zeal to an incredible degree; the pacification of the factious city is mainly due to him. Both parties trust him, and rejoice in the calm which has succeeded the tempest." †

It is uncertain whether Porcaro had any part in the Roman Revolution of 1434; we know him in that year to have voluntarily undertaken the task of mediation between the Romans and the Pope, and to have gone to Florence for the purpose (September, 1434). His efforts failed, for Eugenius IV. absolutely, and, as events soon showed, wisely rejected his proposal that the Castle of St. Angelo should be confided to a Roman. Sick and disheartened, Porcaro turned his back upon Florence.‡ As yet, however, he made no attempt to form a party, but managed to keep the Pope in ignorance of his discontent. This is evident from the recently ascertained fact that Eugenius IV. in this very year appointed him Rector and Podesta of Orvieto. Here, again, he left a very favourable impression; even the stern Cardinal Vitelleschi highly commended his govern-

* See Traversarius, Hodoeporicon (Florentiæ, 1680), ii.

† Ambrosii Camald. epist. l. xix., ep. 20, in Martène, Thes., iii., 623. Perlbach, 3.

‡ Perlbach, 5. De Rossi (86) is also of opinion that the abortive negotiations disturbed the good understanding which had existed between Porcaro and the Papal Court.

ment, and the citizens acknowledged his services by a present to the value of sixty ducats.*

The next ten years of Porcaro's life are still veiled in obscurity. It seems scarcely possible that he should have lived in Rome under the severe rule of Vitelleschi and Scarampo; perhaps during this period he became poor and embarrassed in his circumstances, and joined himself to companions of doubtful character.† His aversion to "priestcraft" may naturally have been intensified by the ridicule which the humanists heaped upon the clergy and monks, and Valla's pamphlet against the temporal power of the Pope probably had a decided influence on the progress of his opinions,‡ for during the vacancy of the Holy See after the death of Eugenius IV. he reappears on the scene in a new character.

Such periods were apt to be a time of trouble in Rome, and Stefano meant to turn the favourable opportunity to account. He assembled in Araceli a band of men ready for any enterprise, made an inflammatory speech declaring that it was a shame that the descendants of ancient Romans had sunk to be the slaves of priests, and that the time had come to cast off the yoke and recover freedom. The fear of King Alfonso, who, with his army, was encamped at Tivoli, alone prevented the outbreak of a revolution.§

There can be no doubt that Porcaro had actually rendered himself guilty of high treason. The new Pope,

* See L. Fumi, Il governo di St. Porcaro in Orvieto con appendice di molti documenti inediti (from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and the City Archives of Orvieto), in the Studi e Documenti, A° iv. (Roma, 1883), p. 33-93.

† Voigt, Wiederbelebung, ii. (2nd ed.), 69.

‡ Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 127 and 535) also deems this likely. See also Cipolla, 482. Regarding Valla's anti-Papal pamphlet, see Vol. i., p. 19.

§ Voigt, *loc. cit.* and *supra*, p. 4.

however, magnanimously forgave him, and appointed him governor-general of the sea coast and the Campagna, with Ferentino for his head-quarters,* hoping by this means to win a gifted and dangerous adversary, and reconcile him with the existing state of things. The hope proved delusive, for, having returned to Rome, Porcaro renewed his revolutionary agitation, and, with characteristic audacity, went so far as to say: "When the Emperor arrives we shall regain our liberty." A tumult which occurred in the Piazza Navona, on the occasion of the Carnival, gave the ambitious man an opportunity of inciting the populace openly to resist the Papal authority.†

Nicholas V. was now compelled to take action, but he did it in the mildest manner. Porcaro was sent away from Rome to Germany on pretext of an Embassy, and, as fresh tumults broke out on his return, he was afterwards honourably exiled to Bologna. Cardinal Bessarion, the friend of his literary associates, was here appointed to take charge of him, and Porcaro was required to appear in his presence every day. The generous Pope granted the exile a yearly pension of three hundred ducats, and Bessarion added, from his own private resources, a hundred more—no inconsiderable sum for those days.‡

Porcaro repaid these benefits by plotting from Bologna against the Pope. Any determined man could always find

* The knowledge of this fact is due to a fortunate discovery of de Rossi (*loc. cit.*, 74, 78 *et seq.*).

† Niccola della Tuccia, 226. De Rossi, 88 *et seq.*

‡ Sabellici Hist. Venet. Dec. iii., lib. vii., Opp. (ed. Basil, 1560), ii., 1447. Caccia in Cugnoni, 95. Niccola della Tuccia *loc. cit.* The Venetian Chronicle of Zorzi Dolfin says: "Sotto specie di officio fu mandato dal papa in Alemagna." See Sitzungsberichte der Münch. Akad. 1868, ii., 2. As to the amount of the pension see Tommasini, 69, 70.

instruments ready to his hand in Rome. The Eternal City contained a multitude of needy nobles and so-called knights, of partisans of the Colonna and Orsini in their feuds, of bandits, robbers, and adventurers of all sorts; and genuine political enthusiasts might also be found in the motley crowd. The cowardly rabble could be counted on wherever plunder was to be had.*

When Porcaro had completed the necessary preparations for action he eluded the daily supervision of Cardinal Bessarion by a feigned illness, and then stole away from Bologna in disguise.† Accompanied by but one servant, he rode in hot haste towards Rome, hardly ever dismounting. In Forlì, however, he was unwillingly delayed, as the custom house officials would not allow him to proceed, though he declared that he would rather lose his baggage than spend the night in the city. By the aid of an acquaintance he managed to come to terms with them, and hastened on his way at nightfall, regardless of all warnings of danger from the bad condition of the roads. This incident induced him to avoid towns for the future, and in four days he had accomplished the long journey to Rome which at that period generally occupied twelve.‡ On the 2nd of January

* Quoted from Voigt, ii., 2nd ed., 69, 70.

† The following account is founded chiefly on the letters published by Tommasini (105-110) from the MSS. in the National Library of Florence, and on Porcaro's own words which I discovered in Cod. 1324 of the Town Library at Trèves; see Appendix No. 14.

‡ When Cardinal Gonzaga hastened to the Conclave in 1471 he spent thirteen days and a half on the way from Bologna to Rome. Schivenoglia, 163. Four days was the shortest time in which a courier on extraordinary business could possibly travel the distance. See the particulars I have given in my chapter on the Fall of Constantinople. I found the account of Porcaro's delay at Forlì in *Giovanni de Pedrino, Cronica di Forlì. Cod. 234 of the Private Library of Prince B. Boncompagni in Rome.

he dismounted at the Porta del Popolo, went to the Church of Sta. Maria del Popolo, and then hid himself, until the first hour of the night, in a vineyard belonging to the church. The servant gave notice of Porcaro's safe arrival to his nephew, Niccolò Gallo, a Canon of St. Peter's, who came and took him from his place of concealment, and they then went together to the family mansion of the conspirator, where another of his nephews, Battista Sciarra, awaited them. The three then repaired to the dwelling of Angelo di Maso, Porcaro's brother-in-law.

Porcaro, his brother-in-law and his two nephews were the heads of this conspiracy, and from their connections in the City were able without difficulty to make their preparations. On pretence of taking military service, Battista Sciarra engaged mercenaries, while the wealthy Maso collected stores of weapons, and kept in his house a number of men on whom he could rely; they were well entertained, but knew nothing of the business in hand. One evening, when all were seated at a splendid banquet in Maso's house, Porcaro appeared amongst them in a rich, gold-embroidered garment, "like an Emperor." "Welcome, brothers," he said; "I have determined to free you from servitude, and make you all rich lords," and he drew forth a purse containing a thousand golden ducats, and distributed a share to those present. All were greatly astonished, but as yet learned nothing further of the plot.*

It is impossible now to ascertain the exact number of those won over by the conspirators. Porcaro afterwards declared that he had hoped to muster more than four hundred armed men; he counted also on the aid of the

* Such is the account given in the Florentine Letter, *loc. cit.* 106, 107. The distribution of money is also mentioned in the *Despatch of Gabriel de Rapallo of 5-6 of January, taken from the State Archives at Milan, and printed in the Appendix, No. 13.

greedy populace, for after the downfall of "Priestcraft" the "Liberators" were to be allowed to plunder freely. It was expected that the Papal Treasury, the Palaces of the Cardinals and of the officials of the Court and the vaults of the Genoese and Florentine merchants, would, when thus brought under contribution, yield more than seventy thousand gold florins.*

The plan of the conspirators was to cause general confusion by setting the Palace of the Vatican on fire on the Feast of the Epiphany, to surprise the Pope and the Cardinals during High Mass, and, if necessary, to put them to death, then to take possession of the Castle of St. Angelo

* Despatch of Bartolomeo de Lagazara of the 14th January. State Archives at Siena (see Appendix, No. 15), and L. B. Alberti, de Porcaria conjuratione, in Muratori, Script. xxv., 312. This report, published by Muratori under the high-sounding title of "Commentarius," is really nothing more than a letter, written soon after the suppression of the attempted insurrection. I am acquainted with two MS. copies of it, which, curiously enough, are both found in German Libraries: (1) *Cod. 1324 of the Town Library at Trèves. Here the letter, which is without superscription, is dated: Rome anno a nativ. domini 1453 sexto Idus Januar. (=8 January). (2) *Cod. lat. 4493 f. 88a–92a (Gesta Steffani de Porcariis Romani militis) of the Court Library at Vienna. Here the date is: Rome xix. Cal. Februar. (=14 January), 1453. In the Vienna MS. these verses follow:—

"Impie sacrilega sceleris patrator iniqui
Suscipe pro culpa meritos scelerate dolores."

Aliud: "Impie Porcari scelus atque infamia gentis
Subvertendo urbem populumque clerumque sacrumque
Et Christum dominiet templum violare volebas
Accipe iam dignis pro factis præmia tantis."

The text of the Vienna MS. varies somewhat from that given by Muratori.

and the Capitol, and to proclaim the freedom of Rome with Porcaro for tribune.*

Porcaro's scheme was by no means an impracticable one, for in the tranquil city there were hardly any troops save the scanty guards of the Palace and the police. Piero de' Godi, a contemporary, reckons them altogether at fifty, and the disparity of forces would have been yet more extreme if the hopes of external aid probably entertained by the insurgent party had been realized.†

Had the conspirators acted at once, it is not at all unlikely that they would have succeeded in carrying out their purpose, but the delay occasioned by Porcaro's extreme fatigue after his hurried journey proved the salvation of the Pope.‡

The accounts of the event differ in some particulars. It is certain that Cardinal Bessarion immediately informed the Pope of Porcaro's suspicious disappearance, and Godi says that some Romans who had been invited to take part in the

* *Porcaro's declarations in *Cod. 1324 of the Town Library at Trèves and other authorities. See de Rossi, 94 *et seq.* Caccia (Cugnoni, 96), Godi (Perlbach, 15), and the *Despatch of Gabriel de Rapallo of 5-6 Jan. (Appendix No. 13) expressly say that Porcaro wished to make himself lord of Rome. It is worthy of notice that Infessura, his enthusiastic admirer, says not a word to clear him from the charges brought against him.

† Papencordt, 485. The passage about the fewness of the troops of Rome in Perlbach, 18. In the *Mandata Eugenii IV., 1443-1447, f. 255^{b} (in the State Archives at Rome) are mentioned as belonging, amongst others, to the Papal household "2 portinarii prime porte, 2 servientes armorum" (probably predecessors of the Swiss guard), dat. sede vacante 4 Martii, 1447. *Ibid.* *Mandata Nicolai V., 1447-1452, f. 19, in an account dated ultimo Martii, 1447, "6 portinarii ad portam ferream" and "2 portinarii ad primam portam," are mentioned. These "6 portinarii," therefore, occur for the first time under Nicholas V.

‡ Reumont, iii., 1, 124.

treason revealed the plot to Cardinal Capranica and to Niccolò degli Amigdani, Bishop of Piacenza, who was at the time Papal Vice-Camerlengo. An anonymous Florentine writer asserts that the Senator Niccolò de' Porcinari himself warned Nicholas V. of the impending danger.* According to others, the Camerlengo Scarampo was the first to apprise the Pope of its existence,† and went at once to the Papal Palace, which was a scene of confusion and consternation, to persuade Nicholas V. of the necessity of immediate and decisive measures, inasmuch as every moment was a gain to the conspirators. A portion of the Palace Guard and of the garrison of St. Angelo, accompanied by the Vice-Camerlengo, who was also governor of the city, proceeded without delay to the house of Angelo di Maso, and encircled it. Most of the besieged made a brave resistance, but, being cut off from the rest of their adherents, they were compelled to yield to superior force. Battista Sciarra, however, who, during the conflict, frequently raised the cry of "People and Freedom!" fought his way out with a few followers, and got away from Rome.‡ Porcaro, with less courage, had managed to escape in the confusion, and to hide himself in the house of his brother-in-law, Giacomo di Lellicecchi. A price being set upon his head, it was impossible for him to remain here, and his friend Francesco Gabadeo offered to

* Many authorities mention the messenger sent by Bessarion; see particularly the Chronica di Bologna, 700, and Sanudo, 1146. The passage from Godi is in Perlbach, 15; and the Florentine letter in Tommasini, 107. Stefano Caccia's letter (Cugnoni, 96) says that the plot was divulged to Scarampo as well as to Capranica.

† Letter from a relation of Cardinal Scarampo in the Nimes Library, published by A. C. Germain, Lettre où est narrée la conspiration de Ste. Porcaro contre le pape Nicholas V. (Bordeaux, 1843), and also by Christophe, i., 495-498.

‡ Infessura, 1134. Alberti, *loc. cit.*, 312.

help him in his extremity. They both went in haste to Cardinal Orsini, in the hope that he would afford them refuge in his palace, the House of Orsini being apparently at this time at variance with the Pope. But the Cardinal was by no means disposed to assist the conspirator. He caused Gabadeo, who had entered his presence, to be at once arrested and taken to Nicholas. Stefano, who was waiting downstairs, became suspicious at Gabadeo's non-appearance, and fled to his other brother-in-law, Angelo di Maso, who lived in the quarter of the Regola. Meanwhile Gabadeo, in his prison, had betrayed Porcaro's probable place of shelter. About midnight, between the 5th and 6th of January, armed men entered Angelo's house; at their approach, Porcaro sprang from the bed where he was lying in his clothes, and got into a chest, on which his sister and another woman seated themselves, but the hero's hiding-place was discovered. As he was being led to the Vatican he kept exclaiming, "People! will you let your deliverer die?"* But the people did not respond.

After offences so manifest and repeated, Pope Nicholas showed no further mercy. He regretted the fate of the gifted man, but decided to let justice take its course. Stefano Porcaro was taken bound to the Castle of St. Angelo, and on the 7th of January made a tolerably ample confession.† He related his flight from Bologna and his meeting with the conspirators in the house of Angelo di Maso, as we have described them, and further declared that

* Perlbach, Godi, 10 and 17. Letter of Caccia (Cugnoni, 98). Infessura, 1134. Alberti, *loc. cit.*, 312. Florentine Letter in Tommasini, 109. *Despatch of Gabriel de Rapallo of 5/6 January. State Archives at Milan. See Appendix, No. 43. There is a notice of Fr. Gabadeo in the Arch. di Soc. Rom., viii., 569.

† *Depositiones Stefani Porcarii, in Cod. 1324. City Library, Trèves; see Appendix, No. 14.

he had personally summoned his friends to assemble the night before the Feast of the Epiphany, and had intended, with them, and the armed men collected by them, to the number, as he hoped, of four hundred, to pass through the Trastevere to St. Peter's. Here they were to conceal themselves in the small uninhabited houses near the church, and to divide into four separate bands. As soon as the Pope's arrival in St. Peter's was announced, three of these bands were to take possession of the different entrances, while the fourth was to occupy the open space in front of the church. He had commanded these armed men to put to death anyone, in the church or out of it, who should offer resistance, and to make the Pope and the Cardinals prisoners. If they resisted, they also were to be slain. Porcaro further said that he had entertained no doubt of being able, after the imprisonment of the Pope, the Cardinals, and other lords, to seize the castle of St. Angelo, in which case the Roman citizens would have joined him. He would then have proceeded to make himself master of the strongholds in the neighbourhood of Rome, to demolish the Castle of St. Angelo, and adopt whatever other measures might appear necessary.

Porcaro's statement is corroborated by the evidence of well-informed contemporaries,* and there is no doubt that

* See the accounts collected by de Rossi, 94 *et seq.*, and Tommasini, 79. Porcaro's intention of killing the Pope is also mentioned by Niccola della Tuccia (226), the Chronicle of Zorzi Dolfin (*loc. cit.*, 2), L. Boninc. Annal. (157), the letter from Nimes (*loc. cit.*), Caccia (*loc. cit.*), the Florentine Letter (in Tommasini, 110), Giov. Cambi (Deliz. erud. Tosc., ix., 306), and the Signoria of Florence in a *Letter to their Ambassador at Milan: "Domino Bernardo de Giugnis et Dietisalvio Neronis," d.d. Florentie, xiii. Jan., 1452 (st. fl.), hora iii. noctis: "Qui sono novelle che a Roma se scoperto un tractato del quale si dice era capo mess. Stefano Porcari e dovevano amazar il papa. E stato preso mess. Stefano et

the sentence of death pronounced by the Senator Giacomo dei Lavagnoli was a just one. He was hanged on the 9th January on the battlements of St. Angelo. He was dressed entirely in black, and his bearing was resolutely firm and dignified. His last words were: "O, my people, your deliverer dies to-day!" A number of his associates suffered the same penalty, but they were executed at the Capitol. A reward of a thousand ducats was offered for the apprehension of Battista Sciarra, or five hundred for his head.*

The question naturally arises as to what Porcaro intended to do with the Papacy in the event of a successful issue to his enterprise. The conspirator's confession furnishes no definite answer, but most writers of the day

alcuno altro di bassa mano. Non si sa anchora se ha maggior fondamento. Quando haremo piu particularita vene daremo notitia." (I have sought in vain for the further account.) Cl. x., dist. i., No. 46, f. 24b. State Archives at Florence.

* Florentine Letter in Tommasini, 110. Here, as in Infessura (1134), Platina (719), and Sabellicus (946), the 9th January is mentioned as the day of the execution. The 5th, however, is given as the date in L. Bonincontrii Annal. (157), the 13th, in the Letter from Nimes, the 18th by Niccola della Tuccia, and the 20th by the Annal. Forlivien. (224). Of these different dates, that of the Letter from Nîmes alone deserves consideration, as opposed to the evidence of the three contemporaries, who say that the sentence was executed on the 9th. The Despatch of Bartolomeo de Lagazara, dated Rome, 1453, Jan. 14, which I found in the State Archives at Siena, says nothing of Porcaro's execution, but mentions that of two of his companions on the 11th. It can hardly, however, be supposed that these accomplices suffered before the author of the conspiracy. This consideration, in conjunction with the evidence of the three contemporary witnesses, has induced me to adhere to the 9th January. Caccia's statement (Cugnoni, 99) that the corpses were seen hanging on the gallows on the Thursday (=9 January) accords with this date, and Godi's account (Perlbach, 18) is not incompatible with it.

affirm that he meant to remove the Holy See from Rome.* Had the plot been carried out, Christendom would again have fallen a prey to the calamities from which she had so recently been delivered, and the papacy would have been exiled from Italy. An interesting passage in relation to this subject is to be found in Piero de' Godi's Dialogue. To the objection that, after the assassination of Nicholas V. a new Pope would have been elected, and Rome would have again been conquered, the partisan of Porcaro replies: "Perhaps an Ultramontane would have been elected Pope, and would have gone to the other side of the mountains with the Court and left Porcaro in peace at Rome."† The consternation caused at the Papal Court by the conspiracy was so great that Alberti and others expressed their desire to quit the unquiet City. But after all, if the attempted revolution had been accomplished, and the Papacy again transferred to France, would not the Romans have very soon begun to pray for its return, as in the Avignon days? In the beginning of the Pontificate of Eugenius IV., when the revolution had triumphed in Rome, a few months of a liberty which brought nothing but anarchy had sufficed for the citizens, and they had besought the Pope to come back. A similar result would now have ensued, and all the more surely, because many of Porcaro's associates were men of the worst character. If his contemporaries compared him to Catiline, we cannot ascribe their words to vindictiveness and party prejudices, for his

* See De Rossi, 96 *et seq.*, from whose admirable work I borrow the following observations.

† Perlbach, 21. The fear of a return to Avignon continued for a long time; even in the Conclave of 1464 an article to the effect that the Court should not be transported beyond the Alps without the consent of the whole of the Sacred College was added to those which the Cardinals swore to observe. Quirini, Vindic. Pauli II., p. xxiii.

blood-thirsty and covetous followers were but too like the companions of the ancient tyrant.*

Porcaro's conspiracy caused great excitement throughout Italy; it is mentioned by most of the contemporary chroniclers but not always condemned.† The judgment of history is adverse to its author,‡ but Roman opinion seems to have been greatly divided on the subject. "When I hear such people talk," writes the gifted Leon Battista Alberti, referring to those who found fault with the Pope, "their arguments do not touch me in the least. I see but too clearly how Italian affairs are going. I know by whom all has been cast into confusion. I remember the days of Eugenius, I have heard of Pope Boniface and

* De Rossi, 95. Alfred v. Reumont, the first among German students of Italian history, is at one with the great Roman archæologist on this subject (Histor. Jahrbuch, v., 626). "Porcaro," says Voigt (ii., 2nd ed., 371), "was a Catiline in crime and depravity, but not in courage and energy." In face of Porcaro's modern apologists, it may be well to put together some authentic testimony regarding his companions. Caccia (Cugnoni, 97) says: "Omnes fere pauperes et abiecti," the writer of the letter preserved at Nimes calls them "latrunculos," and Paolo dello Mastro (Cronache Rom., 23), who was so favourably disposed towards Porcaro, says he has had with him "molti mal garzoni." See also in Appendix No. 15 the *Despatch of Bartolommeo de Lagazara of the 14th January, 1453. State Archives of Siena.

† The Annal. Forlivien. (224) for example call Porcaro "vir magnanimus" (Godi [ed. Perlbach, 18] disputes this opinion.) Sanudo (1146) says that he deserved death. See Niccola della Tuccia, 226.

‡ See Cipolla, 482. Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 125) speaks of Porcaro's schemes as "ill-timed:" "for no Pope has been less to blame or done more for Rome than Nicholas V., the patron of all talent, the most liberal of the Popes." In another passage (vii., 3rd ed., 177) this author plainly says that Porcaro had sought to take advantage of the democratic movement to compass the aims of a Catiline.

read of the disasters of many Popes. On the one side I have seen this demagogue surrounded by grunting swine and on the other side the Majesty of the Holy Father. That cannot surely have been right which compelled the most pacific of Popes to take up arms."*

There were some in Rome who looked on Porcaro as a martyr for the ancient freedom of the city. Infessura, the Secretary to the Senate, makes the following entry in his diary: "Thus died this worthy man, the friend of Roman liberty and prosperity. He had been exiled from Rome unjustly; his purpose was, as the event proved, to risk his own life for the deliverance of his country from slavery." †

The attitude of the humanists in the Court of Nicholas V. is a matter of some interest. The conspiracy was to them a most painful event, for it was not impossible that the Pope might look on them with suspicion. A connection might be traced between the ridicule and scorn which Valla, Poggio, and Filelfo had heaped upon the clergy and monks, and Porcaro's enmity to the temporal power. The danger, however, was averted by their almost unanimous condemnation of Porcaro's attempt, and it did not occur to the Pope to hold the study of antiquity responsible for the immoderate lust of liberty. Yet there can be no doubt that the conspiracy was the outcome of the republican spirit which that study fostered, and which now rose

* Muratori, xxv., 314. Reumont, iii., 1, 125.

† Infessura, 1134. The above expression of feeling sufficiently shows how we are to view the same author's odious details regarding those executed on the Capitol and the history of Battista di Persona. Georgius (130 *et seq.*) has adduced overwhelming arguments against the latter relation. In a future volume we shall have to deal at more length with Infessura's untrustworthiness. See, meanwhile, Reumont, iii., 1367, and Frantz, Sixtus IV. (Regensburg, 1880), p. v. *et seq.* Paolo dello Mastro also manifests sympathy for the criminal, Cronache Romane, 24.

against everything that it deemed to be tutelage or tyranny.*

Other writers living in the Pope's vicinity, but not belonging to the humanistic ranks, also produced polemical works in both prose and verse against Porcaro. Piero de' Godi, whom we have often mentioned, wrote at Vicenza a history of the conspiracy, which has but lately become known in its entirety.† It is in the form of a dialogue between a Doctor Bernardinus, of Siena, and Fabius, a scholar. The latter relates the event, speaking as an eye-witness, while the doctor, who had arrived in Rome subsequently, makes reflections on the Providence of God and the excellent government of Nicholas V., adducing a multitude of passages from Holy Scripture. The little work is in many ways worthy of notice; it is valuable as an authority, and, notwithstanding its manifestly Papal and party character, is perfectly trustworthy. The author vigorously asserts that Rome alone can be the seat of the Pope, and warmly upholds the temporal power of the Holy See. Considering that many among the Romans desired its removal from Rome, and that others shared the views regarding the annihilation of the Pope's temporal power lately expressed by Lorenzo Valla, it seems possible that Godi's Dialogue was an official production, intended

* Voigt, ii. (2nd ed.), 71. Geiger, Renaissance, 122. See Persichetti, *loc. cit.*, 54. The Dialogue of 1453, in which Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini defends the Pope's right to temporal power, is directed against both Valla and Porcaro; see Cugnoni, 258 *et seq.*

† By means of Perlbach, 1879, who found a copy of the Dialogue in a MS. of the Wallenrodt Library at Königsberg, in Prussia. This MS. is indeed very defective, and it is to be regretted that Perlbach did not compare it with Cod. Vatic., lat. 3619 and 4167. Cod. 3619 is probably the copy presented by the author to the Pope.

by its popular form to counteract these widespread errors.*

A similar tone of feeling pervades the long Lamentation of Giuseppe Brippi, who bitterly reproaches the Romans with their unpardonable ingratitude, and reminds them of the benefits which the Popes in general, and Nicholas V. in particular, had conferred upon the city. Notwithstanding the bombastic style of the poet—if, indeed, Brippi is worthy of such a name,—some of his remarks are extremely just, as, for example, when he points out to the Romans that the Papal rule has always been much milder than that of the other municipal governors in Italy. Brippi merely makes some general observations on the conspiracy, but he gives the Pope some good advice, recommending him to complete the fortification of his Palace, to be attended by three hundred armed men when he goes to St. Peter's, and to allow no other armed men to enter the church; furthermore, to seek to gain the affection of the Romans, to support the poor, and especially impoverished nobles, because the love of the citizens is the best defence of a ruler.†

* Geiger, in Sybel's histor. Zeitschr. N. F., vi., 179. Geiger is, however, mistaken in believing Manzi to have discovered the Vatican MS., for the credit is due neither to him nor to Gregorovius, but to D. Georgius, who, in his careful biography of Nicholas V., was the first to point out this document. Regarding Godi's trustworthiness, see also Tommasini, 69 *et seq.*, and de Rossi, 93. Godi is mentioned by Müntz (i., 213).

† "Ad s.d. nostrum pontificem maximum Nicolaum V. Conformatio Curie Romane loquentis edita per E. S. Oratorem Joseph B(ripium)," etc. Cod. Vatic., 3618. Georgius (129-130) first drew attention to the poem, and published the beginning. Ranke then published some passages (Päpste, iii., 6th ed., 3*-4*; his information is not quite correct). Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 132), and Müntz (i., 73); Tommasini (*loc. cit.*, 111-123) finally pub-

Friendly powers hastened to congratulate the Pope on the failure of the conspiracy; the Sienese Ambassador was the first to arrive. He had an audience on the 6th of January and again on the 14th, when he offered the Pope all the forces of the Republic in case of need, and also mentioned that the city contemplated the erection of a palace for the Pope.* The idea that the Pope would leave his unquiet capital was evidently general, and Siena wished to make sure of the honour and advantage of a Papal residence; a similar effort was subsequently made in the time of Pius II. The Republic of Lucca likewise sent letters to the Pope and his brother Cardinal Calandrini, expressing the deepest horror of Porcaro's crime.† The Cardinal's answer to the authorities of Lucca, dated 4th February, 1453, is worthy of note.‡ He declares that there was no question of plunder or of the freedom of the city, but that the object of the conspiracy was to drive the Christian religion out of Italy. These words probably refer to Porcaro's intention of banishing the Pope from the country.

It is extremely difficult to estimate the proportions attained by Porcaro's conspiracy. On this occasion, as on

lished it completely. The Roman poet Orazio's "Porcaria has not yet been published. See Zeno, Diss. Voss., i., 212; Vossius, De hist. lat., i., iii., p. 584; Fabricius-Mansi, iii., 261; Zanelli, 35, and Vahlen, Vallæ opusc., lxi., 378.

* *Despatches of Bartolommeo de Lagazara to Siena, dated Rome, 1453, January 7 and 15. Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives, Siena. In the despatch of the 15th January there is an account of an attempt on the life of King Alfonso of Naples, made in the beginning of January.

† Sforza, 383-384.

‡ See Appendix No. 16, where I have given the *Letter which had escaped Sforza's notice, from the original in the State Archives of Lucca.

others of a similar nature, there was no lack of conflicting accusations. Suspicions existed that Milan and Florence were implicated, and the Florentines endeavoured to cast blame on King Alfonso and the Venetians. Some of the conspirators certainly fled to Venice and Naples, but after the failure of the plot those powers handed them over to the Pope, and they were executed.* Other accounts speak of members of the Colonna family as taking part in the affair.† It is impossible to arrive at any absolute certainty on the subject, because much information must naturally have been suppressed. Too much importance accordingly is not to be attached to the statement of the Sienese

* Papencordt, 486. See Rosmini, Filelfo, ii., 303; iii., 168. The assertion here made that Porcaro had entered into an agreement with Alfonso is not confirmed by the *Depositiones St. Porcarii. The charge against Florence is in the Cronica di Bologna, 700. Alberti (314) speaks in a general way of "extrinsecos impulsores." Regarding the arrest of Porcaro's associates in Venice, see *the Despatch of Leonardo de Benvoglienti of September 1, 1453. State Archives at Siena; see Appendix No. 19. "The severity of Nicholas V. was quite intelligible," says Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 130). The complaints of P. Emiliani-Giudici (Storia dei comuni Italiani [Firenze, 1866], ii., 299 *et seq.*), Mancini (Alberti, 404), O. Raggi (La congiura di St. Porcara), and others are quite unfounded; for the Pope took no measures save such as were absolutely necessary, and must have been taken by any other government.

† Dlugoss, Hist. Polon., l. xiii., p. 109, and a letter from Margrave John of Brandenburg to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order in the Private Archives at Königsberg, dated Beierstorff, Friday before "Oculi" (3rd Sunday in Lent), 1453, cited by Voigt (Enea Silvio, iii., 116), who gives the fact as certain. Burckhardt (Cultur, i, 3rd ed., 99) thinks that Porcaro must have had accomplices among the Italian Governments. Interesting particulars may perhaps be concealed in the cypher of the *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1453, January 13, but unfortunately the State Archives of Milan afford no clue to its meaning.

Ambassador, who, in a despatch of the 14th January, 1453, declared, as the result of his inquiries, that neither the Roman barons nor any foreign powers were concerned.*

The terrible event exercised a most injurious influence on the excitable and impressionable nature of the Pope. Immediately after the discovery of the plot, Nicholas V. displayed considerable courage by going to St. Peter's, of course with a strong escort, and celebrating High Mass on the Feast of the Epiphany.† But from the moment that the phantom of the ancient Republic arose, threatening destruction to his life, his authority, and all his magnificent undertakings on behalf of art and learning, his peace of mind was gone. He became melancholy, reserved, and inaccessible. It is said that he brought a great force of troops to Rome, and was always henceforth attended by an armed escort when he went out.‡ His agitation and dis-

* *Despatch of Bartolommeo de Lagazara. State Archives, Siena; see Appendix No. 15.

† *Despatch of Gabriel de Rapallo, January 5/6, 1453. State Archives at Milan; see Appendix No. 13.

‡ Manetti, 921; Platina, 719; N. della Tuccia, 227, and *a Despatch from Nicodemus to Francesco Sforza, dated Rome, 1453, January 21: "Non ho potuto ancora ad longum rasonare cum N^ro S^re de questa practica de pace, perche sta perplexo per questa soa novita de Roma in modo che non pensa ad altro et continuamente fa venire gente darme nel borgo de Sampiero e fale scorere per Roma, maxime la nocte, mostrando non havere paura e volere ben purgare questa coniura." In a Postscript to his *Despatch of the 14th February, 1453, Bartolommeo de Lagazara complains that there was no money to be had in Rome, because since the attempted revolution the merchants were constantly employed in gathering in their money. Concistoro, Lettere ad an., State Archives at Siena. I take this opportunity of observing that the "Breve narrazione della congiura di St. Porcari," in Cod. xxxiii., 117f, 136-137, of the Barberini Library, Rome, is identical with Platina's account. Tommasini (71) has not observed this fact.

quietude were increased by the knowledge that although the city continued tranquil, there were many Romans who, like Infessura, admired Porcaro. All the benefits conferred by the Pope, his just and excellent government, his promotion of Romans to many ecclesiastical posts, the advantages derived from the presence of the Papal Court, and the freedom and prosperity enjoyed by Rome above all other cities of Italy, had not sufficed to banish the old disloyalty.* Naturally, suspicion and distrust became more and more deeply rooted in his soul, casting a gloom over his once cheerful temper and undermining his health, which had already been shaken by serious illness.†

Nicholas V. had hardly recovered from the shock occasioned by Porcaro's conspiracy when another terrible blow fell upon him in the tidings that Constantinople had been taken by the Turks.

* Papencordt, 486.

† On the 21st January, 1453, Nicodemus writes from Rome, in a *Despatch to Fr. Sforza concerning the Pope: "Poy ancora questa soa gotta gli e calata in un zenochio e falo piu stranio." Cart. gen., State Archives, Milan. On the 14th February, 1452 (= 1453), Bartolommeo de Lagazara, writing to Siena, says that the Pope was again ill with gout. In a *Despatch of the 17th February, he adds: "Lo papa e stato gravato de la gotte dapoi tanto che non a data udientia ad alcuno," and in one of the 3rd March: "Lo papa e stato gia sono piu di 25 giorni in letto molto gravato de le gotte si che non da udientia ne segna ne fa alcuna cosa." Concistoro, Lettere ad an., State Archives, Siena.

CHAPTER III.

THE ADVANCE OF THE TURKS AND THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

THE dogmatic differences between the Greek and Latin Churches had been removed by the Council of Florence, where Eastern and Western theologians had measured their strength, and the re-establishment of actual communion with Rome seemed to be the only means of healing the grievous wounds from which the Oriental Church, like every other severed from the common centre of Christendom, was suffering, and of imparting new life and vigour to the Byzantine Empire.*

But when the Greeks returned home from Florence they found it very hard to carry into effect that which had been agreed upon at the Council, and the Union met with violent opposition. Marcus Eugenicus soon produced his polemical letters, and Sylvester Syropulus his "True History of the False Union," a work which still constitutes the chief polemical arsenal of the Oriental schismatics.† Gennadius

* "In order," writes Döllinger (Kirche und Kirchen, 156), "to be convinced that everything stands or falls with the Papal See, and that it is most inseparably united with the very essence of the Church, we need only cast a glance at those bodies which have renounced Rome, or arranged their constitution so as to leave no place for a primacy."

† Hist.-polit. Bl. xxxvi., 787. See Hefele, Die temporäre Wiedervereinigung der Griechischen mit der Lateinischen Kirche (in the Tübinger theol. Quartalschr., 1848, xxx., 179 *et seq.*)

and numerous other writers followed in the same line, and as they fostered the national enmity of the Greeks against the Latins, their works produced more effect than those of the friends of the Union, many of whom, however, were distinguished and worthy men. The celebrated Cardinal Bessarion, for example, laboured indefatigably in the cause to the end of his days, and the Protosyncellus Gregory, Archbishop Andrew of Rhodes, and Bishop Joseph of Methone * are also worthy of honourable mention.

On this occasion, however, as it generally happens, the defensive party was at a disadvantage. The excellent men whom we have mentioned were unable to silence the calumnies of the schismatics, whose champion, Marcus Eugenicus, combined great talent and learning with extreme vehemence of character. He did everything in his power to stir up monks, clergy, and laity against the peace which had been concluded between Rome and Constantinople. The friends of the Union were treated with contempt and scorn, and called azymites, traitors, apostates, and heretics. The opposition of the majority of the clergy and of the populace to any tokens of fellowship with those who acknowledge the authority of Rome daily increased, while the Emperor hesitated to express his will in such decided terms as might have given a firm basis to the Union.† Carried away by the prevailing tone of feeling, many even of those prelates who had taken part in the negotiations at Florence now repented of their co-operation, and openly proclaimed their regret that they had allowed themselves to be persuaded into signing the act of Union. Antagonism to the West was so deeply rooted that it was

* See Hefele, *loc. cit.*, 197-200. For an account of Bessarion's labours, see Vast, 138 *et seq.*

† Frommann, 195 *et seq.*

absolutely impossible for the Union to gain any ground. When Metrophanes, the new Patriarch of Constantinople, took decided measures against the violent opponents of ecclesiastical unity, the three patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem issued a strong protest, commanded the clergy appointed by Metrophanes, under pain of excommunication, to resign their posts, and threatened the Emperor that unless he abandoned the dogmas imposed at Florence his name should be omitted from their prayers.*

In Russia also the attempt at Union had proved ineffectual. The metropolitan of Kiew, Isidore, on his return to his country as cardinal and legate for the North had been cast into prison. In 1443 he managed to escape, and afterwards attained important ecclesiastical offices in Rome. It had been hoped that the whole of the Russo-Greek Church would by his means have been brought back to unity, but only the metropolitan province of Kiew, with its suffragan dioceses of Brjansk, Smolensk, Peremyschl, Turow, Luzk, Wladimir, Polotsk, Chelm and Halitsch, was reconciled to the Holy See, and Russia proper, with its metropolitan see of Moscow, continued in schism. †

Under these circumstances the tidings of the terrible defeat of the Christian army at Varna (10th November, 1444) had a disastrous effect on public feeling at Constantinople by destroying the hope that the alliance with Rome might bring about deliverance from the Turks. A few years after the battle Sultan Mahomet, in a deadly conflict of three days' duration on the plain of the Amsel (Kossowo, 1448), wrested from the noble Hunyadi of Hungary most of the laurels he had won.

The Turkish forces were now directed towards the

* Frommann, 199 *et seq.*

† Hefele, *loc. cit.* 201. See Karamsin, Gesch. Russlands (Riga, 1823), v., 236 *et seq.*, 241.

Peloponesus in the South and Albania in the West, and Hungary also was seriously threatened. It was natural therefore that these countries should engross the principal attention of Europe, while the Greeks were comparatively neglected. Moreover the attitude of the Court during the recent calamities had been one of shameful inaction, a circumstance which was calculated to increase the indifference of the West and to confirm the growing impression that Hungary, rather than the Greek Empire, was the "shield against the Turks."*

This view was shared by Nicholas V., who, from the beginning of his pontificate, had taken a lively interest in Eastern affairs and endeavoured directly and indirectly to support the operations against the Turks.†

The defeat of Kossowo greatly alarmed the timid Pope, and, by means of his Legate, he made known to the Hungarians his opinion that, for the future, they would do well to confine themselves within the limits of their own kingdom. Hunyadi and his people, however, would not hear of such a course, and only reiterated their petitions

* Kayser, 209.

† Evidence from documents, some of them unpublished, in Kayser, 210 *et seq*. For supplementary information regarding the prohibition to furnish the infidels with arms and provisions, see a *Papal Letter to "Dominic. tit. S. Crucis in Jerusalem presb." (Capranica), d.d. 1447, iii. Non. Mai, which says: "Tibi omnes personas . . . usque ad numerum 25, que ad Alexandrie, Egipti et alias transmarinas partes, quas Soldanus Babilonis et alii inimici crucis detinent, merces et alia per ecclesiam prohibita portaverunt seu portari consenserunt, ab omnibus et singulis excommunicationis etc. censuris . . . si hoc humiliter petierint auctoritate apostolica . . . plenam et liberam tenore presentium concedimus facultatem absolvendi." Reg. 406f, 28. Secret Archives of the Vatican

for the co-operation of the Holy See. These were not in vain, for on occasion of the Jubilee, the Pope issued a Bull, by which, in view of the impending danger from the Turks, he dispensed all prelates, barons, knights, and commoners of the kingdom of Hungary, who should take part in the war against the infidels, from personal appearance in Rome, and in order that they might not be deprived of the benefit of the plenary indulgence, he, in the fulness of his apostolic power, decreed that it should be extended to them on condition that on three consecutive days they should visit the Cathedral of Wardein and certain other churches in the kingdom appointed for the purpose, and should there deposit half of the money that would have been spent in their journey to and from Rome and in a sojourn of fifteen days in that city. The fulfilment of these conditions was to be deemed equivalent to fifteen days' visits to St. Peter's, St. Paul's, St. John Lateran, and Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome, provided that the persons in question should not during the year leave Hungary save to make war on the infidels. Chests, furnished with triple locks, were to be placed in the churches referred to to receive the offerings, and extensive faculties, even in regard to reserved cases, were granted to all priests.*

Nicholas V. also rendered important service to the cause

* *Bull "Romanus pontifex," d.d. Rome ap. S. Petr., 1450, prid. Id. April. Pont. anno iv. (Gratis de mandato d. n. papæ), only partly given in Raynaldus, ad an. 1450, n. 6, Regest., 391, f. 252b-254. Secret Archives of the Vatican. *Ibid*, f. 249, a document of the same date: "Dil. fil. Johanni de Hunyad, gubernatori generali totius regni Hungarie," by which he and his family, if "vere poenitentes et confessi cathedralem ecclesiam Waradien. per tres dies continuos dicti presentis anni devote et reverenter visitaverint, omnium peccatorum suorum remissio plenaria." The bearer of this letter is made known to us *"Litteræ passus pro Jacobo Andree de Bestrez," dat. Idib., April, 1450, *loc. cit.*, 284.

by endeavouring to compose the strife which had broken out between Hunyadi and Gislira, the captain of the kingdom, and by absolving Hunyadi, on the 12th April, 1450, from an oath not to pass through Servia, which had been extorted from him by fear and violence. His glorious victory at Belgrade was thus rendered possible, and the defeats at Varna and Kossowo were amply avenged.*

While the Pope thus favoured the Hungarians, he also supported the Albanians in their resistance to the Turkish power, and sought to induce them to make common cause with adjacent countries; of these, the most important was Bosnia, whose King, Stephen, had, as we have already related, returned to the Catholic Church in the time of Eugenius IV. Nicholas V. at once took a warm interest in him, and in June, 1447, he placed him and the reconciled magnates under the protection of the Holy See, and appointed Thomas, the Bishop of Lesina, his Legate.† Moreover, he did everything to promote the erection of Catholic churches in this devastated country, and took vigorous measures against the widespread sect of the Paterines. Being informed by the Bishop of Lesina that their errors were, nevertheless, gaining ground, Nicholas gave him full power to grant an indulgence and spiritual favours to those who should fight against these "unbelievers."‡ Furthermore, in June, 1451, he sent a new Nuncio to Bosnia, with

* Kayser, 213. The Bull "Quamquam ex debita," dat. prid. Id. April, 1450 (Gratis de mandato d. n. papæ), given in part in Raynaldus, 1450, n. 7, is complete in Regest., 391, f. 251-252[b]. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† See, besides Klaic, 373, 378, the documents in Theiner, Mon. Ung., ii., 235-237; Mon. Slav., i., 402 *et seq.*; and Balan, Slavi, 184-185.

‡ *"Venerab. fratri Thome episc. Farense in regno Bosne . . . nostro et apost. sedis legato," d.d. 1448, iii., Non. Febr., Regest., 408, f. 96[b]. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

the authority of a Legate, to labour for the pacification of the country.* The action of the Pope was not due solely to considerations of a spiritual nature, for the Paterines were secretly and even openly in league with the Turks, and thus, as Rome perceived, constituted a terrible danger to the country. Even members of the secular and regular clergy, among the latter some few unworthy Benedictine monks, were implicated in their treachery, and, counting on the Sultan's favour, endeavoured to lay hands on the property of the Church. The Pope commanded his Nuncio first to admonish these offenders in a friendly manner, but afterwards to proceed to ecclesiastical penalties, and eventually to invoke the assistance of the civil authorities.†

The names of Hunyadi and Skanderbeg are generally coupled together on the roll of heroes who in the fifteenth century made a valiant warfare against the ancestral foes of Christendom. We shall speak of Skanderbeg later on, when we come to deal with the history of Calixtus III., and must only here observe that Nicholas V. gave every support in his power to "this champion and buckler of Christendom against the Turks," who defeated them in an important engagement in the year 1449.‡

The action of the Pope against the Turks was not limited to the cases we have mentioned. He carefully watched each phase of the struggle for Rhodes, and in various ways assisted the Knights of St. John in their

* Theiner, Mon. Ung., ii., 254-256. A list of faculties for this Legate is in the *Regest., 412, f. 56 *et seq.* Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Kayser, 214. See the document of the Secret Archives of the Vatican in Appendix No. 17.

‡ Kayser, 215-216, establishes this fact from documents in the Vatican. See Cugnoni, 100.

gallant resistance.* In 1451, when the Island of Cyprus was seriously menaced by the infidel power, he showed the utmost solicitude for its defence, and addressed an urgent appeal for assistance, coupled with the grant of an indulgence of three years not only to the Emperor but to the whole of Christendom; to France, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, England, Scotland, Castile and Leon, Aragon, Portugal, and Navarre, as well as to the different Italian States. At a later period Nicholas gave half of the offerings received from France to the King of Cyprus to enable him to rebuild the citadel of Nicosia.†

The facts which we have adduced sufficiently prove with what injustice the Pope has been charged with neglecting the war against the infidels.‡ The statement that he did as little as possible for the deliverance of the Greeks is equally false.§ It is perfectly true that Nicholas made the fulfilment of the terms of the Union agreed upon at Florence a condition of his assistance, and this was evidently his

* Kayser (216-217), Bull. Vat. (ii., 137), Cugnoni (100), and the documents from the Secret Archives of the Vatican in Appendix Nos. 2 and 3. See also Regest., 400, f. 327: "Universis Christifidelibus præsentes literas inspecturis," d.d. Rome, 1453, viii. Id. Jun.

† See Raynaldus, ad an. 1452, N. 15, and the extracts from the Secret Archives of the Vatican in Appendix No. 7. Regarding the printed "Literæ indulgentiarum Nicolai V. pro regno Cypri," which have a special interest in connection with the history of the discovery and advance of printing, see Sotzmann's article in Serapeum, iv., 273-285, 289-299, 386-387; xv., 60-62; and Schelhorn, Ergötzlichkeiten (Ulm, 1763), ii., 376 *et seq.* Pertz, Abhandl. der Berliner Akad., 1856. Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch, v., 634 *et seq.* Zeitschr. für wissenschaftl. Theol., 1884, p. 349 *et seq.*

‡ Kayser, 219.

§ Voigt, Enea Silvio, ii., 146.

duty as Pope, for it was incumbent on him to resist the encroachments of the schismatical Greek propaganda.*

The prospects of the Union were most gloomy in the Byzantine Empire. The new Emperor, Constantine, the last of the Palæologi, was unable to withstand the fanaticism of the people, and sent a special ambassador to Rome in the year 1451 in order to appease the Pope for the non-fulfilment of the agreement.† Nicholas replied in a long and incisive brief dated October 11th, 1451.‡

"The matter in question," Nicholas V. declares, "is the unity of the Church, a fundamental article of the Christian confession of faith. A united Church is an impossibility unless there is one visible head to take the place of that Eternal High Priest whose throne is in heaven, and unless all members obey this one head. Where two rulers command there can be no united empire. Outside the Church's unity there is no salvation; he who was not in Noe's ark perished in the deluge. Schism has always been punished

* See Raynaldus, ad an. 1449, N. 10; Bull., v., 100-101, and Kayser, 220 (the Bull cited here, note 2, is not unpublished, and Kayser is mistaken in supposing that the point had never before been raised; Frommann had already drawn attention to it). In the year 1451, Nicholas V. made efforts, in great measure for the sake of the Crusade, to restore peace between France and England; see *supra*, p. 105, and Desjardins, i., 62, note.

† In this same year an embassy from the Duke of Burgundy came to Rome on the Turkish question. See *Despatch of Donatus de Donatis, dated Rome, 1451, July 9th, Cl. x., dist. 2, n. 22, f. 30, State Archives, Florence. The Burgundian Embassy also brought forward the question of the restoration of peace between France and England. See in Appendix, No. 8b, the Document from the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ Raynaldus, ad an. 1451, N. 1 and 2, from an older printed copy; the date here given is v. Id. Octob. (= 11th October). Frommann (226, note 3), and Kayser (220) do not assign any reason for their date of October 15th.

more severely than other crimes. Core, Dathan and Abiron, who sought to divide the people of God, were punished more terribly than those who had defiled themselves by idolatry.

"The Greek Empire itself is a living witness to this truth. This glorious nation, once so rich in learned and holy men, has now become the most miserable of all nations; almost the whole of Greece is given into the hands of the enemies of the cross. What is the reason of this heavy judgment of God? The once chosen people of God were sorely chastened by Him for two crimes. They were led into captivity in Babylon for idolatry; and for their putting to death our Redeemer Jesus Christ they were wholly given over into the power of the Romans, the city of Jerusalem was destroyed, and until this very hour the whole nation is scattered in exile throughout the world. Now we know that since the Greeks received the Catholic Faith they have never committed either of the above-mentioned crimes, on account of which the wrath of God might have given them into Turkish bondage. Some other sin must have provoked the Divine Justice, and this sin is the schism which was begun under Photius, and has since lasted for five hundred years. Full of sorrow and with a heavy heart do we make this complaint, and we would willingly have buried it in everlasting silence, but if a remedy is to be applied the wound must be laid bare. For almost five hundred years Satan, the author of all evil, and especially of division, has seduced the Church of Constantinople into disobedience to the Roman Bishop, the successor of St. Peter and representative of our Lord Jesus Christ. Innumerable negotiations have meanwhile been undertaken, a great many Councils have been held, countless embassies have been sent to and fro, until at last Emperor John and the Patriarch Joseph of Constantinople, accompanied by numerous

prelates and great men, met Pope Eugenius IV., the Cardinals of the Roman Church, and a considerable body of Western Prelates at Florence in order, with the blessing of God, to put an end to the schism and establish unity.

"These negotiations were carried on before the eyes of the whole world, and the decree of Union drawn up in Greek and Latin and signed by all present has been made known to the whole world. Spain, with its four Christian kingdoms, Castile, Aragon, Portugal, and Navarre; Great Britain, Ireland, and Scotland, the great islands lying beyond the continent; Germany, inhabited by numerous nations, and extending over far countries; the kingdom of the Danes, Norway, and Sweden, situated towards the extremest north; Poland, Hungary, and Pannonia; Gaul, which stretches between Spain and Germany from the western ocean to the Mediterranean, are its witnesses. All these countries possess copies of the decree of Union by which that ancient schism is at last removed, according to the testimony of the Greek Emperor, John Palæologus, of the Patriarch Joseph, and of all the others who came from Greece to the Council of Florence, and by their signatures sanctioned the Union.

"And now so many years have already passed during which the decree of the Union has been disregarded by the Greeks, and there appears no hope of any readiness to accept it, the matter is put off from one day to another, and the same excuses are always brought forward. The Greeks cannot really believe the Pope and the whole Western Church to have lost their senses so as not to perceive the meaning of these constant excuses and delays. They understand it perfectly, but bear with it after the example of the Eternal Chief Pastor, who gave the barren fig tree two years more to bring forth fruit.

"Be it known to your Imperial Highness," continues the

Pope, "that we also will wait until this letter of ours has received your consideration, and if you, with your great men and your people, think better of it, and accept the decree of the Union, you will find us, the Cardinals and the whole Western Church always ready for you and well disposed towards you. But should you and your people refuse this, you compel us to do that which is demanded by your welfare and our honour." The Pope then lays down as conditions of peace that the Emperor should recall the Patriarch Gregory and reinstate him in all his dignities, that the name of the Pope should be inserted in the Diptychs, and that prayers should be offered for him in all the Greek Churches. Should any persons be in doubt regarding the decree of the Union the Emperor was to send them to Rome, where they would be honourably treated and every care taken to remove their doubts.*

The Papal letter of the 11th October, 1451, is also interesting, inasmuch as it implies that Rome had recognized the utter fruitlessness of the often repeated public disputations at Constantinople, where the excited populace not only supported the speakers opposed to the Union, but from the beginning rendered any concession to the Latins impossible.†

Meanwhile, the danger which, during more than a generation, had been threatening Constantinople and the whole of the East,‡ seemed to be averted. Sultan Mahomet, instead of attacking Cyprus, as had been apprehended, directed his forces against the ancient enemy of his kingdom, the Mahometan Prince of Karamania.

* Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 123-124.

† Frommann, 226.

‡ As early as 1416 Ailly said that immediate assistance was needed, else the "Empire of Constantinople" would perish utterly. Hardt, i., 414, 415. Tschakert, 261.

The Greeks, seeing their most dangerous adversary thus occupied in Asia, were deluded enough to adopt a tone of menace towards him, and sent an embassy to his camp to inform him that unless the pension, paid for Urchan, the Sultan's nephew, who was being brought up at Constantinople, were doubled, they would put him forward as claimant to the throne. Mahomet answered this preposterous demand in a furious speech, hastily made peace with the Prince of Karamania, and satisfied the Janissaries with money, so as to be able, without annoyance from internal or external foes, to turn his whole power against Constantinople. As soon as he reached Adrianople he refused to pay to the Emperor the revenue of the region on the Strymon, which was destined for Urchan's maintenance, and then began to take measures for the subjugation of the capital.* Early in the winter of 1451-1452 he sent orders throughout the different provinces of his kingdom, requiring that a thousand builders, with a corresponding number of hodmen and bricklayers, should be sent, and the necessary materials prepared for the erection of a fortress on the Bosphorus above Constantinople. The tidings caused the greatest consternation among the Christian population in that city, in Thrace, and in the Archipelago. "The end of the City has come!" they exclaimed, "these things are the forerunners of the downfall of our race; the days of anti-Christ are upon us. What will become of us? Rather let our lives be taken from us, O Lord, than that the eyes of Thy servants should see the destruction of the City, and let not Thine enemies say 'Where are the saints who watch over it?'"†

The Emperor Constantine despatched ambassadors to Adrianople to remonstrate against the building of the pro-

* Mordtmann, 9-10. † Hertzberg, Griechenland, ii., 530.

posed fortress. The Sultan's answer was a declaration that he would have anyone, who again came to him about this business, flayed. The fortress was begun in the spring of 1452, the Sultan himself having made the plan and selected the site at the narrowest part of the Bosphorus, where a strong current drives vessels from the Asiatic to the European side, on the promontory of Hermæum.

Here, then, a fortress rapidly arose, with walls from two-and-twenty to five-and-twenty feet thick, and towers with leaden roofs, sixty feet high. The Turks gave it the name of Bogaz Kessen, which means cutter off of the Straits and also cutter-off of the neck.* As master of this castle and one opposite to it, named Anatoli Hissar, which had been built by Bajazet, the Sultan had it in his power to cut off all communication between the republics of Genoa and Venice and their colonies on the Black Sea, and also to deprive the city of Constantinople of the access to that Sea which was absolutely necessary to its inhabitants.†

During the progress of the work disputes arose with some of the inhabitants of Constantinople who had corn-fields in the neighbourhood, and bloodshed ensued. The Greek Emperor then addressed a grave and dignified letter to the Sultan, who vouchsafed no other reply than a declaration of war (June, 1452), and caused the messengers who brought it to be beheaded. Mahomet was, however, too wise immediately to begin hostilities; for the time

* Mordtmann, 13, 17. In this fortress, which now bears the name of Rumili Hissar, the Sultan placed four hundred men, giving orders to their commander to require all ships to stop, and only to allow them to pass on payment of a toll. Vessels which refused to pay were to be sunk (*loc. cit.*, 18).

† Heyd, ii., 303, 382. The great danger which threatened mercantile nations from the erection of this fortress was laid before the Council of Genoa on the 13th March by Gabriele Doria. Atti della soc. Lig., xiii., 222. See Vigna, i. (atti 6), 20, 33.

being, he merely reconnoitred the walls, trenches, and gates of Constantinople, and on the 1st September retired to Adrianople.

The following winter passed by in quietness, but preparations were vigorously carried on on both sides for the decisive struggle.* The Emperor again showed himself disposed for Union with the Latins, no doubt with the view of obtaining their assistance against the Turks. Whether in this matter he acted in perfect good faith may be left an open question; but even granting that his purpose was sincere, it would have been impossible for him to carry it into effect in face of the fanatical opposition of his people. This must have become evident at Rome, where the long-cherished hope that the whole Greek Church would accept the Union effected at Florence had now died out.† It was necessary, however,‡ in order not to make too light of the Pope's dignity, that appearances should be kept up, and that his rights, which had been acknowledged at Florence, should be officially recognized at Constantinople, for on no other grounds could he be held bound to afford material assistance to the Greeks.

The question of helping the Greeks was warmly discussed in Rome, where great differences of opinion prevailed on the subject. An anonymous treatise § written there in the

* Mordtmann, 18-19, 29.

† This appears from the treatise of which we are about to speak, *Cod. D-I-20 of the Casanatense Library, Rome. See Frommann, 226 *et seq.*

‡ Frommann, 227 *et seq.*

§ To be found in Cod. D-I-20, f. 5 *et seq.* of the Casanatense Library, Rome, which is entitled: "Collectio plurium opusculorum spectantium auctoritatem papæ, concilii et cardinalium." The treatise itself has no superscription, but in the contemporary index of MSS. the following title is given: *"Sitne Graecis pro conservanda urbe Constantinopolitana aliisque de causis ac præcipue pro

December of 1452, gives us some interesting details, and endeavours, with the learning and rhetoric peculiar to the humanists, to show that the preservation of Constantinople was a necessity for Christendom.* Conflicting opinions prevailed in Rome as to the line of conduct pursued towards the Greeks. Starting from the principle that no communication is to be held with heretics, schismatics and excommunicated persons, one party was absolutely opposed to the idea of giving them any assistance, and held that the impious schismatics would but meet with due punishment.† This view is strongly condemned by the author of the treatise who adduces passages from the fathers of the

ineunda sive servanda unione subveniendum per Latinos ac in primis per pontificem summum?" The date of the MS. appears from the opening words, which are ornamented with beautiful initial letters: *"Ad laudem et honorem domini nostri Jesu Christi anno eiusdem millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo secundo mense decembris." The author proposes to answer three questions: "(1) *Utrum christiani teneantur ex debito caritatis imminente hac necessitate petentibus Grecis subvenire. (2) *Utrum Grecis negligentibus salutem suam et spiritualem et temporalem posito quod ita sit quod huiusmodi necessitas immineat teneantur christiani illis opem afferre. (3) *Utrum summus pontifex pre ceteris regibus et principibus christianis teneatur et obligetur ad premissa."

* Frommann, 226-227, who was the first to draw attention to this important treatise.

† *"Videtur quod Grecis non sit auxilium aliquod prestandum; hereticis et scismaticis et excommunicatis non est communicandum et multo minus auxilium prestandum, penis potius tormentis carcere coërcendi sunt prout utriusque iuris leges et canones satis docent. Sed Greci sunt eiusmodi, ergo eis non est prestandum auxilium. . . . Ingratis et pestilentibus viris non sunt prestanda beneficia. . . . Damnationis sententia non est relaxanda volenti in sua perfidia permanere ut ait beatus Leo. . . . Ad virtutem pertinet sumere vindictam de malis ut deducit S. Thomas," etc.

Church, and from Aristotle, Sallust, Valerius Maximus, Seneca, and other classical writers.* He then appeals to the principle of Christian charity, and to the love of sinners inculcated by our Saviour, and maintains that, notwithstanding their schism and their ingratitude, the Greeks ought to be helped.† Should assistance be refused, there is, he continues, reason to fear that the conquest of Constantinople may be followed by a general massacre of the Christians.‡ If it be said that the Greeks will persist in their schism, this is indeed true with regard to many of them, but not to all, for amongst them are distinguished and religious men. No one knows what course these will take; we need not trouble ourselves about the future; for the present the first thing to be done is to grant the prayer of those who are so hardly beset by the enemies of the Christian name.§ He then urges the glorious past of the City of Constantinople. Men remarkable for their learning, their piety, and purity of life have dwelt within her walls, which contain countless relics of the Saints and

* *Cod. cit., f. 8: Seneca qui in epistola lxxxii., ad Lucilium putat "etiam ingratis beneficium dandum."

† *"Non obstante Grecorum scismate et ingratitudine eosdem iuvare tenemur." Cod. cit., f. 6.

‡ Cod. cit., f. 9: *"Ergo debemus Grecos servare, iuvare et tollerare ne in servitutem Teucrorum redigantur. Timendum enim valde est . . . quod capta Constantinopoli in finitimis regionibus magnum exsequeretur excidium christianorum et fidei. Ideoque melius est Grecos tollerare sicut meretrices ecclesia tollerat propter maiora mala vitanda," etc.

§ Cod. cit., f. 9: *"Ad quartum cum dicitur quod Greci videntur velle semper in sua perfidia permanere, dicendum, quod licet multi videantur esse tales, scimus tamen et cognovimus quod non omnes fuerunt nec sunt perfidi, sed sunt multi insignes et religiosi viri ut cardinales, episcopi, abbates aliique inferioris gradus. Quid autem acturi sint, nescimus nec iudicare de futuris debemus."

richly adorned churches; moreover for the sake of the great Emperor Constantine to whom the Christian people and the Roman Church are so deeply indebted, it is, he declares, a duty to preserve his city from falling into the hands of the unbelievers.*

He then proceeds to point out the motives which render it incumbent on the Pope to take measures for the preservation of Constantinople, making honourable mention of the exertions of Eugenius IV. against the Turks;† he gives a lively picture of the threatening peril, enumerates the horrible cruelties practised by the infidels, and insists on the necessity of re-establishing peace, if only in a temporary manner, in Italy. In view of the dangers which threaten Constantinople, Cyprus, and the shores of the Mediterranean, Christian kings and princes, and especially all prelates and ecclesiastics, are bound, he

* Cod. cit., f. 10: *"Preterea ad civitatem debemus habere respectum. Civitas quippe aliquando sancta vel non sancta dicitur propter homines, sed hoc dupliciter q[uidem] aut propter presentes aut propter preteritos. Et dato quod propter presentes non esset eis subveniendum, tamen propter preteritos esset id illis beneficium conferendum, qui doctrina religione et summa integritate claruerunt. Secundo propter multa corpora sanctorum, que ibi recondita sunt. Tertio propter ecclesias et vasa sacra, que ibidem sunt. Quarto propter fundatoris memoriam et reverentiam."—F. 11: "Et ni fallor plurimum obligatur populus christianus et precipue ecclesia Romana prefato Constantino maximeque propter eius memoriam omnibus viribus est laborandum, ne civitas sua . . . cedat in habitationem gentis infidelis." At a later period St. Antoninus also recalled the merits of Constantine in his speech against the Turks in the presence of Calixtus III. See Chronicon, tit. xxii., c. 16.

† Cod. cit., f. 15: *"Et sancte memorie Eugenius quantum in hac re laboravit notum est," etc.

concludes, to arm themselves for the defence of Christendom.*

Warnings of this nature, as a modern historian has observed,† coupled with the well-grounded apprehension that the Turks might, after the conquest of the Greek Empire, attack Italy, produced their effect in Rome, and greatly promoted the favourable consideration of the ceaseless petitions for aid, especially as the Emperor accepted the conditions proposed by the Pope. In May, 1452, Cardinal Isidore, an enthusiastic Greek patriot, was sent as Legate to Constantinople.‡ He was accompanied by about two hundred auxiliary troops, and by Archbishop Leonard of Mytilene, who has left us an account of the siege of Constantinople. The selection of

* Cod. cit., f. 17: *"Verum ad huius necessarie pacis opus perficiendum remedia possibilia temptanda sunt, ut perpetua vel saltem temporalis pax aliqua in Italia sequeretur, ut civitas illa Constantinopolitana, in oriente fidei christianorum arx et monumentum, salubri celerique remedio imminenti periculo proxima, liberari et conservari possit. Preterea quod regnum Cypri, quod superioribus temporibus propugnaculum fidei catholice erat, maximis subiaceat periculis manifestum est et quod sub tributo sit et quandam ignominiosam et miserabilem servitutem paciatur iam omnibus notum est. . . . Exhortandi ergo videntur reges et principes christiani et precipue prelati et persone ecclesiastice, ut prompto animo pro dei laude, pro fide catholica, pro christiana religione ad hanc necessariam christianorum defensionem, pro viribus se paratos disponant." The treatise concludes with a petition to the Pope for the pardon of any errors it may contain.

† Frommann, 227.

‡ Raynaldus ad an. 1453, N. 2. Isidore arrived at Constantinople in November, 1452. Ducas, c. xxxvi., 253. The date of his departure from Rome, 1452, May 22, which was hitherto uncertain, is fixed by *Acta consistorialia, f. 23. Secret Archives of the Vatican. (Hefele [Wiedervereinigung, 216] says that he went in summer or autumn), Frommann [228] gives no exact time.

Isidore as Legate was a most excellent one, and if the reconciliation was not effected, he certainly cannot be held responsible for its failure.* The great majority of the Greeks were not even now in earnest in the matter, and the solemn function in honour of the Union celebrated on the 12th December, 1452, in the church of St. Sophia, with prayers for the Pope and the exiled Patriarch Gregorius, was a mere farce.†

Many Greeks did not shrink from openly expressing their sentiments. "Once we are rid of the Turkish dragon," they said, "you shall see whether we will hold with the Azymites or not." Both laity and clergy conspired to frustrate the Union, and a wild outburst of fanaticism ensued while the Turks were actually approaching the very walls of Constantinople. The schismatic clergy, incensed by the Emperor's open adhesion to the decrees of the Council of Florence, solemnly anathematized all its partisans, refused absolution to those who had been present at the function held in honour of the Union, and exhorted the sick rather to die without the sacraments than receive them from a Uniate priest. The populace cursed the Uniates, the sailors in the harbour drank to the destruction of the Pope and his slaves, and emptied their cups to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, shouting, "What need have we of the help of the Latins?" The friends of the Union were naturally too weak to hold their ground against the violence of popular feeling, and succumbed in their unequal conflict with the national will, which, impotent in all besides, proved itself obstinate and unbending on the one point of opposition to Rome. The

* Mordtmann, 21. Frommann, 228, is of the same opinion.

† The sincerity of this function was doubted even by contemporaries. See Ducas, *loc. cit.*, and Cribellus, 51. Mordtmann (27) calls it a comedy.

Union was again rent asunder, and St. Sophia, which the schismatics called a cave of demons and synagogue of Jews, became a mosque.* This furious antagonism to Rome extended to the highest classes of Byzantine society. The Grand Duke Lukas Notaras, the most powerful man in the powerless empire, was not afraid to say that he would rather see the Turkish turban in the city than the Tiara of Rome.†

It is not surprising that the Latins showed but little zeal on behalf of a nation so hopelessly deluded, and that both in Rome and elsewhere some were found to maintain that no help ought to be given to the schismatics.‡ The violently anti-Latin temper of the Greeks explains, and in some degree excuses, the fact that the Western Powers did not render the speedy assistance which might have saved the glorious capital of the East.

Besides the Pope and the King of Naples, the Republics of Venice and Genoa were the only Christian Powers who helped the Greek Emperor, and their help was given from mercenary motives. The Venetians and Genoese were well aware that their own interests would be seriously affected by a Turkish occupation of the Greek capital. Constantinople and its suburbs had become a second home to many of their citizens. Within its walls the two republics possessed much valuable property, both public and private, and its fall would involve the severance of their connection with their colonies on the Black Sea, and their consequent loss.§

* Döllinger, Kirche und Kirchen, 9.

† The day after the fall of the city Notaras was horribly murdered by the Sultan's executioner. Hefele, *loc. cit.*, 218-219. Hertzberg, Griechenland, ii., 537-538.

‡ See the Treatise in Cod. D-I., 2c, of the Casatenese Library, Rome, cited *supra*, p. 254, note †.

§ Heyd, ii., 303.

Genoa and its colony of Chios accordingly sent war material and a considerable body of soldiers, and, unlike their vacillating fellow-countrymen in Pera, devoted themselves heart and soul to the cause.*

The powerful Republic of Venice displayed far less zeal.† Twice in the year 1452 did the Ambassadors of the Greek Emperor repair to the city, earnestly imploring counsel and aid against the threatened attack of the Turks; but no decided promise was made to them, for the interest of the principal personages was at this time concentrated almost exclusively on the war against the Duke of Milan.‡ Material considerations alone induced the Signoria to send some few ships to Constantinople, but the despatch of a fleet was postponed until the 7th May, 1453, because it was feared that it would have to act in concert with the ships promised by the Pope and King Alfonso.§ The ten vessels commanded by Jacopo Loredano, whose arrival had been so eagerly desired by the besieged, naturally came too late.‖ Indeed, the following instructions, given to Jacopo

* *Loc. cit.* 306-307. For an account of the heroic Giovanni Guglielmo Longo of the kindred of the Giustiniani in Chios, see Hopf in Ersch-Gruber, Section 1, lxviii., 321.

† The Greek Emperor therefore endeavoured, by pliancy and concession, to keep the Venetians in good humour. He granted them the privilege of the free export of wine, and removed the tax hitherto imposed on Venetian brokers and slave dealers. Romanin, iv., 245, N. 3. Heyd, ii., 303.

‡ Sanudo, 1141, and State Archives at Venice: *Secreta Senatus, xix., f. 169^{b}-170. See Vast, 196.

§ This opinion is repeated in the *letter of Venice to Nicholas V. written on the 4th February, 1453. State Archives, Venice: Secreta Senatus, xix., 184^{b}.

‖ See Heyd, ii., 316, and Romanin, iv., 254, 527. Regarding the hopes placed in Venice, see Barbaro, 34, and the account of the Florentine Tebaldi in the Appendix to Vallet de Virivelle's edition of Chartier, Chronique de Charles VII., Vol. iii., 30. Bar-

Loredano, are calculated to awaken some misgivings as to the real intentions of the Venetian Republic. "On the way to Constantinople you are not in any way to cause any injury to the cities, troops, or vessels of the Turks, inasmuch as we are at peace with them. For although we have prepared this fleet for the honour of God and the defence of the City of Constantinople, we will not—if it can possibly be avoided—involve ourselves in war with the Turks."*

Regarding the assistance afforded by Pope Nicholas V., the accounts which have reached us are unfortunately very defective, and in some cases contradictory. The diary of Infessura, the Secretary to the Senate, a somewhat untrustworthy document, informs us that the Emperor's ambassadors were detained in Rome, and were unable to obtain a decided answer. St. Antoninus of Florence says in his Chronicle, that Nicholas V. directly refused them a

baro, 66; Sanudo, 1148; and Romanin, iv., 248, N. 2ª, 254, 260, N. 1, speak of the Venetian fleet.

* Loredano was again expressly directed to take no hostile measures against the Turkish ships unless in the event of an attack on his forces. The passage quoted above from the *Instructions for "Jacobo Lauredano ituro capitaneo generali maris," dated 1453, May 7, runs as follows: *"In via autem tua usque Constantinopolim volumus, quod nullo modo offendas neque damnum aliquod vel novitatem inferas locis, gentibus et navigiis Turchorum per observationem pacis quam cum Teucro habemus [Mahomet II. had, at the request of the Venetian Ambassador, on September 10, 1451, renewed the treaty made with Venice by his predecessor; see Romanin. iv., 245; Sanudo, 1154-1156] quia licet hanc classem pro honore dei et conservatione civitatis Constantinopl. paraverimus, attamen si possibile fuerit ad aliquam novitatem vel guerram cum Teucro devenire nollemus." Secreta Senatus, xix., 194. State Archives, Venice. Venice commanded Bartolomeo Marcello, on the 8th May, as much as possible to keep up a good understanding with Mahomet II., and to bring about a permanent peace! Hopf, Griechenland, 115.

grant of pecuniary assistance. As, however, the fact that this Pope sent money in the year 1452 for the purpose of fortifying the walls of Galata, is proved by an inscription, these accounts cannot be correct.* We have, moreover, the testimony given by the Pope himself when on the very brink of eternity.

Nicholas V. informed the Cardinals assembled around his death-bed that, on receiving the tidings of the siege of Constantinople, he had at once determined to help the Greeks to the best of his power. He was, however, well aware that his own unassisted resources were insufficient to oppose an adequate resistance to the immense armies of the Turks. He had, therefore, "openly and plainly," declared to the Greek ambassadors that his money, his ships, and his troops were at the disposal of the Emperor, but that, inasmuch as this help was inadequate, his Majesty ought without delay to seek the assistance of other princes; assuring them of the support of the Papal forces. The Ambassadors had departed, well pleased with his answer, but, after making unsuccessful application to many princes, had returned to Rome, whereupon he had given them his help, such as it was.†

* The inscription is in Guglielmotti, ii., 180, and the passage from Infessura in the edition published by Muratori, p. 1136. The statement of St. Antoninus is in the Chronicon, l. 22, c. 13, § 14. In February, 1452, a Greek Embassy was in Venice to ask for assistance, and was to proceed thence to Florence and Rome; see Vast, 196. A new Greek Embassy arrived in Venice in the middle of November (Vast, *loc. cit.*), and on the 28th of the month reached Bologna (Cronica di Bologna, 700), on its way to Rome to petition for help. See, regarding this Embassy, Romanin, iv., 247, and Barbaro, Giornale dell' Assedio, App. n. 5.

† Manetti, 953. Kayser, 223. The last-named writer justly observes that the tidings of the siege of Constantinople must have taken the Pope as much by surprise as they did the Greeks.

Accordingly, on the 28th April, Nicholas V. commanded the Archbishop of Ragusa, Jacopo Veniero of Recanati, to proceed as Legate to Constantinople, with the ten Papal galleys and a number of ships, furnished by Naples, Genoa, and Venice.* The united Italian fleet did not, however, come into action, for on the 29th of May the fate of the city was decided.

On the 23rd March, 1453, Mahomet II. left Adrianople, and on the 6th April took up his position within a mile of Constantinople. According to the lowest, and therefore most probable estimate, his army numbered a hundred and sixty thousand men. To meet this powerful, rapacious, and fanatical host, the Emperor had, in all, four thousand nine hundred and seventy-three Greeks, and about two thousand foreigners, Genoese, Venetians, Cretans, Romans, and Spaniards.†

The siege, of which we have details from a number of

No one in the West had believed in the greatness of the danger; see Æn. Sylv., Epist., clxii. Had the Pope, says the *"Tractatus seu exhortatio ad seren. dom. Fridericum imperat. domini Joannis de Castilione episc. Papien. et apost. legati ad defens. fidei contra Thurcos," known the necessity of Constantinople, "clare et in tempore, quo subsidium parari potuisset," he would certainly have granted all imaginable assistance. Cod. lat., 4143, f. 102, of the Court Library at Munich.

* See N. della Tuccia, 227. Guglielmotti, ii., 170-171. Kayser, 223 *et seq.* Kayser and Zinkeisen (i., 825) give a wrong date for the decree nominating Veniero Legate. It is given at length in Theiner (Mon. Slav., i., 409-410). According to Æn. Sylvius (Epist., 155), the Papal and Genoese ships were subsequently captured by the Turks.

† Mordtmann, 30, 41. Hertzberg, Griechenland, ii., 538. Vast, Bessarion, 199, gives a much higher estimate of the numbers on both sides, but in this he is mistaken.

eye-witnesses, began immediately.* Besides fourteen batteries, which were planted opposite to the walls of the city, the Sultan had twelve large pieces of artillery destined for special positions, and discharging stone cannon-balls of from two hundred to five hundred pounds' weight. One giant cannon, made by a Hungarian, is perhaps the largest mentioned in history, and its stone balls weighed from eight hundred to twelve hundred pounds.†

It was evident that the city, with its slender garrison, would ultimately be compelled to yield to such a force. The catastrophe was delayed by the position of Constantinople, which rendered it very difficult of assault,‡ and by the personal courage of the Emperor and of some few other Greeks. But the chief credit of the defence is due to the skilful tactics of the Italian ships, and to the foreign troops and the Venetian Catalan, and other colonists, together with the Genoese, who had secretly come from Pera. They ceaselessly repaired the breaches made by the enemy's artillery, and brilliantly repelled many Turkish attacks. Moreover, under the direction of a German engineer, countermining was carried on with such success

* See Vast, Bessarion, 187 *et seq.*, and Mordtmann's excellent monograph, which, however, does not notice nearly all the contemporary documents. See the important article by Hopf in Ersch-Gruber., section 1, lxxxvi, 116. Of more recent histories, we must mention besides Zinkeisen (i., 832 *et seq.*) and Finlay (History of the Byzantine and Greek Empires, ii., 620 *et seq.*); Guglielmotti, ii., 174 *et seq.*; Voigt, in Sybel's Zeitschrift, iii., 76 *et seq.*; Krause, Die Eroberungen von Konstantinopel im dreizehnten und fünfzehnten Jahrhundert (1870), 127 *et seq.*; Heyd, ii., 303 *et seq.*; Vast, Bessarion, 197 *et seq.*, and a paper by the last-named author in the Revue hist. (1880), xiii., 1-40.

† Mordtmann, 36, 50.

‡ See v. Moltke, Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei (2nd ed.), p. 55.

that the Turks finally abandoned their mines. A dangerous bastion constructed by the infidels was destroyed in a single night, and the astonished Sultan exclaimed, "Never could I have believed the Giaours capable of such great deeds, not even if all the Prophets had assured me of the fact!"

The greater number of the Greeks, however, played a pitiful part during the siege. Instead of fighting, they consoled themselves with the foolish predictions of their monks, wept and prayed in the churches, called upon Our Lady to deliver them, never considering that God is wont to help those who exert themselves, and at the same time humbly place their confidence in Him. A historian justly observes, "They loudly confessed their sins, but no one confessed his cowardice, the unpardonable sin of a nation devoid of patriotism."* The Emperor alone distinguished himself by his courage, but one man could not save a nation, many of whose members, from their bigoted hatred of the Latins, preferred quiet and toleration under the Turkish sway.†

The cowardice of the Greeks was equalled by their avarice, which kept them from employing the number of troops required for the defence of the widely extended walls of their city. The unreasoning covetousness which had been the proximate occasion of this terrible siege now contributed in great measure to bring about the final catastrophe. The small force of defenders could no longer hold the long chain of fortifications, partly ruined as they

* J. B. Weiss, iii. (2nd ed.), 1490. See Vast, Bessarion, 202. "No one would do his duty. We were forsaken by Providence, because we ourselves had abandoned Him," says Critobulus. The same writer gives many examples of the faint-hearted selfishness of the Greeks.

† Voigt, in the histor. Zeitschr., iii., 32.

were by the enemy's artillery, and on the 29th of May* the Janissaries made another desperate attack. The Emperor, with a great many of his faithful followers, fell. Cardinal Isidore, who was not recognized, was sold as a slave. Thousands of the Greeks who escaped death shared his fate, especially all those who had taken refuge in the church of St. Sophia. An ancient prophecy had foretold that the Turks would advance as far as the Pillar of Constantine, but would then be driven by an angel from heaven not only out of the city but back to the Persian frontier. As soon accordingly as they had entered the city, crowds pressed into the great church, which, with all its vestibules, corridors, and galleries, was densely thronged, multitudes who, ever since the feast held in honour of the Union had scorned the spiritual graces which they might there have found, now seeking within its walls to save their lives. "Had an angel really descended from heaven at this moment," says the Greek historian Dukas, "and brought them word to accept the Union, they would not have acknowledged it, and would rather have given themselves up to the Turks than to the Roman Church."†

The infidels, meanwhile, had become masters of the city, and had slain some thousands of its inhabitants before the idea of making gain out of them as slaves arrested the work of bloodshed.‡ On reaching the church of St. Sophia they burst open the doors and dragged the helpless fugi-

* On this very day the Florentine Ambassador at Genoa announced evil tidings regarding Constantinople. See Makuscev, 545.

† Hammer, i., 549.

‡ Hefele, Wiedervereinigung, 225. "Natural avarice and desire for slaves and prey had more effect than any command," says Mordtmann, 92, "and the Turks henceforth only thought of making as many prisoners as possible."

tives off to slavery. The beautiful church was desecrated by all sorts of horrors, and then turned into a mosque. A crucifix was borne through the streets, with a Janissary's cap on its head, while the miscreants shouted, "Behold the God of the Christians."*

The Sultan did not compel the Greeks to conform to Islam, but rather sought to win their priesthood to his side by espousing the cause of the enemies of the Union. He brought about the election to the Patriarchate of Gennadius, a zealous member of the orthodox party and a violent opponent of the Latins. The ceremony of installation took place on the 1st of June, and the procession passed through streets still stained with blood. The Sultan, adopting the ancient custom of the Byzantine Emperors, delivered a golden staff to the newly-elected Patriarch, in token of investiture.† The last traces of the Union were thus obliterated in the great Turkish Empire. Henceforth it survived only in Lithuania and Poland, in some Mediterranean Islands subject to the Latin rule, and in the isolated Greek communities in Italy, Hungary, and Sclavonia.‡ The Sultan jealously claimed for himself all privileges enjoyed by the Emperors, especially the power of granting

* Sanudo, 1150. Regarding the horrors which took place in the church, see Hammer, i., 550. A note in Barbaro's diary gives the number of prisoners as sixty thousand; the spoil taken was worth three hundred thousand ducats, and for a long time afterwards the Turks used to say, when speaking of a very rich man, he was at the sack of Constantinople. Mordtmann, 95-96.

† Pichler, i., 423. Frommann, 232 *et seq.* From the time of the Patriarch Parthenius III., who was hanged by order of the city prefect (1657), the ruler of the infidels has considered it beneath his dignity personally to grant investiture to the Patriarch, and the office has devolved upon the Grand Vizier. Pitzipios, L'Eglise Orientale (Rome, 1855), iii., 83.

‡ Hefele, Wiedervereinigung, 228-229.

confirmation and investiture to the Patriarchs, and it soon became the custom for each Patriarch to pay a considerable sum of money for his investiture, and thus to purchase his high dignity from the infidel ruler. As time went on, other Turkish magnates also received tribute from the Patriarch; money was the only means of obtaining anything at the Porte, and yet its magic power was not always a certain defence from bitter humiliations, from ill-treatment and plunder. Turkish despotism and Greek corruption brought the Patriarchate to the lowest depths of degradation to which the head of a Church with such a history could fall.*

The tidings of the great victory of the Turks over the "Christian dogs" were borne on the wings of the wind throughout the East. Success was now on the side of Mahomet II., and the consequences were more immediately disastrous there than in the West. The Oriental Christians at once felt the shock of the great blow which had fallen on their cause in the Bosphorus. In their first panic the whole population of these districts thought of nothing but speedy flight, and flocked to the seaside in order to embark for the West, on the first appearance of the Turkish flag.† Slowly but surely was the way prepared for the complete closing up and barbarizing of the glorious lands bordering on the Mediterranean Sea. No pause in the victorious advance of the Turks was to be expected, although for a time the Sultan retired with his army to Adrianople, and sent his fleet to the harbours of the Asiatic shore.

Soon indeed it became clear that, not content with victory on land, the Porte aspired to supremacy in the

* Döllinger, Kirche und Kirchen, 158-161. Pichler, i., 423 *et seq.* Ersch-Gruber, section 1, lxxxiv., 193.

† Zinkeisen, ii., 16-17. See the letter of Fr. Giustiniani from Chios, 1453, Sept. 27th, in Vigna, i., 19-21.

Archipelago and the Black Sea. Mahomet II. spared no pains to create a formidable fleet, and Constantinople and Gallipoli afforded him every facility for his operations. No resource remained to the terrified Christians on these shores but to purchase the permission to exist by the payment of a heavy tribute.* The Sultan was not slow to take advantage of their distress. On his return to Adrianople he announced to the ambassadors, who came to congratulate him, that for the future Chios must pay six thousand instead of four thousand ducats, and Lesbos three thousand as a tribute.† Thomas and Demetrius, the cowardly Byzantine despots of the Peloponesus, who had meditated flight to Italy, laid a present of a thousand gold pieces at his feet, and received in return empty promises of peace and friendship. The Emperor of Trebizond was required by the Porte to pay the annual tribute of two thousand gold pieces for himself and the neighbouring shores of the Black Sea, and also to appear at an appointed time every year in the Sultan's Court. The despot of Servia had to purchase Mahomet's good will by a tribute of twelve thousand ducats a year.‡

It would be difficult to describe the terror of Western Christendom on learning that "the centre of the old world and the bulwark which protected European civilization from Asiatic barbarism" had fallen into the hands of the infidels.§ Men felt the event to be a turning point in the history of the world. In the downfall of the Byzantine

* Heyd, ii., 318. Atti della soc. Lig., vi., 20 *et seq.*

† Heyd, ii., 313.

‡ Zinkeisen, ii., 17-18. The King of Bosnia also sent messengers without delay to the victorious Sultan to do homage and commend himself to his favour.

§ Mordtmann (2) justly observes that the extraordinary impression made by the fall of Constantinople is a proof that the city outweighed in importance whole countries and provinces.

Empire, which united Eastern Europe with Asia, and which had been so instrumental in the civilization of the Slavonic races, the ruin of all that the first great medieval period had accomplished was begun. The Christian conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 was tardily avenged by the foundation of a Turkish Empire on European soil, which had the effect of paralyzing the whole political system of Europe. All common action on the part of Christian nations was crippled, and Stamboul became that smouldering centre of discord which it still continues to be in the Eastern question of the present day. In face of the constant danger from the Turks the reforms, social as well as ecclesiastical, so urgently needed by Christendom, were neglected, and the Holy Roman Empire, second only in prestige to that of Byzantium, was drawn into the vortex of revolution.*

"The Kingdom of Mahomet II.," according to a modern historian,† "was for the first time thoroughly consolidated by the conquest of that magnificent central position uniting the great lines of communication between the Adriatic and Mesopotamia, and Belgrade and Alexandria, and carrying with it the sovereignty of the Empire of the Cæsars and the Constantines. The magnitude and danger of the Eastern question dates from this event."

The Republic of Venice was the first among the Western powers to learn that Constantinople had fallen, and that the bravest of the Palæologi had died a hero's death. The

* Such is the observation with which Höfler, in his "Lehrbuch der allgem. Gesch.," prefaces his picture of modern times (ii., 1, v.). See also Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akad. Phil.-histor., Kl. lxv., 588. Kraus, in the second edition of his "Kirchengeschichte," also makes the year 1453 the boundary between the Middle Ages and modern times (see iii., 529).

† Hertzberg, Griechenland, ii., 530; see 542.

tidings came on the 29th June, when the great Council was sitting; Luigi Bevazan, the Secretary of the Council of Ten, read the letters in which the Castellan of Modone and the Bailo of Negroponte announced the calamity. The consternation and grief which overpowered all present were so great that no one ventured to ask for a copy of the terrible news.*

From Venice it soon spread in all directions. On the 30th June the Signoria sent word to the Pope, adding that they deemed it likely that His Holiness would have already heard of the disaster by some other means.†

On the 8th July it was known in Rome.‡ The celebrated preacher, Fra Roberto of Lecce, told the populace, who

* See Zorzi Dolfin, Chronik. (Sitzungsber. d. Münch. Akad., 1868, ii., 36 *et seq.*), and the interesting letter from Battista de' Franchi and Piero Stella to the Doge Pietro de Campofregoso at Genoa, dated Venice, 1453, June 29th, in the State Archives at Florence, in a contemporary copy (Cl. x., dist. 2, No. 22). See Makuscev, 545-546. Regarding the consternation of the Venetians see also *the Despatch of Antonio da Trezzo to Fr. Sforza, dated Reggio, 1453, July 4th. Fonds ital., 1586, f. 217, National Library, Paris.

† *Venice to Nicholas V., die ultimo Junii: "Quamquam existimemus, beatissime pater, tam litteris R^di patris domini archiepiscopi Ragusien. legati apostolici hic existentis quam aliter, S^tem vestram ante has forsitan intelligere potuisse horrendum et infelicissimum casum urbium Constantinop. et Pere," etc. Senatus Secreta, xix., 202, State Archives, Venice. I found a copy, though not a perfectly correct one, of this letter in the National Library, Florence. Cod. Magliabech., viii.-1282, f. 40b.

‡ Infessura, 1136. (In the Latin copy of the Diarium in *Cod. xxxv., 37, f. 181 of the Barberini Library, Rome, the date is wrongly given as the 18th July, but correctly as the 8th, in Cod. Vatic., 5522, f. 48.) Infessura's dates are not generally very trustworthy, but on this occasion he must be right. We know from the Cronica di Bologna (701) that the news reached that city on the

broke out into loud lamentations. As it was a long time before any other accounts arrived to confirm those received from Venice, and as Constantinople was known to be well-provisioned, many persons both in Rome and Genoa considered them to be false.* Later on some maintained that the city had been reconquered in a marvellous manner. "This," wrote Cardinal d'Estouteville, on the 19th July, "is possible but not probable." † The consternation at Rome was increased by a report that the Papal ships had been captured by the infidels, and that the Turks were preparing, with a fleet of three hundred vessels, to follow up the conquest of New Rome by that of the ancient city.‡

All writers agree in stating that the Pope and the Cardinals were overwhelmed at the tidings of the fate of

4th of July, and as we learn from *Ghirardacci, Storia di Bologna, iii. (Cod. 768 of the University Library at Bologna), a courier at that time took four days to reach Rome from Bologna. Accordingly the tidings could not be at Rome till the 8th July. This accords with the following *note from Cardinal Scarampo to Honorato Gaetani: "Magn. domine, compater noster car^me^ post salutem. Mandamo el vilano nostro famiglio alla M.V. con la presente al quale havimo comesso vi dicha alchune cose da parte nostra. Donateli fede come a noy. Insuper e gionte altre lettere per le quale havimo certa la infelicita di Constantinopoli. El Sig. Sigismondo Malatesta ha corso el terreno Fiorentino come loro inimico. Altro non ecc. In S. Paulo apud Albanum die x. Julii, 1453." Original in the Gaetani Archives, Rome.

* See Appendix, no. 18, and *letter from Nicolaus Soderinus, d.d. Janue, 1453, Jul. 11. Cl. x., dist. 2, n. 22, f. 259. State Archives at Florence. *Æneas Sylvius also wrote from Graz to Stephanus de Novaria on the 12th July, 1453: "Hic habentur nova horribilia de perditione Constantinopolis quæ utinam falsa sint." Original draft in Cod. lat. 3389, f. 123b, of the Court Library at Vienna.

† *Cardinal d'Estouteville to Francesco Sforza, Rome, 1453, July 19. Original in State Archives at Milan.

‡ Cribellus, 56.

Constantinople.* The dominant feeling, however, in the mind of Nicholas V. and throughout the West was rather apprehension of further advances of the infidels than pity for the Greeks, who, by their dishonesty in regard of the Union and by the hatred which they never failed to manifest for the Latins had alienated the sympathy of the rest of Christendom.† Moreover, the rich Greeks had been as unwilling to make material sacrifices for the defence of their metropolis as they were to put aside their animosity. The well-informed chronicle of Bologna expressly attributes the fall of Constantinople to their avarice in not furnishing money for the payment of the troops, and St. Antoninus of Florence declares that in the year 1453, the Pope was extremely indignant at their again beseeching the impoverished Italians to give them pecuniary aid, although themselves possessed of hoards of wealth which would have amply sufficed to pay for troops.‡

The Pope's first measure on hearing of the calamity was to despatch legates to the different Italian powers in order

* Infessura, 1136. Niccola della Tuccia, 230. Cribellus, 56. Simonetta, 645. Platina, 719. *"Da Rome ce e che N^lo Sig^re et li cardinali stano molto smariti e vergognosi del caso de Constantinopoli et che perho dicono volere mandare ambax^rt a tuti li Signori e potentie d'Ytalia ad confortargli a pace e presto dio mostrara miraculi se questo fano." Original despatch from Nicodemus to Francesco Sforza, dated Florence, 1453, July 13. Pot. Est. State Archives at Milan.

† Kayser, 227.

‡ According to this author (Chronicon, l. 22, c. 13, § 14), when the Turks conquered Constantinople they found an immense amount of treasure, which, if it had been spent in the defence of the city, would have sufficed to avert its destruction. The passage in the Cronica di Bologna is at p. 701. See also B. Poggio in Baluze, Miscell., iii., 278. Phrantzes (Migne, clvi.) also says (iii., c. 9) that the Greeks concealed their treasures. See Hefele, Wiedervereinigung, 219; Frommann, 229, and Kayser, 219, 222.

to put an end to the internecine wars which raged amongst them. The excellent Cardinal Capranica accordingly left Rome for Naples on the 18th of July, and two days later Cardinal Carvajal started on his mission to Florence, Venice, and the camp of the Duke of Milan.* Nicholas V. also ordered five triremes to be equipped at Venice at his expense (the cost amounted to seventeen thousand three hundred and fifty-two Venetian gold ducats); and the Genoese, Angelo Ambrogini was sent with three galleys to the Greek waters. He found the Mediterranean already swarming with Turkish ships, and had great difficulty in making his escape.†

On the 30th September the Pope addressed a Bull of Crusade to Christendom in general. In it he declared Sultan Mahomet to be a forerunner of anti-Christ, and to restrain his diabolical arrogance called upon all

* Simonetta, 645; Ist. Bresc., 882 *et seq.*, and **Letter from Cardinal d'Estouteville to Francesco Sforza, dated Rome, 1453, July 19th. State Archives at Milan. Regarding Capranica's journey to Naples see Catalanus, 98-99; Arch. st. Neapol., vi., 420-422, and a *Letter from Cardinal Scarampo to Honorato Gaetani, d.d. in S. Paulo apud Albanum, 1453, Jul. 18, hora 18: "Vi notificamo como questa mattina passate le tredeci hore Mons. di Fermo prefato se partito da Roma accompagniato fino alla porta da tutti li cardinali secondo lusanza de li legati et esserne venuto a Marino et serebbe questa sera venuto con noy ad Albano, ma lora farda lo ha revocato. Noy a questora siamo gionti passate le xvii. hore. Domane al mattino epso Mons. venira a Sermonetta ad allogiare con la S^ria^ V^ra^, perce questa notte dormira a Marino." Original in the Gaetani Archives, Rome.

† Niccola della Tuccia, 230. Sanudo, 1151. Zorzi Dolfin, Chronik. (see *supra*, p. 272, note *) p. 38. Guglielmotti, ii., 199. For the cost of the five triremes see Kayser, 228, who estimates the amount spent by the Pope at more than sixty thousand ducats, in which case he contributed more liberally than any other power concerned.

Christian princes to defend the faith with their lives and their money, reminding them of their Coronation Oath. A plenary Indulgence was granted to everyone who should for six months, from the 1st February of the following year (1454), personally take part in the holy war, or send a substitute. Every warrior was, as in former times, to wear the cross on his shoulder. The Church aided the cause by contributing money. The Apostolic exchequer devoted to the Crusade all the revenues which it received from greater or smaller benefices, from archbishoprics, bishoprics, convents, and abbeys. The cardinals and all the officials of the Roman Court were to give the tenth part of their whole income, and anyone who should be guilty of fraud or fail to pay this tenth was to be excommunicated and deprived of his post. A tithe was also imposed on Christendom at large under pain of excommunication, and anyone who should treacherously provide the infidels with arms, provisions, or materials of war was to be severely punished. Furthermore, that the undertaking might not in any way be hindered, the Pope, acting under the authority of Almighty God, determined and commanded that there should be peace throughout the Christian world. Prelates and dignitaries of the Church were authorized to mediate between contending parties, and, if possible, effect a reconciliation. In any case a truce was to be concluded. The refractory were to be punished by excommunication, or, in the case of whole communities proving obstinate, by interdict.* "Western

* See Raynaldus ad an. 1453, N. 9-11 ; Zinkeisen, ii., 42, and Georgius, 139. See *Despatch of Antonio da Pistoja to Fr. Sforza of the 10th September, 1453, in Appendix No. 20 from the original in the Ambrosian Library. For an account of the preachers of the Crusade sent forth by the Pope, see Wadding ad an. 1453, and Georgius, 141 *et seq.* The correspondence between Nicholas V. and the Sultan (see Quirini, Diatriba, p. DIV-DVI ; Tosti, Volga-

Europe," to quote the words of the historian of Bohemia, "now witnessed a renewal of the scenes which had taken place at the beginning of the Hussite war. Missioners were preaching, distributing crosses and indulgences, collecting tithes, holding popular assemblies, and promoting warlike preparations, but the indifference was greater, and the results smaller than they had previously been, for the institutions and symbols which had once been able to inflame the world with ardent zeal in the cause of the Holy Sepulchre and the Promised Land had now but little power over men's minds."* The states of Europe were too much divided and too much occupied with their own internal affairs to rise up and unite in resisting the Turk. The great political unity of the Middle Ages was broken, Christendom as a corporate body had ceased to exist. Clear-sighted contemporaries were fully alive to the melancholy fact. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini bitterly complained that Christendom had no longer a head who could command general obedience. "People," he says, "neither give to the Pope what is the Pope's, nor to the Emperor what is the Emperor's. Respect and obedience are nowhere to be found. Pope and Emperor are considered as nothing but proud titles and splendid figure-heads. Each State has its particular Prince, and each Prince his particular interest. What eloquence could avail to unite so many discordant and hostile powers under one banner? And if they were assembled in arms, who

rizzamento di' maestro Donato da Casentino dell' opera di m. Boccaccio, De claris mulierib. (Milano, 1841), and Christophe, i., 491-495, is not, in my opinion, genuine. I hope to revert to this subject on another occasion, and meanwhile will only observe that my researches have failed to discover originals (resp. drafts) of these letters in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* Palacky, iv., 1, 374.

would venture to assume the general command? What tactics are to be followed? What discipline is to prevail? How is obedience to be secured? Who is to be the shepherd of this flock of nations? Who understands the many utterly different languages, and is able to control and guide the varying manners and characters? What mortal could reconcile the English with the French, the Genoese with the men of Aragon? If a small number go to the Holy War they will be overpowered by the infidel, and if great hosts proceed together, their own hatred and confusions will be their ruin. There is difficulty everywhere. Only look at the state of Christendom."* Under these circumstances Hungary, whose danger was the most imminent, had to undertake alone the war with the terrible enemy.

The decision arrived at by the Parliament assembled at Buda in January, 1454, corresponded to the urgency of the case. The celebrated Hunyadi was chosen General for a year, and a summons was issued declaring that not merely the landed proprietors, great and small, but also the Prelates were bound to perform military service. Nobles who, without adequate cause, should leave the camp were to be punished by the confiscation of their property, and commoners by death. Nevertheless, Hunyadi could not but see that his army was far too weak to gain complete success.†

After Hungary the Republic of Venice was undoubtedly the power exposed to greatest danger. The Sultan had offered her a direct insult by causing the Venetian Bailo at Constantinople to be executed, and imprisoning upwards of five hundred Venetian subjects. Added to this was the serious loss of merchandise, estimated by Sanudo at two

* Æneas Sylv., Ep. 127. See Zinkeisen, ii., 49 *et seq.*

† Fessler-Klein, ii., 546; Szalay, iii., 1, 154; Zinkeisen, ii., 71-76.

hundred thousand ducats. Immediately on receiving tidings of the fall of Constantinople, Cardinal Bessarion had addressed an urgent letter to Francesco Foscari, the Doge, calling upon him to defend the cause of Christendom.* If we may credit Filelfo the appeal was not in vain. He says that the Doge made an impressive speech, declaring that no time was to be lost, but that hostilities with the Turks ought at once to be commenced in order to avenge the affronts offered to the Republic at Constantinople.†

During the consultations at Venice, however, the opinion that every effort should be made to arrive at some kind of understanding with the Sultan prevailed. The threatening attitude of Milan, solicitude for the five hundred captives, the increasing financial difficulties of the Republic and the mercantile interests which overruled everything, all tended to confirm this decision. The merchants well knew what the fall of Constantinople implied; they were perfectly aware that their rich possessions in the East were in the most serious danger, and that the Italian Peninsula itself might next be imperilled.‡ Yet, with their usual

* Bessarion's letter, dated Bologna, 1453, July 13, is published by Muratori, Script., xxv., 35-38. It is strange that Vast (Bessarion, 194) should nevertheless write: "Enfin il n'est question nulle part de la lettre manuscrite de Bessarion à Fr. Foscari" (Bibl. nat. MSS. lat., 3127); and 211: "La lettre de Bessarion n'a jamais été publiée." Nevertheless Vast prints it (454-456) from the aforesaid MSS.

† This account is to be found in a letter of Filelfo's of the 1st August, 1453, addressed to a relation of the Doge's. See Zinkeisen, ii., 19. The words "*fertur* consuluisse" are used. Venetian authorities, as far as I have seen, are ignorant of this discourse.

‡ *Letter of the Republic of Venice, of July 8th, 1453, to the Archbishop of Ragusa (archiepiscopo Ragusien., legato apostolico, qui ad nos se contulit): "Consideramus etiam, quod civitates et loca nostra Gretie et illarum partium nostrarum, que ab annis C C

short-sighted egotism, their first thought was to save anything that might at this critical moment be saved, to gain an undue advantage over all other naval powers by securing the favour of the Porte, and to maintain their mercantile importance at the high point which it had reached before the catastrophe at Constantinople.*

We cannot, therefore, be surprised to find that the words of the Papal Legate fell upon deaf ears. Instead of beginning the holy war, the Signoria recognized the peace which formally existed with the Sultan, and employed Bartolomeo Marcello to open negotiations for the release of the captive Venetians and the renewal of friendly relations with the Porte, and also to prepare the way for the conclusion of a commercial treaty. Jacopo Loredano was in the meantime sent with twelve galleys to protect Negroponte.†

Marcello was successful in his mission, and on the 18th April, 1454, concluded a treaty with the ruler of the infidels, which served as a basis for all subsequent relations between Venice and the Porte.‡ The first paragraph of this shame-

citra ut ita dixerimus in pace vixerunt, nec fortificate nec munite sunt per modum quod in magno et evidenti periculo constitute sunt. Et si quod absit amitterentur, non est dubium quod valde habiliter ac commodissime absque alia contradictione hostis iste crucis cum potentia sua in Apuliam se transfretare posset." Senatus Secreta, xix., f. 205. State Archives in Venice.

* Zinkeisen, ii., 21.

† Hertzberg (Griechenland, ii., 554) observes that Venice lacked alike the power and the inclination to strike a great blow. Her action was confined to the occupation of the islands belonging to the ruined Empire of the Palæologi, with the exception of Lemnos; see Hopf, *loc. cit.*

‡ The words of the treaty are given in Romanin, iv., 528 *et seq.* See Hopf, Griechenland, 116; Sanudo, 1154-1158, and Marin, vii., 283-287. A faulty translation is printed by Daru (ii., 394 *et seq.*), a much better one, which is further corrected by Heyd (ii., 317),

ful compact runs as follows:—"Between Sultan Mahomet and the Signoria of Venice, including all its present and future possessions, as far as the banner of St. Mark floats, henceforth, as formerly, there is peace and friendship." Another article expressly lays down that Venice shall not in any way, by ships, weapons, provisions, or money, support the Sultan's enemies in their undertakings against the Turkish kingdom. "And thus," indignantly exclaims the historian of Turkey, "the Republic of Venice was the first Christian power which, after the fall of Constantinople, neglected all other considerations, and, simply for its own advantage, entered into a treaty of peace with the Sultan, and secured for itself freedom of commerce throughout the whole Turkish Empire and the right of employing its own representatives to look after the interests of its subjects settled there.*

It cannot be said that the Signoria was unconscious of the shameful nature of this proceeding, for, before the conclusion of peace with the Sultan, it addressed a somewhat confused letter of apology to Nicholas V.†

The Republic of Genoa, which, next to Venice, was the

by Zinkeisen (ii., 33-37). Regarding Marcello's mission, see also Vast, Bessarion, 217, note 5. Romanin, iv., 260 *et seq.* Barbaro, Giornale dell' assedio, ed. Cornet., Appendix 74 *et seq.* Kayser, 227.

* Zinkeisen, ii., 37. The perilous charge of Bailo of the Republic of Venice at Constantinople was entrusted to Bartolomeo Marcello. On the 16th August, 1454, Venice sent him his credentials to the Sultan. *Commissio Barthol. Marcello ituro Baiulo Constantinopol., Sen. Secr., xx., f. 29-30b. State Archives at Venice.

† Venice to the Pope, 1453, December 15th. Senatus Secreta, xix., f. 228b. State Archives at Venice. (According to Kayser, 227, this is printed in Cornet's publication, to which I am unable at this moment to refer.)

naval power of Italy most interested in Eastern affairs, also endeavoured to enter into friendly alliance with the Sultan. The tidings of the fall of Constantinople had caused unexampled alarm and discouragement amongst her inhabitants, and here, as elsewhere, many had clung to the hope that they were false.* It was at once decided in Council that all available ships should be made ready, that ambassadors should immediately go to King Alfonso, and that if the terrible report were confirmed, an envoy should be sent to all States of Christendom to bring about a general peace, inasmuch as the loss of the whole of the Levant and of the Archipelago appeared in such a case to be imminent.†

But these good resolutions ended the matter, and the Genoese, weakened by internal dissensions and by the war with Naples, took no decisive step; indeed, in their utter helplessness and despondency they would have nothing more to do with their possessions on the Black Sea, and on the 15th November, 1453, made them over by a formal contract to the Bank of St. George.‡ This great financial

* *Despatch of Nicholas Soderinus to Florence, d.d. Janue, 1453, Jul. 11. A post messenger from Venice, who met a courier from Naples at Sestri, brought news of the "perdita di Constantinopoli et Pera et navi et altre cose. Mandovene la copia perche possiate meglio giudicare quello che possi esser seguitato che variando queste novelle quanto ellanno variato et essendo tanto tempo et non avendo altro aviso che per la via di Vinegia et essende quelle terre benissime proviste pare impossibile a molti qua chelle terre possino essene perdute; pure se ne sta qua con grande passione. Idio aiuti la christianita." Cl. x., dist. 2, N. 22, f. 259. State Archives at Florence.

† *Despatch of Nicholas Soderinus to Florence, dated Genoa, 1453, July 8th. State Archives at Florence; see Appendix No. 18.

‡ The contract is to be found in Vigna, i., 32-43. The instructions to her Ambassadors at the Porte, March, 1454, see Atti della Soc. Lig., xiii., 261 *et seq.*, Heyd., ii., 314 *et seq.*, bear witness to

company, which by its immense pecuniary resources, the well-known rectitude and solidity of its administration, its considerable landed possessions, and its widely extended foreign connections, had acquired the position of a State within the State, seemed alone able to accomplish that which the exhausted Republic could no longer undertake.* But even the Bank of St. George was unable to prevent Caffa, the chief emporium on the Black Sea, from becoming tributary to the Porte.†

The cause of the crusade found no better support from King Alfonso of Naples than from the Republics of Venice and Genoa. This crafty politician was, indeed, lavish of fair words, and in the spring of 1454 he seemed ready to come forward as the champion of Italy and the avenger of the terrible disgrace which the conquest of Constantinople had brought upon Christendom. By his example, he wrote to the Cardinals, he hoped to incite the other Christian princes to an expedition which should drive the Turks completely out of Europe. But his professions were not followed by action. He cared for nothing but his own

the complete helplessness of Genoa, as does the literature regarding the Bank of St. George, which Leo (Gesch. Ital., iii., 538) has compared to the English East India Company. The Bank was founded in 1407, and continued till the time of the French (1797). Its former seat, at the southern end of the Harbour Road at Genoa, now serves as the Custom House. The old hall and court of the building still contain statues of men who rendered valuable service to the Bank. In the autumn of 1883, when I visited this venerable memorial of Genoese greatness, it was in a very neglected condition.

* The Republic was not at this time in a condition to afford from its own resources the eight thousand pounds which seemed required for the conciliatory Embassy to be sent to the Sultan. Vigna, i., 6, 21-23 (Heyd, ii., 383).

† As early as 1454. See Heyd, ii., 389.

exaltation and that of his dynasty, and never struck a single blow for the defence of Christendom.*

The conduct of the Duke of Milan was equally unworthy. Delighted to see his enemies, the Venetians, fully occupied by Eastern affairs he caused his troops to advance into the territory of Brescia. This circumstance must be taken into account in extenuation of the attitude of the Venetian Republic.†

The Republic of Florence, allied as it was with the Duke of Milan in opposition to Venice and Naples, shared his sentiments. From reliable sources we learn the almost incredible fact that in the blind hatred of Venice the Florentines viewed the terrible blow dealt to the Christian cause in the East with satisfaction. Nicodemus of Pontremoli, Francesco Sforza's Ambassador to Florence, when announcing the disaster, wrote: "I also wish that it may go ill with the Venetians, but not in this manner to the detriment of the Christian faith. I doubt not that your feeling is the same. Would to God that Pope Nicholas had built less and had believed me! How often have I told him that, besides its other innumerable advantages, the pacification of Italy would greatly tend to the honour of His Holiness." ‡

While the Italians, to quote the words of a contemporary chronicler, were thus tearing each other to pieces like dogs,§ most of the other Western States held aloof from

* Voigt in Sybel's histor. Zeitschr., iii., 34-35. Zinkeisen, ii. 46, note. Even in October, 1453, Alfonso had, of course only in words, offered himself to the Pope for the complete expulsion of the Turks. See *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1453, October 9. State Archives at Milan, Cart. gen.

† Regarding Sforza, see Simonetta, 645.

‡ *Despatch of Nicodemus of Pontremoli to Fr. Sforza, dated 1453, July 7. State Archives at Milan, Cart. gen.

§ Niccola della Tuccia, 222.

the proposed crusade. None of them, indeed, openly refused assistance; on the contrary, all the princes formally professed themselves ready to take part in the expulsion of the Turks from Europe,* but when it came to the point not one was prepared to act. Æneas Sylvius openly admits that nothing was to be expected from the northern kingdoms. England was a prey to perpetual civil wars, and Nicholas V. vainly endeavoured to restore her to peace and unity.† We shall have to relate the utter failure of the crusading projects of the powerful Duke Philip of Burgundy, ‡ and all through the great kingdom of France the Pope's summons was almost unheeded. The French King, Charles VII., had not even deigned to answer Filelfo, who, before the fall of Constantinople, submitted to him the plan of an expedition.§ The Emperor Frederick III., who,

* Christian, King of Denmark and Norway, declared the Turk to be the beast rising out of the sea, spoken of in the Apocalypse, and called God to witness that he would willingly join in the war. Histor. Zeitschr., iii., 35.

† Zinkeisen, ii., 46, 50-51.

‡ For an account of the remarkable festival at Lille, in 1454, when Philip made a vow to take the cross, see N. Arenst, Beschreibung der Festfeier, etc. (Trier, 1868). The *Pope's letters to the Duke, *e.g.*, that dated v. Id. Jan., 1454, P. A° 8° [Regest., 402, f. 196b. Secret Archives of the Vatican], show that he hoped much from Philip, whom he styles in the * Bull "Nuper cum," d.d. Rome, 1454, vi., Id. Mart. P. A° 8° "fidei ferocissimus athleta et intrepidus pugil contra turpissimi hostis huiusmodi conatus." Cod. cit., f. 43.

§ Zinkeisen, ii., 45. Bishop Zanon of Bayeux appealed to the King as well as to the Emperor Frederick on the subject of the war with the Turks. In the National Library, Paris, Cod. lat. 3127, f. 194b-199, I found this: * "Epistola Zanoni episcopi Baiocen. ad sereniss. Francorum regem exhortatoria ad christianitatem tutandam." In this letter, which as far as I know is still unpublished, the necessity of counter-preparations is urgently insisted on.

according to the medieval view, was above all other princes bound to defend the Christian cause, was not, as the following pages will show, the man to make up his mind to such an undertaking. Portugal was perhaps the only power, with the exception of Hungary, which made serious preparations for war against the infidels. Its King, Alfonso, promised to maintain twelve thousand soldiers at his own expense for a year, and at a considerable cost and amid many complaints from his people made ready for action, but obstacles of various kinds made it impossible for him to accomplish his purpose.*

The words which Æneas Sylvius had written to the Pope were but too true; discord was rampant in Europe, and the different nations hardly ventured to move against the common foe of Christendom. Moreover, the tranquillity of the past months had persuaded them that the danger which threatened from the East was not so imminent as it had seemed in the first shock of the catastrophe.† The Papal summons to the Holy War failed to evoke a sympathetic response throughout Europe, and it became evident that the bond which in the great medieval ages held princes and peoples together had grown slack.

"Ne hec nostra christiana religio tuis temporibus et te superstite tota labatur et pereat." The Bishop, in moving words, seeks to stir up the King, "ad repellendam et expugnandam sacrilegam feritatem huius atrocissimi tiranni et cruentissimi carnificis."

* Schäfer, Gesch. Portugals, ii., 477-479. On the relations of Nicholas V. with Alfonso of Portugal, see Georgius, 145, and Markgraf, Sklaverei, 187.

† Zinkeisen, ii., 45.

CHAPTER IV.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE IN ITALY—THE CRUSADE IN GERMANY — SICKNESS AND DEATH OF THE POPE.

WHILE consultations were being held throughout Western Christendom as to the means of repelling Turkish aggression, a cause for which no one was ready to make any real sacrifice, envoys arrived from Cyprus and Rhodes. They implored assistance,* bearing witness to the magnitude of the peril which threatened Europe, and unanimously asserting that no cessation of Turkish hostilities was to be expected.† These envoys were accompanied by Cardinal Isidore of Russia, some Franciscans of Bologna, and a few other Italians, who had escaped from the massacre at Constantinople or from bondage among the infidels. The Cardinal, more fortunate than Cesarini, had escaped the terrible massacre which followed the victory of the Turks, by dressing a corpse in his own clothes and taking those of the dead man. Unrecognized in this disguise, he had been captured and sold as a slave, but at length

* They arrived in Rome in November, 1453. Details are given by Niccola della Tuccia, 229 *et seq.* Regarding the Embassy from Cyprus to Florence, see the Florentines' Letter to Nicholas V. of the 19th September, 1453, in L. de Mas. Latrie, Hist. de Chypre (Paris, 1855), iii., 72-73.

† In the summer of 1454 a Turkish fleet of fifty-six vessels proceeded to the Black Sea, took Moncastro, surprised Sebastopolis, reconnoitred Caffa, and laid waste the defenceless district of Gothia. Heyd., ii., 382-383.

succeeded in making his escape, at first at the Peloponesus, and thence to Venice, where he arrived in the end of November, 1453, as one returned from the dead.* He and the Franciscans were the first to make known the full details of the catastrophe of the 29th May, 1453.

Cardinal Isidore gave a terrible account of the cruelties practised by the Turks, and declared that they were determined to conquer Italy. The danger was, he believed, imminent, and the necessity for the union of Christians imperative. He thought the forces at the Sultan's command more numerous than those of Cæsar, Alexander, or any other conqueror, and the pecuniary resources at his disposal to be equally enormous. The Turkish fleet already consisted of two hundred and thirty ships, the cavalry was thirty thousand strong, and there seemed to be no limit to the numbers by which the infantry might be increased. Calabria would probably be the spot selected for the first incursion of the infidels, and it was possible that Venice might also be attacked. According to the report of the Sienese ambassador in Venice, the Cardinal was firmly persuaded that unless within six months peace was restored another year and half would see the Turks in Italy.†

* Cronica di Bologna, 701, and *Despatch of Leonardo de' Benvoglienti, Sienese Ambassador to Venice, dated November 22, 1453. Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives at Siena. Regarding the Franciscans who were taken captive at Constantinople, and for whose liberation the Pope exerted himself, see * Nicholaus V. universis Christifidelibus "Ad ea libenter," d.d. Romæ, 1453, viii.; Id. Oct. Pont. anno vii.; Regest., 401, f. 47b. Secret Archives of the Vatican, Appendix No. 22.

† The principal portions of this *Despatch of Leonardo de' Benvoglienti regarding the "Cardinale di Rossia" are as follows: "Et molto piu potente essere li pare (the Sultan) che Cesare, Alexandro o alcuno altro principe mai quale abbia haspirato al

It was evident that serious measures against the Turks could not be contemplated until concord had been re-established in the Italian peninsula, and accordingly Nicholas summoned the ambassadors of all the Italian powers to a Peace Congress in Rome. The matter was pressing, and the Pope's messengers were despatched in all haste towards the close of September.* About a month later the ambassadors began to appear in the Eternal City. On the 24th of October, 1453, envoys from the Republic of Florence and Venice arrived; the latter were specially

dominio del mondo. Et infra laltre cose questo cardinale dice chel Turcho atanto tesoro che forse di nissun altro principe lesse mai avere tanto oro coniato quanto costui. Dugento trenta legni dice avere in acqua, ma poterne fare facilmente quella quantita che vuole; xxx^{m} cavalli a al presente in exercito et molti a pie, ma potere congregare et cosi intende quella quantita che vorra, si che lexercito suo ara potentissimo per mare et per terra et che intende presto venire in Italia." . . . "Narra etiando questo rev^{mo} Sig^{re} che per tutti li luoghi principali e per tutte citta in ne piu alti e eminenti luoghi sette volte fra di et notte si fa preghi a dio che metta ghuerra, divisione et discordia infra christiani in nela quale el Turcho molto si confida." The same Despatch says that the Cardinal intended to go to Rome to incite the Pope to the Holy War. State Archives at Siena, *loc. cit.* Cardinal Isidore lamented over the misfortunes of Constantinople in an "Epistola lugubris," which is still preserved; Raynaldus ad an. 1453, N. 5, gives it in part, and Reusner has published it among the Epist. Turcic., l. iv. (Francof., 1598).

* *Letter from Cardinal d'Estouteville to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1453, Sept. 17. State Archives at Milan, Pot. Est.; see Appendix, No. 21. See *Despatch of "Bernardus de Juniis" and "Johannotius de Pictis" (for the sake of brevity I henceforth designate them the Florentine ambassadors), dated Rome, 1453, Nov. 23. Cl. x., dist. 2, No. 20, f. 239b. State Archives at Florence.

charged to excuse the Signoria for their negotiations with the Turks.*

The Duke of Milan, who believed that the Venetians were merely endeavouring to gain time for fresh warlike preparations, reluctantly resolved to take part in the Congress. The delay of his ambassadors created a most unfavourable impression in Rome, and the Pope and his cardinals bitterly complained of Francesco Sforza. On the 10th November the long-expected envoys at length arrived,† and business accordingly could begin. The despatches which have come down to us regarding this Congress are unfortunately of a very fragmentary character, and those of the Venetian and Neapolitan envoys are altogether wanting. It is, therefore, impossible to give a clear account of these complicated proceedings,‡ but there

* *Despatch of the Florentine ambassadors, dated Rome, 1453, Oct. 27. *Loc. cit.*, f. 234. State Archives at Florence. The **Instruction to the Venetian ambassadors is in Senatus Secreta, xix., f. 217b-219. State Archives at Venice.

† *Despatches of the Florentine ambassadors, dated Rome, 1453, Nov. 5, 6, and 10. State Archives at Florence, *loc. cit.*, f. 236 *et seq.*

‡ Christopher Moro and Orsato Giustiniani (Simonetta, 665; Sanudo, 1151; see Christoforo a Soldo, 886) were sent by Venice; Bernardo Giugni and Giannozzo Pitti by Florence (see Neri Capponi, 1214), Marino Caracciolo and Michele Riccio by Naples (Facius in Grævius, ix., 3, 177), Giacomo Trivulzio and Sceva de Curte, and afterwards Nicodemus, by Milan. See Fonds Ital., 1586, f. 240 *et seq.* National Library, Paris. The reports of the Florentine ambassadors [State Archives at Florence. Cl. x., dist. 2, N. 20. This reference applies to the quotations which follow] are the most ample which have reached us. The instructions given to the Milanese ambassadors are published in Arch. st. Lomb., 1882, p. 129. Canetta's article, La pace di Lodi (Riv. st. Ital., ii., 516 *et seq.*) is incomplete, as its author was acquainted

can be no doubt that the greatest difficulties arose in the way of a satisfactory settlement. All parties, indeed, were profuse in professions, but when their proposals were brought forward it became evident that the pretensions of each Power were so extravagant as to render the restoration of peace almost hopeless.

King Alfonso of Naples demanded from the Florentines the repayment of the sums which the war had cost him; the latter, far from being disposed to pay anything, called upon the King to deliver up to them Castiglione della Pescaja in the Maremma. The Venetians insisted that Sforza, for whose assassination they had, on the 14th September, 1453, promised a hundred thousand ducats, should restore all his conquests in the territories of Brescia and Bergamo, evacuate Cremona, and consider the banks of the Po and the Adda as the boundary of his States. Sforza, however, instead of making any concession to the Republic of St. Mark, asked that Crema, Bergamo, and Brescia should be restored to him.* He had not the least intention of concluding peace so quickly, and his ambassadors complained of the pretensions of Naples and Venice to rule over Tuscany and Lombardy. Each one of the hostile powers brought violent accusations against his adversary before the Pope. The envoy of the Marquess of Mantua assured Nicholas that Venice, if victorious, would strive to make

only with the documents in the State Archives of Milan, and not with those in the Ambrosian Library and the National Library of Paris.

* See Simonetta, 665-666, who had access to the Milan Archives, and the *Despatches of the Florentine Embassy, *loc. cit.* See Machiavelli, l. 6, and Sismondi, ix., 449, and regarding the Venetian plan of murdering Sforza, Buser, 71. The Florentine ambassadors' Despatch of the 23rd November, 1453, speaks of the complaints of the Milanese. State Archives at Florence, *loc. cit.*, 239b.

the Pope her chaplain, adding that his master would rather fall into the hands of the Turks than into those of the Venetians! *

If anything had been wanting to render a favourable result of the Congress impossible, the deficiency was supplied by Nicholas. He had already endeavoured secretly to foment the dissensions of the other Italian powers, with the object of diverting hostilities from his own dominions and securing for them alone the blessing of peace,† and to this line of policy he continued to adhere. Impossible as it is to justify the Pope's conduct, we nevertheless take into account the circumstances which partially excuse it. Had the States of the Church been involved in the conflicts of the period, all that he had accomplished at immense cost, and by the labour of years, in the hope of making Rome the centre of art and of learning, would have been undone. This idea took such possession of his mind that all other considerations had to give way. Moreover, the relations which existed between him and King Alfonso of Naples were of a character unfavourable to the success of the Congress. The King did everything in his power to complicate the negotiations and hinder Nicholas from taking any step which might have tended to peace. If we may credit the ambassador of Francesco Sforza, Alfonso, even in the month of July, had threatened to ally himself

* *Despatch of Zacaria Saggio di Pisa to the Marquess Lodovico concerning his audience of Nicholas V., dated Rome, 1454, January 29th: "Et qui gli dissi quanto per me si puote de la dispositione de Venetiani verso santa chiesa, gli quali se vincessero vorriano farsi el papa loro nel consiglio de Venetia nel vorriano per altro che per suo capellano." Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

† See Simonetta, 666; Æn. Sylvius, Europa, c. 56; Manetti, who is above all suspicion, 942-943, and the *Despatch of Nicodemus, d.d. ex urbe, 1452, Nov. 1. Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z., 219, Sup.

with the revolutionary party in Rome in the event of the Pope adopting a policy at variance with his wishes.* The monarch had supporters in the Court, his influence over the timid Pontiff had for years been excessive,† and Nicholas yielded unduly, carrying on the negotiations, as even his eulogist Manetti admits, in a lukewarm and indifferent manner.‡ The state of his health no doubt had much to do with his timidity; at the end of August he was ill, and in December he was confined to his bed with so severe an

* **Despatch of Antonio da Trezzo to Fr. Sforza, d.d. Regii, 1453, Jul. 9, and *Copia litterar. missar. Romam ex Venetiis de die xxiv. Aug., 1453: "De novis da Napoli havemo el Re venire al tutto; stimo pero piutosto chel venira ad invernare a Tiboli per fare paura a N.S. azo non segui la pace." Both letters are in the State Archives at Milan, Pot. Est.

† *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1450, Nov. 4. State Archives at Milan, *loc. cit.* On the 6th June, 1451, Nicodemus, writing to his master from Rome, says, "Il Card. (di) Bologna, Morinens., Fermo et Orsini concludono che N. S^re stia pur troppo volentiere neutrale et e si timido de non despiacere a persona che lassera correre laqua ala valle, max^e per non despiacere al Re." Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z., 219, Sup. Regarding the concessions made to King Alfonso and the favour shown him by Nicholas V., see Giannone, iii., 284. Georgius, 82-83, 90.

‡ Manetti, 943. See the Despatch of the Florentine ambassadors, written from Rome, Dec. 4, 1453 ("Parei che la S^ta di N. S. et questi rev^mi Sig. cardinali vadano molto freddi in su questo fatto del Turcho et intendiamo che tucto procede per non vedere la conclusione di questa pace." State Archives at Florence, *loc. cit.*, f. 241^b), and *Despatch from Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, d.d. ex Aretio, 26 Mart., 1454: "El papa col qual foy longamente da solo a solo . . . me par in fermo proposito de non sententiare pace che habia a dispiacer al Re. Et al Re non po piacer pace de Lombardia o de Toscano perche dubita non gli resulti in guerra." Ambrosian Library at Milan. Cod. Z., 219, Sup. Concerning Alfonso's partisans in the Court, see Poggii, Epist., l. xi., ep. 26 (Tonelli, iii., 95).

attack of gout that for a long time even the Cardinals were not admitted to his presence. After a short period of improvement, the malady returned at the end of January with fresh intensity, and for fully a fortnight Nicholas V. was again unable to grant any audiences.* A secret Consistory, which had been fixed for the 29th January, 1454, had, on account of the Pope's condition, to be held in his bedroom. The reports of the Florentine ambassadors enable us accurately to follow the history of Nicholas's illness. After announcing on the 6th of February that the Pope was again holding receptions, they had, five days later, to say that the gout had returned. In the beginning of March they speak of a fresh attack, and so it went on, for he never again rose from his sick bed.†

* See *infra*, and *Despatches of the Florentine ambassadors from Rome, 1453, Oct. 27: "Et per essere el s^co^ padre colle gotte non se potuto havere audientia prima che questa mattina;" December 12, "La S^ta^ del papa e forte stretto dalle gotte et non da audientia ne a cardinali ne ad altri;" December 15, the sufferings of the Pope have ceased; 1454, January 27, on the 24th the Pope fell sick, "in modo non ha data audienza a persona;" January 31st, the Pope still in bed; February 3, audiences are not granted. State Archives at Florence, *loc. cit.* See *Despatch of Zacaria Saggio to Duke Lodovico de Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1454, January 29. Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

† Despatch from Sceva de Curte and Giacomo Trivulzio to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1454, Jan. 30. State Archives at Milan, Cart. gen.; published in Canetta *loc. cit.*, 527-528.—*Florentine Despatches from Rome of the 7th February ("Yesterday was the first audience given for a fortnight"); 11th February ("Le gotte di nuovo impediscono assai el s. padre"); 2nd March, 1454 ("La S^ta^ sua da due di in qua e molto stretta dalle gotte et non da audientia.") State Archives at Florence, *loc. cit.*—Despatch of Gregorius Nicholai orator to Siena, dated Rome, 1454, April 11th: "S. S^ta^ non sta in molto buona dispositione." Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives at Siena.

Can we wonder that in the midst of such suffering, and oppressed by ceaseless anxieties, he had not sufficient energy for vigorous and determined action?

The Congress finally arrived at the end which had been foreseen. On the 19th March, 1454, the Sienese ambassadors announced to their Republic the utter failure of the negotiations, and on the 24th the Florentine envoys left Rome; the assembly effected nothing, and its members parted in mutual dissatisfaction.*

A simple Augustinian friar, Fra Simonetto of Camerino, accomplished that which the Congress had been unable to effect. The Venetians, whose finances were exhausted, and who were in need of peace, sent him as a secret messenger to Francesco Sforza to treat with him personally and lay fair proposals before him. The unquiet state of Sforza's own camp made him willing to accede to these, and Cosmo de' Medici, who alone was in the secret, favoured the negotiations. He knew that the intolerable burden of taxation was causing increasing discontent among the Florentines, and that there was a general longing for peace throughout the city. Francesco Contarini, the Venetian ambassador to Siena during the years 1454 and 1455, repeatedly informs the Signoria of the general feeling which prevailed at Florence. "The citizens," he writes in April, 1454, "had raised a great outcry against the new taxes, and used strong language against Cosmo and the others who desired war."†

* *Despatch of Franciscus Aringherius orator, dated Rome, 1454, March 19th: "La pratica de la pace secondo m'hanno detto i prefati ambasciatori (of Florence) pare sia in tutto rotta." State Archives at Siena. Concistoro, Lettere ad an. For the departure of the Florentine ambassadors see Cipolla, 483. Canetta, *loc. cit.*, 546.

† Buser, 73. Contarini's Despatch of the 9th April, 1454, in the *Registro delle lettere di M. Francesco Contarini el d. ambrasc.

Fra Simonetto's negotiations were brought to a conclusion at Lodi on the 9th April, 1454, when Sforza agreed to restore to the Venetians all his conquests in the territories of Bergamo and Brescia, with the exception of a few castles, only laying down the condition that those who had espoused his cause should remain unpunished. The Duke of Savoy and the Marquess of Montferrat were, if they desired to share in the benefits of peace, to deliver up the places which they had taken in Novara, Pavia and Alessandria; in the event of their refusal the Duke of Milan held himself free to recover them by force. The Lords of Corregio and the Venetians were to give back to the Marquess of Mantua the part of his territory which they had annexed, and he was to restore to his brother Carlo his inheritance; finally the Castle of Castiglione della Pescaja in Tuscany, which King Alfonso had conquered, was to be retained by him on condition that he should withdraw his army from the rest of the Florentine States. All the Italian powers were called upon to give in their adhesion to the peace within an appointed time if they desired to partake of its benefits.*

a Siena. Cod. It. vii.-mcxcvi. of St. Mark's Library at Venice (not mxcvi., as Buser, 388, has it. In Cod. vii.-mcxcvii. is a fine copy of the preceding Codex, which, however, somewhat alters and modernizes the document). The Codex, which we shall often have to cite, is Contarini's original draft. The despatches here collected are apparently all that remain of the rich treasures which the Venetian Archives once contained regarding the period treated of in the present work. The consecutive series of despatches in these Archives begins with the middle of the sixteenth century, those of a previous date having perished by fire. Their destruction is all the more deplorable, inasmuch as Venice was in those days a political centre second only to Rome, and was peculiarly conversant with all Eastern affairs.

* The treaty is given from the original in the Milan Archives by Dumont, iii., 1, 202 *et seq.* Sanudo (1152) is mistaken in

The peace of Lodi did not at once produce the effects expected by the States, which were longing for tranquillity. Venice and Milan had kept the matter so secret that, with the exception of Florence, no power had been aware of what was going on. Accordingly the announcement that a treaty had been concluded on the 9th April was a surprise to all, and especially to King Alfonso of Naples. He had hitherto imagined that, as the most important of Italian princes, he could at his will impose peace, and now found himself treated as a secondary power, and invited to subscribe to an agreement framed without his knowledge. He expressed his indignation in no measured terms to the Venetian Ambassador, Giovanni Moro, and endeavoured, as it proved, in vain, to hinder his allies, the Sienese, from becoming parties to it.*

On the 30th August Venice, Milan, and Florence entered into a League for five-and-twenty years for the defence of their States against every attack,† but Alfonso, in his anger, held aloof for nearly a year, and tedious negotiations, prolonged by dread of France, ensued. The Pope, who had

assigning the 5th of April as the day of its conclusion. Leonardo de' Benvoglienti, writing from Venice on the 18th April, 1454, says: "La pace fu conclusa in Lodi a di 8 d'Aprile a tre hore di notte." Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives, Siena. See also Ist. Bresc., 887, and Romanin, iv., 225. The document itself bears date the 9th April.

* Facius in Graevius, 178. Arch. stor. Ital., Serie iv., Vol. iii., 184. See *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1454, May 25. State Archives at Milan, Cart. gen.

† The treaty concluded at Venice is in Dumont, iii., 1, 221 *et seq.* The peace of Lodi was published in Florence (see Misc. storica e letteraria edit. c. note per cura di P. B[igazzi], Firenze, 1849, n. 3, p. 32), as well as in Venice on the 14th April, 1454. See *Despatch of Leonardo de' Benvoglienti to Siena, dated Venice, 1454, April 18. Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives, Siena.

at first resented his exclusion from the compact of Lodi, brought these to a happy conclusion by sending Cardinal Capranica, the most distinguished among the members of the Sacred College, to Naples as his legate, with the special mission of persuading Alfonso to join the League.* The Cardinal was successful, and, on the 30th December, 1454, Sforza was informed by his ambassadors at Naples that the King had determined publicly to proclaim peace, and to enter into the alliance on the approaching Feast of the Epiphany. "On the Feast of the Epiphany, when the solemnity of the Three Kings takes place, Alfonso, after the example of those Three Kings who offered Gold, Frankincense, and Myrrh, will bring as an offering to God —first, peace for all Italy; secondly, the League for greater quiet and security; and thirdly, the League against the enemy of Jesus Christ for the defence of our holy Faith. On that day the Papal Legate will celebrate Mass, and this holy Peace, the League and Alliance will be proclaimed, if God permit and your Highness consent."† The peace was, however, actually confirmed by the Neapolitan Monarch on the 26th January, 1455, but with the condition that the Genoese, whose ancient offences Alfonso could not pardon, and Sigismondo Malatesta, who had deceived him, should

* Regarding Capranica's mission, see Niccola della Tuccia, 237; Catalanus, 102 *et seq.*, 230-233; Raynaldus ad an. 1455, N. 5; Georgius, 147, 157. For an account of the negotiations between the Italian powers and Naples, see Buser, 74 *et seq.*, and Guasti, Legazioni, 36-37. In a *Despatch addressed to Venice, and dated Siena, 1454, May 21, Francesco Contarini writes as follows of the Pope's dispositions: "Subinde pur da di marcadanti se ha come esso summo pontefice summamente se ha maravigliato e doluto che fatta le pace per i ambassadori della Cels. V^ra^ el non sia stato richiesto ni a liga ni ad intendimento alguno." Cod. It. vii.-mcxcvi., St. Mark's Library, Venice.

† Buser, 77.

be excluded from it.* By a further compact the Pope, Naples, Florence, Venice, and Milan bound themselves by an offensive and defensive alliance for five-and-twenty years. The Pope ratified this great Italian League on the 25th February, 1455, and it was solemnly published in Rome on the 2nd March. The happy event was celebrated with splendid festivities by the command of Nicholas V. in that City and throughout the States of the Church.†

There was good cause for these rejoicings, for now Italy might be considered as at peace, and the peace seemed likely to prove permanent. In Upper Italy, Milan and Venice, and in Lower Italy the Pope and the King of Naples counterbalanced each other. Florence was determined to maintain the political equilibrium, and never to join those who evidently desired to impair it. The eyes of all were anxiously turned towards the East. Many of the lesser princes were ardently devoted to the interests of art and learning, and the rest, if not exempt from the vices of tyrants, were at least capable of appreciating the general intellectual revival which distinguished the age. Venice,

* Dumont, iii., 1, 234 *et seq.*; Sismondi, ix., 454 *et seq.*; Romanin, iv., 226. Regarding the adherence of the several Italian States to the Peace of Lodi, see Cipolla, 445 *et seq.*

† **Despatches of the Milanese ambassadors to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1455, March 2 and 7. State Archives at Milan, Pot. Est. Infessura's date in Muratori (1156) is accordingly incorrect (the Latin version of his Diarium, which I found in a seventeenth century transcript in Cod. xxxv., 37, f. 183 of the Barberini Library, Rome, *Cod. Vat. 5522 [Infessura], and the version in Eccard [ii., 1889] give "die 2 Martii," the real date). The proclamation took place on the 8th March at Viterbo; see Niccola della Tuccia, 237-238 (where the form used is given). The Papal ratification, dated Rome, 1455, February 25th, is in Theiner, Cod. dipl., iii., 378 *et seq.* (Raynaldus ad an. 1455, N. 5, has a wrong date).

Genoa, and Florence, with their rich commerce, were naturally averse to the continuance of war. Accordingly with Fra Simonetto's peace begins the most flourishing period of the Italian Renaissance. King Alfonso, Duke Francesco Sforza, Cosmo de' Medici and the Republic of Venice, together with Pope Nicholas V., constituted the intellectual aristocracy of Italy, and the lesser princes followed them.*

While the negotiations for the pacification of Italy were thus successful, the deliberations which took place in the Holy Roman Empire in 1454 and 1455 regarding the means of defending Europe from the Turk came to little good. It soon became sadly evident that the solidarity of Christendom as opposed to Islam had ceased to exist.

Frederick III. had summoned a great diet to meet at Ratisbon on St. George's Day (23rd April), 1454, "to deliberate concerning the defensive and offensive measures to be taken against the enemies of Christ in order that these should be punished, the sufferings of the martyrs avenged, the friends of God and Christian men consoled, and the faith upheld in an honourable and suitable manner, since all those who help this cause become partakers of the grace of God in the Papal indulgence for the health of their souls and obtain everlasting life."

Frederick III. promised himself to be present unless prevented by some special hindrance.† The imperial letter of invitation was addressed, not merely to the German States, but to all princes and republics of Christian Europe, so that it was generally supposed that a Congress of Christendom, like the Council of Constance, was about

* Leo, iii., 162. After the peace of Lodi Italy enjoyed three years of perfect tranquillity, broken only by Piccinino's enterprise.

† See the royal letter of invitation to Frankfort of the 12th January, 1454, in Janssen, Reichscorrespondenz, ii., 123-124.

to assemble.* But when the time drew near the disappointment was immense. The Emperor did not come in person, but only sent a representative. The Pope sent Bishop John of Pavia as his legate, and an embassy came from Savoy, but otherwise the Italian powers were unrepresented. The only foreign prince who came to Ratisbon was the Duke of Burgundy, and of all the many princes of Germany none but the Margrave Albert Achilles of Brandenburg and Duke Louis of Bavaria appeared. Stranger still, no one came on behalf of the young King of Bohemia, for whom the help of Christendom had been in a special manner invoked. In February there was a prospect of his presence at the Diet, but intrigues among those about him probably kept him away. In Buda a plan was made for the removal of Hunyadi from the government, in view of his appointment as General of the whole Christian forces against the Turks; but there is no doubt that the real object of this scheme was to keep him at a distance.†

The empire never appeared to less advantage than at this Diet, and the result of the Emperor's appeal was all the more deplorable at a moment when the nation was in a state of anxious and alarmed expectation. The intestine

* Palacky, iv., 1, 374. Voigt, Enea Silvio, ii., 108.

† Voigt, *loc. cit.*, ii., 110. See the *Letter from Æneas Sylvius to the Cardinal of St. Angelo, d.d. ex nova civitate die 14 Febr., 1454. Plut. liv., Cod. 19f, 98b of the Laurentian Library at Florence. Nicholas of Cusa also appeared in Ratisbon. The day of his arrival there is given in an autograph *Letter from Æneas Sylvius to Siena, d.d. ex Ratispona, 1454, Maii 3 ("Heri autem advenerunt plures legati principum et Card^{lis} S. Petri ad vincula. Conventus dietim augetur") which I discovered in the State Archives at Siena (Concistoro, Lettere ad an). In Cod. Z., 219, Suppl., of the Ambrosian Library at Milan I found the autograph of a *Letter from Æneas to "Sceva de Curte s. palatii Lateran comiti."

divisions of Germany, and the weakness of its ruler, were patent to all,* and we cannot wonder that even the fiery eloquence of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini failed to bring the Diet to any important decision. It was merely resolved that peace should be maintained in all countries, and that about Michaelmas another, and, if it pleased God, a more numerous and effective assembly should be held. In the event of the Emperor appearing in person, Nuremberg was selected as the place of meeting, otherwise it was to be Frankfort. The blustering Duke of Burgundy declared that if the other princes would likewise take part in the expedition he would proceed against the Turks with a force of sixty thousand men.† The Diet assembled at Frankfort-on-Maine in October, 1454, was somewhat more

* Bachmann, Römische Königswahl, 286.

† For an account of this Diet, see the detailed and interesting work of Æneas Sylvius, "De Ratisponensi dieta," published by Mansi, Orat. Pii II., Appendix, p. 1-85. Lucca, 1759, and the more modern history of Voigt, ii., 105-118, 330. Also K. Menzel, 8 *et seq.*; Keussen, 53-56; and Cod. epist., 150 *et seq.*, 152 *et seq.* In a *Letter to Siena, d.d. ex nova civitate, 1454, Junii 21, Æneas Sylvius writes of this Diet: "Summa est quod alia dieta indicta est ad festum S. Michaelis. Si Cesar personaliter venerit, erit conventio Norimberge, si minus Francfordie. . . . Dux Burgundie, qui Ratispone fuit, cum sexaginta milibus pugnatorum ex terra sua contra Turchos iturum se pollicetur si concurrentes habeat." Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives at Siena. Notwithstanding the support afforded by Nicholas V., the Duke of Burgundy did nothing to help the Crusade (see Kayser, 230). And yet it was he who had, in 1451, promoted the agitation regarding the Turkish question, not only at Rome, but also at the Court of Frederick III. See *"Tractatus seu propositio domini Petri Visques militis et fratris Nicolai Laqueri ord. præd. inquisit. hæret. pravit. ambasiatorum ill. princ. Philippi ducis Burgundionum ad seren. Romanorum regem Fredericum pro subsidio fidei catholicae contra Thurcum a° d^i 1451. Cod. lat. 4143, f. 49a-52b, in the Court Library at Munich.

numerously attended than that of Ratisbon. Albert of Brandenburg, together with the Margrave of Baden, represented the Emperor; Æneas Sylvius and the Bishop of Gurk appeared as his ambassadors; the Bishop of Pavia, who was engaged in the collection of the ecclesiastical tithes in Germany, was commissioned to act as the Pope's plenipotentiary; Jakob of Trèves and Dietrich of Mayence alone of the German electors were present; Archduke Albert, who arrived after the proceedings had commenced, was the only one of the temporal princes to answer the summons.* A tone of drowsy indifference characterized the Diet. Many of its members openly expressed their aversion to a crusade, and their contempt for Emperor and Pope. Both of these lords, they said, merely want to extort money from us, but they will find themselves mistaken, and learn that we are not so simple as they imagine. The discourses of Capistran and of Æneas Sylvius, and the urgent prayers of the Hungarian envoys, were powerless to evoke any zeal for the common cause of the West.† "The lords had no good will in the matter," says a chronicler. The energy and exertions of the Margrave of Brandenburg alone saved the deliberations of the Diet from complete failure, and at least kept up a "respectable appearance." A German force of thirty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry was to be sent in the following year to assist the Hungarians, but it was necessary that a fleet should at the same time proceed against the Turks from the Italian ports. The fleet was to

* Bachman, Römische Königswahl, 296; Voigt, ii., 120.

† While the Turkish question was the ostensible subject of consideration, the anti-Imperial opposition in Frankfort was occupied with matters of a widely different character, for from this time forth an active agitation, which aimed at nothing less than the destruction of the Monarchy, was set on foot. See Voigt, ii., 120 *et seq.*

be provided by the Pope, the King of Naples, and the Republics of Venice and Genoa, while the Emperor was to come to an agreement with the German princes at Vienna to furnish the land forces. The Diet of Vienna accordingly was the consequence of that of Frankfort, which in its turn had been the result of one held at Ratisbon.* The witty saying of Æneas Sylvius, in the year 1444, that the German Diets could not be accused of sterility, since each was the parent of a new one, was thus again verified.

The Vienna Diet was even more pitiful than its predecessors. "The Empire" was so scantily represented that practically it consisted only of the Emperor himself and the Electoral College. Its leader and ruler was the crafty Jakob of Trèves; he personally represented four electors, and the others were his puppets. They came, commissioned to evade the Turkish question, and to urge on the Emperor their projects of reform;† and, notwithstanding the speeches made by Æneas Sylvius, Capistran and Johannes Vitéz of Zredna,‡ the proxy for King Ladislas, adhered to their purpose. Vexatious explanations ensued,

* Bachmann, Römische Königswahl, 297. For further particulars of the Frankfort Diet, see Palacky, iv., 1, 376; Voigt, 119-132; Droysen, ii., 1, 174 *et seq.*; Menzel, 10 *et seq.*; Keussen, 56 *et seq*; and Cugnoni, 102 *et seq.* (The above-mentioned MS. of the Laurentian Library was apparently not collated by the Editor.) The account of the Diet of 1454 in the Mittheilungen des Frankfurter Geschichts und Alterthumsvereins (v., 529 *et seq.*) is worthless.

† Voigt, ii., 134-135. See Menzel, 14 *et seq*; Keussen, 62 *et seq.*; and Stockheim, i., 1-32. The *Letter of Æneas Sylvius to Nicholas V. of the 21st February from the afore-mentioned Cod. of the Laurentian Library at Florence is given in the Appendix No. 25.

‡ See Joannis Vitéz de Zredna episcopi Varadiensis in Hungaria Orationes in causa expeditionis contra Turcas, ed. Fraknói (Budapestini, 1878), 13 *et seq.*

and the Turkish question remained unsettled. On the 12th April the tidings of the death of Nicholas V. arrived, and were far from unwelcome to this miserable assembly, furnishing, as they did, a decent pretext for the departure of its members, who agreed to put off to the following year further consultations regarding the crusade.

The health of Nicholas V. had always been indifferent. Even as a boy he had dangerous illnesses, and there can be no doubt that the fatigues and privations of his youth, as well as the wearing labours of his maturer years, had told on his weakly constitution. His nervous anxiety about his health is thus easily accounted for. The pressure of work and of care had been greatly increased from the time that he wore the tiara, yet, during the earlier years of his pontificate, he seems to have enjoyed a fair amount of health and to have displayed immense energy.*

In the year 1450 we hear that a sudden and severe illness attacked Nicholas V. at Tolentino, and that his physician, the celebrated Baverio Bonetti of Imola, had no hopes of his life.† Nevertheless, the Pope very soon recovered, but in December of the same year he again fell ill,‡ and

* See *supra*, p. 72, and regarding his illness when a boy, Manetti, 910.

† Vespasiano da Bisticci in Mai, i., 52. Regarding the nature of the malady see Corradini, Annali delle epidemie occorse in Italia, i., 290, and Sforza, 245-246. The aforesaid Baverio Bonetti was a Professor in Bologna in 1480; Haeser (i., 752) considers his "Consilia" (Bonon., 1489, etc.) worthy of note. Marini. Archiatri, i., 145-160, treats at considerable length of the various physicians of this Pope.

‡ The Florentine Ambassador, "Donatus de Donatis doctor" gives details regarding this sickness in his *Despatches from Rome. On January 4th, 1451, he writes that he had not yet seen the Pope "per rispecto alla sua infermita . . . et universalmente da xx di in qua ambasciadori non a data audientia;" 7th January. This

from this time forth he never seems to have been really well. A great change was remarked in his disposition; his former expansiveness gave place to excessive reserve. Francesco Sforza's ambassador, Nicodemus, whom we have often mentioned, wrote, on the 7th January, 1453, to the Duke, that during the previous year an extraordinary change had taken place in the Pope, and that one of its causes was his sickness.*

The year 1453 was in every way a disastrous one to Nicholas V. It opened with Porcaro's conspiracy, and the tidings of the fall of Constantinople arrived when its

evening Donatus was with the Pope, which was difficult "attento non e ancora in buona valetudine;" in a Despatch of the 28th August 1451, Donatus again says that he had had no audience, because the Pope "da mezzanocte in qua" is suffering from violent pain in the side, and on the 30th August: "al papa e continuata la dogla del fianco in modo non a dato audientia a cardinali ne ad alcun altra persona." Cl. x., dist. 2, n. 22; Lettere esterne alla signoria dal 1451 al 1453. State Archives at Florence. See *Letter of the underwriter Johannes to Strasburg, "written at Acquapendente on Thursday after the Christmas Day" (Dec. 30), 1451: "and there it was told us that the Pope had been ill quite a month;" even at present no one is admitted. City Archives at Strasburg, AA, N. 202.

* *Despatch of Nicodemus, d.d. ex urbe 1453, Jan. 7: "Ma ve adverto ancora S^re chel papa da uno anno o 8 mesi in qua e facto solitario fora de modo universalmente cum ognuno, etiam cum li cardinali, etiam cum li piu de li soy, et e tanto mutato de omne costume quanto e dal bianco al roso. La molotia ne e casone, ma molte altre casone ancora de quibus alias." Cart. gen. State Archives at Milan. Regarding the Pope's illness in the year 1452, see *Despatch of Nicodemus, dated Rome, 1452, January 18 ("Et per non ce essere accaduta cosa de importantia et perche N, S^re e stato strecto e agravato da queste soe doglie in modo che non volia se rasonasse se non del male suo, non ho molto frequentato el scrivere da parecchi di in qua.") Cod. Z. 219, Suppl., of the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

course was half run. The account, which says that grief for this event killed Nicholas V., may be an exaggeration,* yet there can be no doubt that the agitation and anxieties, which were its inevitable consequence, must have had a most injurious effect. The Pope had a bad attack of gout soon after Porcaro's conspiracy, and another before the year was over. From the end of August, 1453, until June, 1454, he was, with short intervals, confined to his bed, hardly ever able to give audiences and altogether incapable of taking part in the great feasts of the Church.† In August, 1454, he was again suffering acutely from the gout, and the baths of Viterbo failed to give him any relief. In the early part of November he was afflicted with gout, fever, and other maladies, and the ambassadors contemplated the possibility of his decease.‡ The sickness

* Voigt, ii., 146.

† See *supra*, p. 293. *Despatches of "G. Burghesius juris utriusq. doctor" to Siena, dated Rome, 1453, Sept. 6 and 9 (The Pope for the last twelve days so ill, that the ambassadors of the King of Aragon cannot speak to him), Concistoro, Lettere ad an., State Archives at Siena, and *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1454, June 15. State Archives at Milan, Pot. Est.

‡ *Despatches of the Sienese ambassadors (one of which is signed "A. Clusinus" = Alexius de Cesari, Bishop of Chiusi) from Rome, 1454, Sept. 1st (the Pope is suffering from gout); Sept. 12th (the Pope still in bed). State Archives at Siena. Concistoro, Lettere ad an. See in Appendix No. 23, the Despatch of Ambrosius de Aliprandis of the 5th of September, 1454. For an account of the Pope's journey to the baths see Niccola della Tuccia, 235. A *Despatch from the Bishop of Chiusi to Siena, dated Rome, 1454, Nov. 8th, says: Al papa e ritornato la gotta nella spalla con febre non piccola . . . sarebbe per noi pessima novella se morisse ora." The same ambassador, speaking on the 15th November of an audience given by the Pope, says that being suddenly seized by "il mal di fianco," he was obliged to break it off. State Archives at Siena, *loc cit.* Regarding the Pope's sojourn in Tivoli (1454), see Viola, iii, 81.

which was consuming the Pope's life manifested itself in his countenance, for his brilliantly clear complexion had become yellow and dark brown.*

His physical sufferings were aggravated by disappointment and anxiety. From the beginning of his reign he had attached the greatest importance to the maintenance of peace in the States of the Church, and had been successful in re-establishing it. But from the time of Porcaro's conspiracy serious changes took place. Not only did the revolutionary party gain strength in Rome, but a dangerous agitation prevailed throughout the States of the Church. "The whole of the States of the Church are in commotion," writes Contarini, the Venetian ambassador in Siena, on the 14th May, 1454, "and messengers are sent from all sides, especially from the Marches to Rome." Troops of disbanded soldiers, who had taken part in the war of Lombary, overran the defenceless country. The Pope was soon convinced that many, even among his own people, were unworthy of confidence. The auditor of the governor of the patrimony of St. Peter was imprisoned as a suspicious character.†

Towards the end of the reign of Nicholas V. great

* Manetti, 918-919.

† *Despatch of Francesco Contarini, Venetian ambassador to Siena, dated 1454, May 14th: "Circa le terre e stato del summo pontefice ho per via certissima che tutte sono in trepidacione, e molte hanno mandati suoi messi a Romo et precipue le terre della Marca. . . . In Perosa veramente molti banditi e fuorusciti hanno pur cercato per quello intendo, non che ex certa scientia il sappi, de far novita in quel stato." May 21st: "Del stato della chiesa el par che tutto tremi per algune compagnie se dice farse delle gente superflue de Lombardia per Lorenzo da Montalto, el qual fò di occisori de M. Prencivale di Gateschi per el qual Viterbo se levò a rumore, e ne seguite molte occisioni, e stato preso e mandato in la rocca di Suriano. Item è stato preso per nome del summo pontefice per algune suspicioni l' auditor del rettor del patrimonio nome

troubles broke out in the patrimony and the adjacent portion of Umbria. They originated in a quarrel between the cities of Spoleto and Norcia, in which Count Everso of Anguillara espoused the cause of Spoleto. The Pope, hoping to bring about a reconciliation between the hostile cities, forbade the Count to take part in the contest, and also endeavoured to hinder Spoleto from entering into an alliance with Everso. Neither party, however, heeded the Papal behest, and accordingly Nicholas was constrained to intervene with an armed force. Spoleto submitted, but the Count, aided by the treachery of Angelo Roncone, managed to escape. The Pope punished the traitor with death.* Fresh tumults also occurred in Bologna.

The following spring brought no alleviation to the Pope's sufferings. From the beginning of March he grew daily worse; he was perfectly aware of his state, and, as we learn from the Milanese ambassador in a letter of the 7th March, spoke of the place where he wished to be buried, and seriously prepared for death. On the 15th of the month he received the sacrament of extreme unction; on the previous day he had ordered that briefs should be sent to the chief cities of the States of the Church, requiring them in all things to obey the Cardinals until God should give the Church a new Pope.†

M. Matteo da Camerino." Regarding the troubles in Viterbo see Bussi, 251 *et seq.*, and Contarini's Despatches of the 30th April and 5th June, 1454. Cod. It. vii.-mcxcvi. of St. Mark's Library, Venice.

* See the *Letter of Francesco Contarini to Venice, dated Siena, 1454, October 17th (St. Mark's Library at Venice), and the *Despatch of Nicodemus to Sforza, dated Florence, 1454, October 20th, in Appendix No. 24. Regarding Everso see C. Massimo, Torre Anguillara (Roma, 1847), 13 *et seq.*

† See the briefs of the 14th March to Orvieto in Fumi, 713, and to Bologna, whose original is in the State Archives at Bologna, Arm. Q., l. 3.

With a view of making a good preparation for death Nicholas V. summoned to his presence Niccolò of Tortona and Lorenzo of Mantua, two Carthusians renowned for their learning and sanctity; these holy men were to assist him in his last hours, and accordingly were to remain constantly with him. Vespasiano da Bisticci has given us a minute description of the last days of the Pope.* He tells us that Nicholas was never heard to complain of his acute physical sufferings. Instead of bewailing himself he recited Psalms and besought God to grant him patience and the pardon of his sins. In general his resignation and calm were remarkable. The dying man comforted his friends instead of needing to be comforted by them. Seeing Bishop John of Arras in tears at the foot of his bed he said to him, "My dear John, turn your tears to the Almighty God, whom we serve, and pray to Him humbly and devoutly that He will forgive me my sins; but remember that to-day in Pope Nicholas you see die a true and good friend." But the Pope also passed through moments of deep dejection, in which his terrible bodily sufferings and his anxieties regarding the disturbances in the States of the Church almost overwhelmed him. At such times he would assure the two Carthusian monks that he was the most unhappy man in the world. "Never," he said, "do I see a man cross my threshold who has spoken a true word to me. I am so perplexed with the deceptions of all those who surround me, that were it not for fear of failing in my duty I should long ago have renounced the Papal dignity. Thomas of Sarzana saw more friends in a day than I do in a whole year." And then this Pope, whose reign was

* Mai, Spicil., i., 56-61. See in Appendix Nos. 26 and 27 the accounts gathered from the Archives of Milan and Siena, and from the Library of St. Mark at Venice.

apparently so happy and so glorious, was moved even to tears.*

As Nicholas felt that his last hour was close at hand, his vigorous mind roused itself once more. When the Cardinals had assembled around his dying bed he made the celebrated speech designated by himself as his will.† He began by giving thanks to God for the many benefits conferred upon him, and then, in the manner which has already been related, justified his action in regard to the great amount of building which he had undertaken, adding the request that his work might be completed. He then spoke of his measures for the deliverance of Constantinople, because "complaints had been raised against him by a great many superficial men unacquainted with the circumstances." After a retrospect of his early life and of the principal events of his Pontificate, Nicholas continued: "I have so reformed and so confirmed the Holy Roman Church,

* Mai, *loc. cit.* Janus (201) has turned these words of the Pope's, which may be connected with the impression made by Porcaro's conspiracy, to account in his usual one-sided manner (Zeller, Italie et Renaissance. Nouv. édit., Paris, 1883, i., 26). It is evident from their bearing, that when his condition had become hopeless, Nicholas V. had reason to be dissatisfied with those around him. In a *Despatch, d.d. ex urbe, 1455, 24 Martii hora circa 20, Nicodemus of Pontremoli writes as follows: "El papa heri sera pegioro in modo che tuta nocte e stato e sta in [trans] ito, desparato et abandonato in tutto da li soy. Mess. Pietro da Noxeto heri sera entro in castello Sanctangelo e li sta et stara finche se inzegnara salvarsi cum la fameglia et robba soa. L'altri de casa del papa hanno preso et pigliano hora per hora quel partito per lo quale si credono potersi salvare meglio. A la guardia et cura de N. S^ne^ sono restati solamente quatro soy cubicularii." Pot. Est. State Archives at Milan.

† Manetti, 947 *et seq.* Regarding the authenticity of this discourse, which is also mentioned by Niccola della Tuccia (238), see *supra*, p. 166.

which I found devastated by war and oppressed by debts, that I have eradicated schism and won back her cities and castles. I have not only freed her from her debts, but erected magnificent fortresses for her defence, as, for instance, at Gualdo, Assisi, Fabriano, Città Castellana, at Narni, Orvieto, Spoleto, and Viterbo; I have adorned her with glorious buildings and decked her with pearls and precious stones. I have provided her with costly books and tapestry, with gold and silver vessels, and splendid vestments. And I did not collect all these treasures by grasping avarice and simony. In all things I was liberal, in building, in the purchase of books, in the constant transcription of Latin and Greek manuscripts, and in the remuneration of learned men. All this has been bestowed upon me by the Divine grace, owing to the continued peace of the Church during my Pontificate."* The Pope concluded by exhorting all his hearers to labour for the welfare of the Church, the Bark of St. Peter.

Then Nicholas raised his hands to heaven and said: "Almighty God, give the Holy Church a pastor who will uphold her and make her to increase. I also beseech you and admonish you as urgently as I can to be mindful of me in your prayers to the Most High." Then, with dignity, he raised his right hand and said, in a clear, distinct voice, "*Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus.*" Soon after this Nicholas, whose eyes were to the last fixed on a crucifix, gave back his noble soul to Him whose place he had filled on earth.

"It was long," says Vespasiano da Bisticci, "since any Pope had passed in such manner into eternity. It was wonderful how he retained his perfect senses to the last.

* Manetti, 955-956. Translation of Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 138.

So died Pope Nicholas, the light and the ornament of God's Church and of his age."*

Nicholas V. was laid in St. Peter's, near the grave of his predecessor. The costly monument erected in his honour by Cardinal Calandrini was transferred in the time of St. Pius V. to the Vatican grotto, where some parts of it are still to be seen. Here is also the modest effigy of the great Pope, with the four-cornered white marble urn which contains his mortal remains. His epitaph, composed by Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, is the last by which any Pope was commemorated in verse.

EPITAPH ON NICHOLAS V.†

Hic sita sunt Quinti Nicolai antistitis ossa,
Aurea qui dederat sæcula, Roma, tibi.
Consilio illustris, virtute illustrior omni,
Excoluit doctos, doctior ipse, viros-

* Vespasiano da Bisticci in Mai *loc. cit.* 61. Niccola della Tuccia (238) says that the death of Nicholas V. caused great mourning through all the States of the Church, for the Pope had been: "savio, giusto, benevolo, grazioso, pacifico, caritatevole, elemosiniero, umile, domestico e dotato di tutte le virtù." The Protestant Weber (Weltgeschichte, ix., 722) calls Nicholas V. "one of the noblest among the wearers of the Tiara;" see Burckhardt, i., 3rd ed., 90. His death took place in the night between the 24th and 25th of March (see the passages collected by Sforza [291-292] and the *Despatch of F. Contarini of the 27th March in the Library of St. Mark's at Venice in Appendix No. 28). This will explain the fact that some writers give the 24th and others the 25th March as the day of the Pope's death. Cardinal Nicholas Cusa, in an autograph *notice at the end of Cod. C. 5 (S. Ambrosii epist., etc.) of the Hospital Library at Cues, observes that Nicholas V. died on the Feast of the Annunciation of Our Lady.

† This has often been printed, but in some cases incorrectly, as in Vittorelli, 268-269; Du Chesne, ii., 329-330; Platina, 722; Georgius, 164-165; Faleoni, 492-493; Palatius, 547; Bonanni,

Abstulit errorem quo schisma infecerat orbem,
Restituit mores, mœnia, templa, domos.
Tum Bernardino statuit sua sacra Senensi,
Sancta Jubilei tempora dum celebrat.
Cinxit honore caput Friderici et conjugis aureo,
Res Italas icto fœdere composuit.
Attica Romanæ complura volumina linguæ
Prodidit. Heu! tumulo fundite thura sacro.

55; Bibl. pontif., 167-168; Bzovius, xvii., 135; Ciaconius, ii., Abbild. 965 and 967 (where *urbem* is wrongly inserted); Raynaldus ad an. 1455, N. 16; Manni, 73; Reumont, iii., 1, 528, etc. Correctly in Forcella, vi., 37, and Sforza, 254. Gregorovius (Grabmäler, 93-94) is wrong in believing Maffeo Vegio to be the author of the epitaph. He composed another epitaph, which, however, was not used for the Pope's monument. For the text of the inscription see Ciaconius, 966, and Sforza, 254-255; here and in Cancellieri (De secret.) are further particulars regarding Nicholas's monument.

BOOK III.

CALIXTUS III., THE CHAMPION OF CHRISTENDOM AGAINST ISLAM, 1455-1458.

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION OF CALIXTUS III.—HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE RENAISSANCE—HIS CORONATION AND THE EMBASSIES SENT TO DO HIM HOMAGE.

FROM the beginning of March, 1455, by which time the death of Nicholas V. was looked upon as imminent, the question of the Papal election engaged the attention of all parties in the Eternal City. On the 13th March we find that the Cardinals assembled in the greatest haste to take counsel regarding the situation. "God grant," wrote the Bishop of Chiusi to Siena, "that the election of the Supreme Pastor of the Church may take place in peace and without obstacle, a matter on which grave doubts here prevail."*

These apprehensions were not groundless. Considerable agitation again prevailed in Rome; the republican anti-papal party was astir, and it was fortunate that its gifted and eloquent leader, Porcaro, was no longer among the living. The masses became daily more and more turbulent, and the Cardinals prudently brought troops into the City. On the 24th March Nicodemus of Pontremoli, the Duke of Milan's ambassador, wrote as follows:—"The whole city

* "E rev^m^ cardinali a furia tutti si ragunano a palazzo. A dio piacci si facci el suo vicario el pastore della chiesa con pace e sanza scandalo, la qual cosa molto se ne dubita." Despatch of Alessio de' Cesari, Bishop of Chiusi, to Siena, dated Rome, 1454 (st. fl.), March 13. Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives at Siena.

is in an uproar, and the population are ripe for revolt."* Another element of danger was added by the disturbances in Bologna and Romagna, stirred up by the Venetian Condottiere Jacopo Piccinino and other leaders, like himself thrown out of employment by the peace of Lodi.†

After the death of Nicholas V., which took place in the Vatican in the night between the 24th and 25th of March, the ceremonies usual on such occasions were carried out,‡ and meanwhile the Sacred College laboured unremittingly. Letters were despatched to the rulers of all the cities in the States of the Church, exhorting them as "quiet, peaceable, good and devoted sons of the Church" to persevere in their wonted obedience, and at the same time the necessary preparations were made for the election of a new Pope.§ Everything was duly accomplished, so that on Thursday, April 3rd, the solemn Mass of the Holy Ghost was sung. The preliminaries had been hastened, because the next day was Good Friday. According to custom, a Prelate then delivered a Latin discourse to the Cardinals, exhorting them to give Christendom a worthy Supreme Pastor.‖

* *"Tutta questa citta bolle. Questo populo faria volentiere novita contra le chiericke." *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, d.d. ex urbe 24 Martii, 1455, hora circa 20. State Archives at Milan, Pot. Est.

† *Qua molto si dubita che el mº conte Jac Piccinino non facci grande scandalo alle terre della chiesa o nella marcha o nel ducato o a Bologna." Despatch of the Bishop of Chiusi of 13th March, State Archives at Siena. See the **Instruction from the Florentine ambassadors in Venice, Luigi de' Guicciardini. State Archives at Florence, Cl. x., dist. 1, N. 44, f. 128.

‡ The funeral discourses are in *Cod. Vatic., 3675 and 5815. See Georgius, 164, and *supra*, p. 208, note *.

§ The letter of the Cardinals to Viterbo, dated 25th March, has been incorporated by Niccola della Tuccia (239) in his Chronicle.

‖ See Novaes, Introduz., i., 252 *et seq.*; Phillips, v., 2, 858.

On the morning of the 4th April all the Cardinals present in Rome, preceded by the Papal Cross, went, while the *Veni Creator Spiritus* was sung, "peacefully and with great reverence and piety,"* from St. Peter's to the Chapel of the Vatican, in which the conclave was to be held. The adoration of the Cross customary on Good Friday and the exposition of the Holy Handkerchief had already taken place, and the conclave began that day.† The custody of the place of election was entrusted to six Bishops, of which four were foreigners, and six laymen; pre-eminent among the latter were Pandulfo Savello, Marshal of the Church, and Nicodemus of Pontremoli, Francis Sforza's ambassador, a portion of whose admirable account of the proceedings of the conclave is still preserved in the State Archives at Milan.‡

At the death of Nicholas V., the Sacred College was composed of twenty members, of whom six were absent, namely, two Germans, Peter von Schaumburg, Bishop of Augsburg, and Nicholas of Cusa, the Hungarian, Dionysius Széchy, the Greek, Bessarion, Jean Rolin, Bishop of Autun, and Guillaume d'Estouteville, both of whom were French; the last mentioned had been for nearly a year acting as Legate in France, and did not return to Rome till the 12th

* Despatch of the Bishop of Chiusi to Siena, in the Arch. stor. Ital., Series iv., t. iii., 192.

† *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1455, April 4, from the original in the State Archives at Milan, in Appendix No. 30. See the report in the *Acta consistorialia. State Archives of the Vatican.

‡ The despatches of the Genoese ambassador, "Gotardus de Seresana," seem unfortunately to be lost. The series "Roma" of the "Carteggio diplomatico" in the State Archives of Genoa only begins with the year 1512, and even from this period the correspondence is very imperfect.

of September, 1455.* Of these six Cardinals, Bessarion alone was able to arrive in Rome in time for the election.† The Sacred College accordingly assembled in Conclave to the number of fifteen members. Two of these, the noble Capranica, and the aged Prospero Colonna, had been created by Martin V.; while five, namely, the learned and open-hearted Antonio de la Cerda, Latino Orsini, Alain, the former Bishop of Sitten, Guillaume d'Estaing, and Filippo Calandrini owed their elevation to Nicholas V. The remaining eight had been nominated by Eugenius IV. on different occasions. Scarampo and Pietro Barbo, two men of diametrically opposite characters and purposes, occupied the most prominent position among the Cardinals.

Italy furnished but seven of the fifteen electors; these were Fieschi, Scarampo, Barbo, Orsini, Colonna, Capranica, and Calandrini; of the eight foreigners, two, Bessarion and Isidore, were Greeks; two, Alain and d'Estaing, French, and the remaining four, Torquemada, Antonio de la Cerda, Carvajal and Alfonso Borgia, Spaniards. But in the election of 1455, as in the previous one, nationality was of

* The duration of d'Estouteville's absence from Rome (1454, May 16, until 1455, Sept. 12) is to be gathered from the *Acta consistorialia in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† *"Avendo aviso alli 23 marzo la domenica il Card. Bessarione che il pontefice era infermo a morte si parti da Bologna a ore 12½ (according to the Cronica di Bologna [715] his departure did not take place till the 24th), per passare a Roma e con lui andavano Achille Malvezzi cavaliere di nostra donna del Tempio, Pier Antonio Paselli dottore e cavaliere e Jacomo Ingrati." On his arrival in Rome he found the Pope dead. Ch. Ghirardacci, Storia di Bologna, Vol. iii., lib. xxxiv. Cod. 768 of the University Library at Bologna. The 1st April is named as the day of Bessarion's arrival in Rome by the *Acta Consistorialia in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, mentioned in Appendix No. 16 of Vol. i.

comparatively little account. The opposing factions of the Colonna and Orsini formed the centres of the different parties.

"The majority of the Cardinals were," Nicodemus of Pontremoli informs us, "at first inclined to favour the election of the Colonna Cardinal, who would no doubt have become Pope had Nicholas V. died at the commencement of his illness. But its long continuance gave Cardinal Orsini time to counteract this feeling, and to enter into negotiations with the ambassadors of King Alfonso and of the Republic of Venice. Consequently—unless God should order otherwise—either Barbo or Scarampo will obtain the Papacy. The Orsini party, with the assistance of King Alfonso, is able to dispose of five votes, one of which would be absolutely required by the Colonna candidate to give him the necessary majority of two-thirds."* According to another despatch from the same ambassador, the wealthy, business-like Cardinal Orsini originally himself aspired to the tiara, and won over the Venetian ambassadors who lodged in his palace to his side; but in case his own hopes should be disappointed, he brought forward Cardinal Pietro Barbo, who subsequently became Paul II.†

The two opposing parties adopted different modes of action. The Colonna sought to gain adherents by prudence and affability, while the Orsini strengthened their material

* *Despatches of Bartol. Visconti, Bishop of Novara, and of Nicodemus, dated Rome, 1455, April 1. State Archives at Milan. See Appendix No. 29 (the passages in cypher are here indicated by more open type.)

† *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, d.d. ex urbe 24 Martii, 1455, hora 20, Postscript.: "Orsino fa gran ponto al papato etiam col favore de li ambax^ri Ven^i che alogiano in casa soa e, mostra nol potendo haver luy farlo cader nel car^le de San Marcho." State Archives at Milan, Pot. Est.

power.* The prospects of Cardinal Orsini seem to have been rapidly clouded, for on the 20th March, Nicodemus writes that Pietro Barbo is as likely as any other candidate to fill the Papal Throne.

An old Roman proverb declares that "he who enters the Conclave a Pope leaves it a Cardinal," and the truth of the saying was exemplified in the case of Pietro Barbo.

Regarding the proceedings in the Conclave, our information is derived from the report of Æneas Sylvius, some scanty particulars in isolated despatches of ambassadors, and a notice in Vespasiano da Bisticci's work.† From these authorities it appears that the Cardinals were greatly divided, and that three scrutinies failed to give any decided result.‡ For a time it seemed as if Domenico Capranica, after Carvajal the most worthy among the members of the Sacred College, would be Pope. Christendom might, indeed, have been congratulated had the majority of votes been given to a Prince of the Church so distinguished for piety, learning, decision of character, and political ability. But Capranica was a Roman, and favourably disposed to the Colonna, and therefore unacceptable to many. The

* Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1455, March 16. State Archives at Milan ; see Appendix No. 26.

† Vespasiano da Bisticci, Capranica. §6 (Mai, Spicil., i, 190).—Comment. Pii II., 24. The Parisian MS. (Nat. Library, No. 5153) Pius II.: "Conclave Calixti III.," cited by Verdiere (Essai sur Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini [Paris, 1843], p. 48, 113-114) and Vast (219) is nothing more than the unaltered draft of the passage in the Commentary of Pius II. Voigt (ii., 158, 340) has already recognized this fact. Regarding the despatches of ambassadors, see Petrucelli della Gattina, i., 263 *et seq.*, and the Appendix to this volume, No. 29, 30, and 31.

‡ This is expressly said by B. Visconti, and also by Nicodemus in his *Despatch of April 8th, 1455, given in Appendix 31. See State Archives at Milan.

Colonna desired the election of an Italian, the Orsini that of a French Pontiff, and as neither party was able to carry the day, a neutral candidate was sought. In this capacity the learned Cardinal Bessarion had much to recommend him; as a born Greek, he had held aloof from Italian complications, he had no enemies, and was justly and generally esteemed for his learning and for his beneficent labours as Legate to Bologna. No one, moreover, seemed more likely to give a fresh impulse to the crusade than this distinguished representative of Greece. Eight Cardinals declared themselves in his favour, and on the Easter Sunday and Monday there was reason to think that he would be unanimously elected, and at once acclaimed Pope. Favours were asked of him as if the matter were already settled. Roberto Sanseverino, in a letter to the Duke of Milan, expressed his conviction that "if the Greek Cardinal had exerted himself more the tiara would have been his."* According to the account given by Æneas Sylvius it was Alain, the Cardinal of Avignon, who prevented the election of the great humanist, who would undoubtedly have carried on the work of Nicholas V. The French Cardinal represented to his colleagues that it was not becoming to place at the head of the Roman Church a neophyte, a Greek, who still wore his beard in Oriental fashion, and had but lately ceased to be a schismatic.† These words seem scarcely credible,

* Petrucelli della Gattina, i., 269.

† According to the original draft of the Commentary of Pius II. the words of Alain were even more severe; see Cugnoni, 182. The mutilation of the Commentaries of Pius II. was noticed by Victorellus amongst others (see Ciaconius, ii., 991, and Voigt, ii., 340). The celebrated J. Garampi seems to have meditated the publication of the omission. In the Biblioteca Gambalunga at Rimini I found *Cod. D., iv.-214, a complete collection of these omissions. The title of the manuscript is: "Supplenda in Commentariis Pii

and the truth probably is, that the pride of some Italian Cardinals was wounded by the prospect of an Eastern, a member of the hated Greek nation, occupying the chair of St. Peter, while the worldly-minded amongst them, like Scarampo, dreaded Bessarion's austerity.

When this name had ceased to figure in the list of candidates, the former perplexity again returned. The crowds assembled in front of the Vatican grew impatient, and the ambassadors who kept watch over the Conclave were urgent for a decision, representing to the Cardinals the unsettled condition of Rome, and the danger threatened by Piccinino.*

In this difficulty, each party being strong enough to hinder the election of the opposing candidate, and yet too weak to secure that of its own, the electors cast their eyes upon a man who was not a member of the sacred college, the Minorite Antonio de Montefalcone,† but he also failed

II., Pont. Max." "Tutte le cose da supplirsi," Garampi observes in a prefatory note, "hanno la pagina e linea nelle quali anderebbero inserite nell' edizione di Francfort dell' anno 1614, stamperia Auberiana. Se sono inedite" (as they were till lately) "sono preziosissime. Siano cose soppresse o dall' autore o dall' editore, e quest' ultimo siasi servito di un codice diverso; sono sempre frammenti rispettabili che possono servire a una nuova edizione." In Rome I found the missing passages in the Commentary of Pius II. in Cod. L., vii., 253, of the Chigi Library, and in Cod. cclxii. of the Library of Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme (now Cod. 179 of the Victor Emmanuel Library). Cugnoni's publication of 1883 is founded entirely on the Chigi MS. It is much to be regretted that the worthy head of the Chigi Library has not taken into account the many Vatican MSS. of the Commentaries of Pius II. Among these, I believe, I have discovered the original of the Commentaries of Pius II., written in part by his own hand. Further details will be given in a later volume of this work.

* *Despatches of Bart. Visconti and Nicodemus, dated Rome, 1455, April 8. State Archives at Milan; see Appendix No. 31.

† Wadding, Ann. Min., xii., 2nd ed., 245

to obtain the requisite majority of votes. Finally—as it were to postpone the contest—all agreed in electing an old man, whose life was almost at an end.* Accordingly, mainly through the exertions of Scarampo and Alain, on the morning of the 8th April a Spanish Cardinal, the aged Alonso (Alfonso) de Borja (Borgia) was elected by accession, and took the name of Calixtus III.† Those who had even before the beginning of the Conclave foretold that the discord of the Italians would result in the election of an "Ultramontane," now saw their predictions verified.

* See Vespasiano da Bisticci, Capranica, *loc. cit.*, and the supplement in Appendix No. 31 of the *Despatch of April 8, cited above. A certain amount of astonishment at the election of one so aged appears in the words of Nicholas of Cusa: "quamvis octogenarius . . . electus est." Autograph notice by this Cardinal in Cod. C., 5, of the Hospital Library at Cues.

† See the Despatches of R. Sanseverino in Petrucelli della Gattina, i., 269, and of Cribellus, 57, as well as the *Acta consistorialia in the Secret Archives of the Vatican (Appendix No. 16, Vol. i.) Here and in a *Letter of the Republic of Florence to its ambassadors in Venice ("Oratori Venetiis," d d. Florent., 1455, April 10: "In questa mattina havemmo lettere da Ruberto Martelli da Roma, per le quali avisa, come a di 8, di questo a hore xv. fu creato nuovo papa." Cl. x., dist. 1, No. 44, f. 131, State Archives at Florence), the election is said to have taken place about the fifteenth hour (10 in the forenoon). Other authorities (*Despatch of the 3rd April [see Appendix No. 31], and the Cronica di Bologna [716]) name the thirteenth hour. Niccola della Tuccia (239) says: "La mattina a 14 hore dissero aver fatto nuovo papa ecc." With this agrees the **note of Cardinal Scarampo to Lodovico de Gonzaga of the 8th April, 1455. Gonzaga Archives at Mantua. In some documents the new Pope was styled "Calixtus quartus," because the name Calixtus III. had already been borne by Johannes, Abbot of Struma, anti-Pope in the time of Alexander III. (see Freiburger Kirchenlexikon, ii., 2nd ed., 1710-1711). It is remarkable that this designation also occurs in *Acta consistorialia of the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Instead of Bessarion, the Greek humanist and philosopher, a Spanish canonist mounted the Papal throne.*

No one had hitherto contemplated the elevation of Alfonso Borgia as a possibility, but when once it became known, a prophecy of St. Vincent Ferrer was called to mind. It was said that this Spanish Dominican, while preaching at Valencia, remarked a priest among the crowds who commended themselves to his prayers, and addressed him in the following words: "My son, I congratulate you; remember that you are called to be one day the ornament of your country and of your family. You will be invested with the highest dignity that can fall to the lot of man. I myself, after my death, shall be the object of your special honour. Endeavour to persevere in your virtuous course of life."† The priest to whom the saint spoke was no other than Alfonso Borgia. From that moment, with the tenacity which belonged to his character, he had firmly believed in the prediction and frequently repeated it to his friends.‡ Now that it had been accomplished, one of the first acts of his pontificate was to raise St. Vincent Ferrer to the altars, and his solemn canonization took place at Rome on the 29th June,§ 1455.

* Alfonso Borgia was looked upon as one of the first canonists of his day; see Æn. Sylvius, Europa, c. 58, Niccola della Tuccia, 239; Raph. Volaterr., f. 234, and Brippi's poem in Cod. 361 of the Riccardi Library in Florence, which we shall cite in Chapter II. of this book.

† Vita S. Vincentii Ferrer, by Petrus Ranzanus Panormitanus in Bzovius, Annal., 1419, N. 24.

‡ As for example, in 1449, to the celebrated St. John Capistran; see Wadding, xii., 246.

§ The 23rd May was the day originally intended for the canonization (Echard, i., 811); it was deferred because the "relatione del processo suo" appeared too long; see *Despatches of Bart. Visconti and of Nicodemus, dated Rome, 1455, May 22

The old Catalan race of the Borja, or Borgia, as the Italians pronounced the name, had brought forth many remarkable men. Nature had been lavish in her gifts, and endowed them with beauty and strength, with intellect, skill, and that energy of will which compels fortune.* Alfonso, who was no less gifted than the other members of his family, was born, at Xativa, in Valencia, on the last day of 1378, the year which witnessed the outbreak of the great schism.† At a very early age he studied jurisprudence at the University of Lerida, and became a doctor of civil

and 24. State Archives at Milan, Cart. gen. The Bull of Canonization is not entered in the Register of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, a circumstance which gave rise to doubts, which induced Pius II. to issue a fresh Bull (Bzovius ad an. 1419). I found the *Bull itself, dated Rome, 1455, tercio Cal. Jul. pont. a° I°, in Cod. lat., 18930 (Teg., 930), f. 86-89, of the Court Library at Munich. The Dominican H. Kalteisen gave his vote for the canonization; see Cod. 326 of the University Library at Bonn.

* Gregorovius, L. Borgia, 3. The origin of the race of the Borgia is veiled in obscurity. The statement that the family was of royal blood is unfounded; see Matagne in the Revue des quest. hist., ix. (1870), 467 *et seq.*; xi. (1872), 197. The father of Alfonso is called by Platina "John," and by Zurita (35) "Domingo;" and the family name of his mother, "Francisca," is unknown. Zurita (36) and Escolano (Hist. de Valencia [Val., 1610], ii., 200) say that she was from Valencia. Alfonso was born in Xativa, and baptised in the Collegiate Church of Sta. Maria in that town. We have his own testimony for this fact in two Bulls of 1457, published by Villanueva (i., 18 *et seq.*, 181 *et seq.*).

† Calixtus III. was accordingly at the time of his election in the 77th year of his age. Some chronicles make him even older; the Ist. Bresc. (891) says that Calixtus was 85, and Niccola della Tuccia (239) that he was 86 (the "Ricordi di casa Sacchi" give his age correctly as 77). L. Bonincontr. (158) and Nicholas of Cusa in an autograph *notice at the conclusion of the MS. in the Hospital at Cues, to which we have already (p. 325, note*) referred, generally speak of the Pope as an octogenarian.

and canon law. Subsequently he successfully taught these subjects at Lerida, and was nominated to a canonry in the Cathedral of that city by Pedro de Luna, afterwards known as Benedict XIII. His relations with King Alfonso were the means of diverting Borgia from the career of learning on which he had entered. The monarch recognized his diplomatic capabilities and drew him into his service, where, as private secretary and confidential counsellor, he amply justified the trust reposed in him, displaying the greatest skill and activity in the conduct of ecclesiastical and political negotiations. Borgia also rendered important service to the Papacy in the time of Martin V., and the abdication of the anti-Pope Clement VIII. was in great measure due to his exertions. The lawful Pope, Martin V., rewarded him in that very year by conferring on him the Bishopric of Valencia (1429).*

As Bishop, Alfonso took part in the most important affairs of Church and State. In the reorganization of the kingdom of Naples, which had long been distracted by war and tumult, he rendered special services to King Alfonso, and the institution of the celebrated tribunal of Sta. Chiara was his work.† His prudence and his spirit of perfect loyalty to Rome were manifested in the fact that he refused to act as Alfonso's ambassador to the Council of Basle, which was antagonistic to Pope Eugenius. He afterwards laboured most zealously to bring about a reconciliation between the King and the Pope, and, after it had been accomplished, was raised to the purple, and took his title from the picturesque old Basilica of the Quattro Incoronati‡

* Raynaldus ad an. 1429, Nos. 3 and 5. Villanueva, i., 51; xx., 54 *et seq.* See Vol. i., p. 227, note *.

† Giannone, iii., 284-289. Alfonso Borgia also superintended the education of Ferrante, the natural son of King Alfonso (Zurita, iv., 52b).

‡ See Vol. i., p. 332.

which stands on a spur of the northern Cælian hill. Alfonso could not but accede to the Pope's desire that he should remain at his Court, and he there gained the reputation of being incapable of flattery or party feeling. There was but one opinion in Rome regarding the moral purity, the integrity, the capacity for business, and the knowledge of canon law which distinguished the Cardinal of Valencia, as Alfonso was now commonly styled.*

His health, unfortunately, was weak; severe study and unceasing activity had told upon his strength, and this circumstance, together with the familiar relations existing between him and King Alfonso, awakened considerable anxiety in Italy. The Republics of Venice, Florence, and Genoa were, as we learn from many contemporary letters,† dissatisfied with the election, although their official documents expressed sentiments of a very different character.‡

The choice of a foreigner for the Papal dignity was a severe blow to the national feeling in Italy.§ It was by

* Platina, 727. Jac. Phil. Bergom. Chronic., f. 304. See Giornali Napolit., 1131.

† See **Despatches of Antonio Guidobono from Venice, 1455, April 12, and Giovanni de la Guardia from Genoa, 1455, April 14. State Archives at Milan, Cart. gen.

‡ The Florentine letters of congratulation have been published by Guasti (Legazioni, 34-35). See the **Letters of the Genoese to the Pope and the Cardinals, dated 15th and 28th April (State Archives at Genoa, Litt., Vol. xviii., f. 128, 132). The following words occur in a *Letter of April 20, 1455, from the Republic of Venice to Cardinals Scarampo and Barbo:—"Hec siquidem electio cum potius celestis quam humana existimanda sit: fatemur non satis litteris explicare posse, quantum gaudii et immense letitie mens nostra perceperit." Sen. Secret., xx., f. 58b. State Archives at Venice.

§ See the Despatch of R. Sanseverino in Petrucelli della Gattina, i., 268. *Letter from Lionardo Vernacci to Piero di Cosimo de' Medici, d.d. Roma a di x. Aprile, 1455:—"Per lettere de Ruberto"

some even deemed probable that a great schism would break out, and that a number of Cardinals would leave the Papal Court, where, in the days immediately succeeding the election, Scarampo and Alain exercised an excessive influence.* Fears were entertained, especially by the Republics, that the already too great influence of King Alfonso would be still further increased, and that the hated Catalans would be unduly promoted. The latter of these apprehensions was, as we shall see, but too well justified. But the idea that King Alfonso would now, through his former Secretary, rule the Holy See, happily proved unfounded.

Calixtus III. was certainly regarded in Rome as a right-minded and just man. "The new Pope," wrote the Procurator of the Teutonic Order on the 3rd May, 1455, to the Grand Master, "is an old man of honourable and virtuous life and of excellent reputation."† His previous life had been blameless. Austere towards himself, he was amiable and indulgent to others. As Bishop and as Cardinal he had declined all other preferment. The poor and needy never sought comfort and help from him in vain.‡ The

[Martelli; see *supra*, p. 325, note†] "a Cosimo avete inteso della creazion del nuovo papa lo char^le^ de Valenza; vedete per la esitanza de nostri Taliani ove ci troviamo tucti. Regnano Chatalani e sa dio come la loro natura ci si confa. Bisogna per questa volta aver pazienza duna cosa, mi chonforto che dovera durar pocho di tempo sichondo leta," etc. Carteggio inanzi il principato. Filza, xvii., No. 131. State Archives at Florence.

* See Petrucelli della Gattina, i., 269. See the *Despatch of Fr. Contarini, dated Siena, 1455, April 25. Cod. It., vii.-mcxcvi. of the Library of St. Mark's, Venice.

† Voigt, Enea Silvio, ii., 158.

‡ Jac. Phil. Bergom., f. 304, and Raph. Volaterr., xxii., f. 234. The care of Calixtus III. for the hospital of Sto. Spirito is mentioned by Brockhaus in Janitschek. Repertor., viii., 283. See the notice, Vol. i., p. 354, from the Archives of Sto. Spirito. The Pope, in his

Sienese, Bartolommeo Michele, who had been previously acquainted with him, praised him in the highest terms. On the day after the election he wrote to his native city: "He is a man of great sanctity and learning, a friend and adherent of King Alfonso, in whose service he has been. He has always shown himself well disposed towards our city. His nature is peaceable and kindly." Michele, in this letter, exhorts the Sienese to send the most splendid embassy possible to Rome, and to select for it eminent and worthy men, inasmuch as the Pope was very clear-sighted and learned.*

A letter addressed by St. Antoninus, the great Archbishop of Florence, to Giovanni, the son of Messer Domenico of Orvieto, in Pisa, gives a good idea of the fears awakened by the election of Calixtus, and of the favourable change in public opinion which soon took place in his regard. "The election of Calixtus III.," says St. Antoninus, "at first gave little satisfaction to the Italians, and this for two reasons. First, inasmuch as he was a Valencian or Catalan, they felt some apprehension lest he might seek to transfer the Papal Court to another country. Secondly, they feared that he might confide the strongholds of the Church to Catalans, and that it might eventually be difficult to recover possession of them. But now the minds of men have been reassured by more mature reflection, and the reputation which he bears for goodness, penetration, and impartiality. Moreover, he has bound himself by a solemn promise—a copy of which I have seen—to devote all his powers, with the advice of the Cardinals, to the war

will, assigned five thousand ducats to a hospital to be established in the residence he had occupied when a Cardinal. *Letter of Antonio Catabene to Fr. Sforza, dated 1458, August 7. Gonzaga, Archives at Mantua.

* Arch. stor. Ital., Serie iv., t. iii., 192.

against the Turks, and the conquest of Constantinople. It is not believed or said that he is more attached to one nation than to another, but rather that as a prudent and just man he will give to everyone his due. The Lord alone, whose providence rules the world, and especially the Church, and who in His infinite mercy brings good for her out of evil, knows what will happen. Meanwhile we must always think well of the Holy Father, and judge his actions favourably, even more so than those of any other living being, and not be frightened by every little shock. Christ guides the bark of Peter, which, therefore, can never sink. Sometimes He seems to slumber in the storm: then must we wake Him with prayers and good works, of which there is much need."*

The whole demeanour of Calixtus III. was marked by great simplicity; splendour and pomp were most distasteful to him. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini bears witness that he greatly surpassed his predecessor in the patience with which he gave audiences. He himself dictated the letters sent to Kings and to friends, and countersigned petitions with pleasure. He loved to converse upon legal matters, and was as familiar with laws and canons as if he had but just left the University.† Nicholas V. had delighted in conversation, but Calixtus was chary of his words. Nowhere, however, was the contrast between the Spanish Pontiff and the great patron of the Renaissance so striking as in the domain of literature and art.

* Translated by Reumont, Briefe, 143-144. The original of the letter, dated 24th April, 1455, is published by V. Marchese, Cenni storici del B. Lorenzo da Ripafratta (Firenze, 1851), 53, and in the Lettere di S. Antonino, 189-191. The dread of a removal of the Holy See from Rome is also expressed in the above-mentioned **Instruction for the Florentine ambassadors in Venice. State Archives, Florence.

† Æneas Sylvius, Europa, c. 58.

But in order to correctly estimate Calixtus III. in this matter we must begin by discarding the passionate and exaggerated denunciations of the humanists of his day, one of whom went so far as to declare that "Calixtus III. was a useless Pope."* Their golden age certainly closed with the life of Nicholas V. Indeed, if we consider the prominent position occupied in his days by men either indifferent or actually antagonistic to the Church, we must admit that a reaction was inevitable.† The violence of this reaction—which, from the ecclesiastical point of view, was a salutary one—was greatly exaggerated by the humanists. Calixtus III., the quiet, dry, legal student, was not directly inimical, but simply indifferent, to the Renaissance movement. In his reign its victorious course was checked for a time, but it was not violently arrested.‡

The extraordinary favour shown by the Pope to the humanist Valla has never been sufficiently explained. He was appointed Papal Secretary, and canonries were freely bestowed upon him,§ but he died on the 1st August, 1457. His monument in the Lateran, rescued from destruction by a great German historian,‖ was removed to another place in the most recent restoration of the Church.

It is interesting to note the manner in which the

* Geiger, Renaissance, 139. A letter written by Filelfo to Bessarion after the death of Calixtus III. gives a specimen of the hatred of the humanists. Philelfi Epist., f. 102.

† Voigt also is of this opinion, ii., 2nd ed., 235.

‡ The School of Tapestry founded in the Vatican by Nicholas V. continued to exist under Calixtus III.

§ Amongst others, one at the Lateran; see Marini, Archiatri, i., 241. See *Reg. 439, f. 64b-66, and 145, f. 29-30. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‖ Niebuhr, Vortr. über Römische Alterth., published by Isler (Berlin, 1858), ii. Regarding the tomb, see Beschreibung Roms., iii., 1, 684, and Adinolfi, i., 204.

humanists conformed themselves to altered circumstances In the Vatican Library there is still preserved a petition for a pension, addressed to Calixtus III. by a learned man, who endeavours to recommend himself to the Pontiff by an allusion to the Eastern question, in which the latter took so deep an interest.* When they saw that it was in vain to hope for anything from this Pope they avenged themselves by calumnies.

One of the chief of these was that propagated by Filelfo and Vespasiano da Bisticci, which accused Calixtus of dispersing the Vatican Library. The account of Vespasiano runs as follows:—"When Pope Calixtus began his reign, and beheld so many excellent books, five hundred of them resplendent in bindings of crimson velvet with clasps of silver, he wondered greatly, for the old canonist was used only to books written on linen and stitched together. Instead of commending the wisdom of his predecessor, he cried out as he entered the Library: 'See, now, where the treasure of God's Church has gone!' Then he began to disperse the Greek books. He gave several hundred to the Ruthenian Cardinal, Isidore. As this latter had become half childish from age the volumes fell into the hands of the servants. That which had cost golden florins was sold for a few pence. Many Latin books came to Barcelona, some by means of the Bishop of Vich, the powerful Datary of the Pope, and some as presents to Catalan nobles."† There

* *Cod. Vatic., 4137, f. 216-220b. In f. 220-220b we find: "Rogo itaque . . . ut priusquam ex hoc seculo migres, tua ope et interventione vindicatum videas nobilissimum Christianorum sanguinem, quem in illa inclita Constantinopolitana urbe a sevissimo illo Teuchrorum duce tam crudeliter effusum audivimus."

† Vespasiano da Bisticci, Vescovo Vicense (Mai, Spicil., i., 283-284, 286). Cardinal Angelo Mai (*loc. cit.* 284, note 1), and Reumont (iii., 1, 333) have already declared against the credibility of this intrinsically improbable story of Vespasiano, notwithstanding

are serious grounds for disbelieving this narrative. If the dispersion of the books had been so complete, how could Platina, the Vatican Librarian under Sixtus IV., have admired their splendour? Isolated volumes may, as often happens after the death of a Pope, have found their way into other hands, but this cannot have been at all a general case, for a large portion of the collection of Nicholas V. is at the present moment in the Vatican.*

The next testimony which we shall adduce is of itself almost sufficient to decide the question.† On the 16th April, 1455, even before his coronation, the Pope caused his confessor, Cosimo da Monserrato, to undertake the compilation of a catalogue of the valuable library left by his predecessor.‡ This very fact indicates an interest in the

the support of the Bishop of Vich. (Had not Alfonso Borgia, we may ask, when at Naples with King Alfonso, enjoyed ample opportunities of seeing splendid MSS.?). Voigt (Enea Silvio, iii., 607) adopted this story, but later came to suspect it. See Weiderbelebung, 2nd ed., 209, note 1. Laemmer (Analecta, 20) also doubts it.

* See Platina, Vita Nicolai V., Reumont *loc. cit.* Assemani's assertion (Bibliothecæ apost. Vaticanæ Codd. MSS. catalogus [Romæ, 1756], i., 1, p. xxi.), that Calixtus himself spent forty thousand golden pieces on the purchase of MSS. from abroad rests on a misapprehension. See Müntz, L'héritage de Nicholas V., p. 421. Leonetti (i., 85-86) nevertheless repeats the tale.

† Müntz, L'héritage, 423. In his article (354) on the Library of the Holy See, cited *supra*, p. 210, note ‡, de Rossi coincides with Müntz.

‡ *Cod. Vatic., 3959 (see *supra*, p. 212, note*), Vatican Library. A copy of the catalogue exists in the Library of the Cathedral of Vich (see Villanueva, vi., 80; Serapeum, 1847, p. 93), and must evidently have been brought to Vich by Cosimo de Monserrato, who was Bishop of that Diocese from 1460-1473. This circumstance may perhaps have given rise to the report that Calixtus had sent books to Vich. Regarding Cosimo, see Moroni, xix., 130, de la Fuente, 475, and the Annales ord. eremit. St. August., in Cod. S. 3, 13, of the Angelica Library, Rome.

preservation of the books, and it is not likely that a Pope who thus acted would give them away to the first comer.* In this most ancient inventory of the Vatican Library we find a number of marginal notes, by means of which the humanistic statements regarding the dispersion of manuscripts may be reduced to their proper dimensions. Here it appears that Calixtus certainly gave away some manuscripts, five volumes in all, and these of no great value. Two went to the King of Naples.† The fact that the catalogue was undertaken on the 16th April, 1455, does not exclude the possibility of subsequent presents having been made by the Pope, but even if this were the case the number of manuscripts so disposed of must have been very small. If he bestowed only two on King Alfonso, his intimate friend, we may rest assured that he cannot have given hundreds to Cardinal Isidore or to the Catalan nobles. The only thing that may be granted as probable is that Calixtus, who was ready to pledge even his mitre to provide funds for the Turkish war, may have sacrificed some of the gold and silver bindings for this purpose.‡ Thus this oft-repeated tale proves for the most part legendary.

The attitude of the new Pope towards the Renaissance and its promoters doubtless formed a striking contrast to that of its enthusiastic patron, Nicholas V. It is to be accounted for, not only by his own want of taste for polite literature, but by the peril which threatened Christendom

* Müntz, L'héritage de Nicolas V., p. 423.

† *Cod. Vat., 3959 (Vatican Library), f. 3: "Glossa Nicolai de Lira; S. D. N. dedit hunc domino regi Arrag." "Glossa Nicolai de Lira," with the same note, f. 9 and 14 (Letters of St. Augustine, and "Liber de veritate cath. fidei"); "fuit traditum bancho de Pappis de man. S. D. N.," f. 23b. "Florus: Hunc dedit S. D. N. capitaneo." Müntz (L'héritage, 423) wrongly gives the number of volumes removed as eight.

‡ Gabriel Veronens in Wadding, xii., 290.

from the East. He justly deemed it to be his first duty to defend Europe from the Turk, and this care occupied his mind so completely that little room was left for more peaceful labours in the realm of literature and art.

The pontificate of Calixtus III. opened ominously on the very day of his accession with a violent outbreak of the old Roman family broils. He was crowned on the 20th April.* In the morning he repaired to St. Peter's, where, according to the old custom, one of the Canons of the Church reminded him of the transitory nature of all earthly greatness by burning a bundle of tow before his eyes, and saying, "Holy Father, so perishes the glory of the world!" The Pope himself celebrated Mass, Cardinal Barbo singing the Epistle and Cardinal Colonna the Gospel. The coronation afterwards took place in front of the Basilica; Prospero Colonna, as the senior Cardinal Deacon, placed the triple crown upon the pontiff's head with the words: "Receive the triple crown and know that thou art the father of all Princes and Kings, the guide of the world, the Vicar on earth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom is honour and glory for ever and ever.—Amen."†

Immediately after this solemnity Calixtus took possession of the Lateran, the Cathedral Church of the Popes. He was accompanied by all the Cardinals and about eighty Bishops clad in white, together with many Roman barons and the magistrates of the city. He rode "a white horse" through the streets, adorned with tapestry, to the "golden Basilica, the mother and head of all the churches in the city and in the world." In pursuance of an ancient custom

* Description given (240) by Niccola della Tuccia, who was an eye-witness. Cancellieri (Possessi, 43) has nothing new; Tuccia's account (which was unpublished when he wrote) was unknown to him. Regarding the ceremonies see Meuschen, 169 *et seq*

† Meuschen, 178. See the rare work of Gatticus, 177, 205, etc.

the representatives of the Jews met the Pope on his triumphal procession in the Piazza, known as Monte Giordano; they presented him with the roll of the law. He read some words from it, and said: "We ratify the law, but we condemn your interpretation, for He of whom ye say that He will come—our Lord Jesus Christ—has come, as the Church teaches us and preaches."* This ceremony was the occasion of a riot, by which the Pope's life was endangered. The populace endeavoured to seize the richly ornamented book of the Jewish law, and even laid hands on the Papal baldacchino.

Disturbances of a yet more serious character occurred on the Campo de' Fiori. Napoleone Orsini, who had a dispute with Count Everso of Anguillara regarding the lordship of Tagliacozzo, determined to avenge the death of one of his men slain by an adherent of Everso. Leaving the procession he hastened to the Campo de' Fiori, where the Count lodged, and pillaged his quarters.† So great was the power of the Orsini that three thousand armed men

* See Cancellieri, 49; Meuschen, 182-183; Novaes, Introduz., ii., 350. The homage of the Jews was a very ancient custom, dating perhaps as far back as the time of the Roman Emperors (see Mebus, Jac. Angeli de Scarperia epist. ad Em. Chrysoloram. Florentiæ, 1743). The appearance of the Jews is definitely mentioned for the first time at the "Possessio" of Calixtus II., in the year 1119 (Cancellieri, Possessi, 9). The place varied. See Moroni, xxi., 29 *et seq.* In 1447 the ceremony was performed on Monte Giordano; but in 1484, on account of Roman acts of violence, the Jews were permitted to appear in the interior of St. Angelo. Popular tumults occurred also during the processions of Pius II. and of Innocent VIII. See Cancellieri, 48-49.

† The most ancient of the great inns of Rome were situated on the "Campo de' Fiori" (see Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 686). There were the taverns of the Cow, the Angel, the Bell, the Crown, and the Sun. Of these the Albergo del Sole, Via del Biscione, Nos. 70-76, still exists.

assembled on Monte Giordano in answer to the cry, "Orsini! to the rescue!" The Colonna sided with the Count, and a fierce encounter between the two factions under the very eyes of the Pope was barely prevented, and peace for the moment restored by the strenuous exertions of his messengers and of Cardinal Orsini and the Prefect, Francesco Orsini.*

The Pope was greatly angered by these disturbances.† He afterwards charged Cardinal Pietro Barbo, who had recently established peace in the patrimony, to bring about a cessation of hostilities for a few months. This truce was subsequently prolonged by the Pope, who endeavoured also to restore peace among the other baronial families of Rome.‡ Happily the rest of the reign of Calixtus III. was not of a piece with this ill-omened beginning, for although the feuds among the barons were not completely extinguished, the city was less affected by them.§

* See Niccola della Tuccia, *loc. cit.*; Platina, 728 *et seq.*; Infessura, 1136-1137; Mich. Cannesius, Vita Pauli II. in Muratori, Script., iii., 2, 1002, and the detailed account by the Bishop of Chiusi, on the 21st April, in the Arch. stor. Ital., Serie iv., T. iii., 194, No. 1, as well as **the Despatches of the Bishop of Novara, dated Rome, 1455, April 20 (State Archives at Milan), and of Luca Nicholai of Siena, dated Rome, 1455, April 21 (State Archives at Siena). Concistoro, Lettere ad an. Calixtus III. mentions these "excessus" enormes on the nomination of "Jo. de Buesa" to the "barissellus generalis alme urbis," dec. Cal. Jul. (1455). Reg. 436. f. 264. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† *Despatch of Fr. Contarini, dated Siena, 1455, April 25. Cod. It. vii.-mcxcvi. of St. Mark's Library, Venice.

‡ See Carinci, Lettere di Onorato Gaetani, 128, and Niccola della Tuccia, 254. One of the reasons for the exclusion of the turbulent Everso, mentioned in these letters, was that he constantly molested the cities in the States of the Church. Corneto had cause to complain of Everso, even in 1456; see the *Letter of August 1, 1456, lib. brev. vii., f. 46, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ Reumont, *loc. cit.*

The Pope's coronation was followed by the homage of the Christian powers, and from the latter part of April Rome witnessed the arrival of a succession of splendid embassies.* That of Lucca was the first to appear, and was followed at longer or shorter intervals by those of the other cities.† That of King Alfonso was exceptionally magnificent, but his attempt to begin by making terms with the Pope regarding the obedience to be promised was little calculated to maintain the good understanding which had previously existed between him and Calixtus, who met his pretensions and a similar attempt on the part of the envoys of Frederick III. with a decided refusal.‡

The Republic of Florence which had sent humanists to do homage to Nicholas V. now selected as the chief of its embassy their Archbishop, St. Antoninus, a man remarkable alike for the purity of his life and his theological learning. With him were associated Giannozzo Pandolfini, Antonio di Lorenzo Ridolfi, Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici, and the lawyer Oddone Nicolini.§ The ambas-

* Despatch of Bishop Alessio de' Cesari of Chiusi to Siena, dated Rome, 1455, April 25. Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives, Siena.

† See the *Despatch of Fr. Contarini in the Library of St. Mark, Venice, cited *supra*, p. 339, note†.

‡ See the Report of Æneas Sylvius and Joh. Hinderbach addressed to Frederick III., dated Rome, 1455, Sept. 8. Laurentian Library at Florence. For a further account of Alfonso's embassy see Guasti, 22; and regarding that from Siena, Arch. stor Ital., Serie iv., T. iii., 192 *et seq.* The names of the envoys from Bologna are given in the Annal. Bonon. (888); they started for Rome on the 23rd April. See Ch. Ghirardacci, Storia di Bologna, p. iii., lib. xxxiv. Cod. 768 of the University Library at Bologna.

§ The instructions given to the ambassadors and their report are published by Guasti (3-31). The discourse of St. Antoninus is given in his Chronicon, tit. 22, c. 16; but his modesty has suppressed the name of its author.

sadors were desired without the archbishop's knowledge to request Pope Calixtus to promote him to the purple.* On the 24th of May, the day of their audience, Calixtus spoke of his determination to combat the foes of the Christian faith and to reconquer New Rome, not sparing even his own life in the cause, although he deemed himself unworthy to win the martyr's crown. In conclusion, he expressed his hope that Florence, as a true daughter of the Church, would render every possible assistance in this holy undertaking. On the 28th May the Archbishop delivered in open consistory his celebrated discourse on the war against the Turks, and the Pope replied by an eulogy of Florence. Two days later in a private audience Calixtus dwelt on his earnest desire for the complete restoration of peace in Italy, and the distress caused him by the disturbances which Piccinino was again stirring up in his unfortunate country.

In the end of July, 1455, the Venetian embassy reached Rome. The message which it bore regarding the burning question of the day was not of a very satisfactory nature. The ambassadors were the same who had already presented to Nicholas V. the congratulations of the Signoria. They were instructed to reassure the Pope as to the intentions of the Republic concerning the Turkish war. They were to inform him that if the other Christian powers would proceed seriously against the Turks they would manifest the same good will as their forefathers had shown.† The

* Unfortunately the desire of the city was not granted. But at a later period Adrian VI., a Pontiff who resembled St. Antoninus in his zeal for reform and in the simplicity of his life, raised him to the dignity of the altars. Reumont, Briefe, 139.

† *"Commissio oratoribus ituris ad S. P. Calixtum III.," 1455, Jun. 6 (the election of the ambassadors: Pasqualis Maripetro procurator, Triadanus Griti, Jacobus Loredano, Ludovicus Foscarino doctor, had already taken place on the 30th April. *Senatus Secret., xx., f. 59): "Si per id tempus, quo stabitis Rome, summus pontifex, qui ut intelligere potuistis, multum inclinatus

import of this answer was clear, and the Signoria subsequently inculcated on the envoys the necessity of adhering to it.* A similar evasive reply was given to Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, when, on his passage through Venice to offer the Emperor Frederick's homage to the Pope, he, in his master's name, inquired into the intentions of the Republic regarding the Turkish question.†

Their stay in Venice delayed the arrival in Rome of Æneas Sylvius and his companion, the lawyer, Johann Hinderbach, until the 10th August. Their reception was honourable, but their attempt to treat with Calixtus regarding the Emperor's claims in the matter of reservations, tithes, nominations, and first requests, before making the profession of obedience, was frustrated, as the Pope absolutely refused to make any promise for the sake of gaining that which was his due. "We were placed in no

esse videtur ad exterminium Theucrorum, requireret seu diceret vobis quicquam de his rebus Theucrorum vellet que intelligere nostram intentionem, si et nos cum aliis potentiis favores nostros huic impresie prestaturi sumus: contenti sumus et volumus, quod Sue B. respondeatis in ea modestia et pertinenti forma verborum, quam magis utilem iudicabitis, quod quando videbimus alias potentias Christianas contra Teucros potenter se movere, nos quoque imitantes vestigia maiorum nostrorum reperiemur illius bone dispositionis, cuius per elapsum fuimus." Senatus Secret., xx., f. 62. State Archives, Venice.

* *Venice to the ambassadors in Rome, 1455, July 7: "Dicetis quoque S^ti Sue, quod grato et iucundo animo intelliximus optiman dispositionem ardensque desiderium clementie sue ad occurrendum perfidie Teucrorum pro honore creatoris nostri, communi commodo et salute totius Christiane religionio. Nos autem, sicut etiam habuistis in mandatis a nobis referendum B. Sue, perseveramus in consueto bono proposito nostro, et quando videbimus alios principes et potentias christianas se movere ad hoc sanctum opus, reperiemur illius optime mentis." Senatus Secret., xx., f. 66. State Archives, Venice.

† The answer, dated 10th July, 1455, is to be found in the Senatus Secret., xx., f. 66. State Archives, Venice.

small perplexity," Æneas Sylvius wrote to the Emperor,* "but as we saw that nothing else could be done, and that it would cause scandal if we were to depart without making profession of obedience, we decided on doing this, and then proceeding with your petition." Two days later the profession of obedience of the German nation took place in open consistory. Æneas Sylvius made a long speech on the occasion, and congratulated the aged Pope on the fact that he was the first Pontiff since Gregory XI., that is to say, for a period of about eighty years, who had no anti-Pope to fear. He then proceeded to advocate the Turkish war, a matter very near the heart of the Pope, and one in regard to which the speaker's former exertions and present zeal gave weight to his words. Calixtus praised the Emperor and commended his good intention of devoting himself to the war; and, for his own part, declared that he would not shrink from any sacrifice to achieve the extermination of the infidels.† During the following days the ambassadors presented the Emperor's petition in writing, and had repeated conferences concerning it with the Pope, but, as might have been foreseen, gained nothing. Hinderbach then returned to Germany, while Æneas Sylvius remained in Rome, endeavouring to make himself of use, and eagerly seeking promotion to the purple, for which, however, he had long to wait.‡

* "His ita dictis fuimus admodum anxii, sed cum videremus aliter fieri non posse, et quod scandalum esset hinc recedere obedientia non prestita, deliberavimus obedientiam ipsam prestare ac deinde petitiones prosequi, cum secus fieri non posset." Æneas Sylvius and Joh. Hinderbach to Frederick III., dated Rome, 1455, Sept. 8. Plut., liv., Cod. 19, f. 64b-67. Laurentian Library at Florence, now published by Cugnoni (121 *et seq.*), from a manuscript in the Chigi Library.

† Voigt, Enea Silvio, ii., 161. See Gebhardt, 11 *et seq.*

‡ Details will be found in Voigt, *loc. cit.*, 163 *et seq.* Regarding the English embassy to Calixtus III., see Vahlen, Vallæ opusc., 61, 402.

CHAPTER II.

THE HOLY SEE AND THE EASTERN QUESTION—A CRUSADING FLEET BUILT IN ROME—ITS FIRST SUCCESSES — ATTITUDE OF THE WESTERN POWERS TOWARDS THE DANGER WITH WHICH THE TURKS THREATENED EUROPE.

THE dangers to the Church and to civilization which troubled the latter days of Nicholas V. had assumed yet more alarming proportions at the accession of Calixtus III. Torn by conflicting interests and internecine feuds, the West was ill-fitted to withstand the united and fanatical advance of Islam. The disastrous consequences of the fall of Constantinople had at once been felt, not only in the stagnation of trade with the East, but in the threatened hindrance by the Turks of free navigation in the Mediterranean.* Servia and Hungary, Greece, the Christian Islands, especially Rhodes, and the Empire of the Comneni at Trebizond, were in imminent danger, and the colonies

* See the letter of Nicholas V. to Ancona, dated Cal. Aug., 1454, in the Anecd. litt., iv., 254-255 N. "La captività Constantinopolitana che fo la ruina quasi de tutti mercanti si cristiani come pagani" are the words used in the Cronich. Anconit. di Lazzaro Bernabei ed. Ciavarini, i., 178. Ancona suffered so much that Calixtus III. repeatedly granted financial help to the city. See the *Letter to Ancona, dated 1455, July 13, and *that to the "thesaurarius provinc. nostre marchie Anconit.," dated 1456, June 12, both of which are in Lib. croc. parv., f. 5b and 6b. Archives at Ancona.

in the Black Sea were almost lost. Mahomet II. was himself unremitting in his efforts to extend his dominion.

Nevertheless, the leading Princes and States of Europe, with scarcely an exception, displayed the most deplorable indifference to the welfare of Christendom. So grievous were their dissensions, and such the decay of zeal and heroism, that not one could rise above individual interests and animosities to gather round the banner of the Cross. The Holy See alone truly apprehended the importance of the situation, and while all others were swayed by selfish considerations, again showed itself to be the most universal and most conservative power on earth.

With her traditional wisdom, Rome appreciated the magnitude of the danger which menaced the Western world and its civilization. She also perceived that this victory of the infidel, like the loss in former days of the Holy Sepulchre, might be a means of reviving the zeal and loyalty of the faithful, and thus lead to further progress in the work of restoration already begun.* The greater the spirit of dissension in the political and ecclesiastical sphere the more did it behove the Holy See to devote itself to the common interest.

Calixtus III. was the man of all others to give a new and powerful impulse to the crusade. His duty and his inclination were in this matter identical. From the beginning to the end of his Pontificate, in public and in private, in his letters to Christian princes and prelates, and in his solemn Bulls addressed to all Christian people, he declared that he looked upon the defence of Christendom as the main object of his life. The crusade against the hereditary foe of the Christian name was the point upon which all his powers and efforts were concentrated.

The new Pope resolved to inaugurate his reign by a

* See Droysen, ii., 1, 154.

solemn vow which bound him to sacrifice everything—the treasures of the Church and, if necessary, his own life—in order to repel Islam and recover Constantinople. The words of this vow, copies of which were circulated in almost all countries to the joy and edification of the good, have been handed down to us. They are as follows:—"I, Pope Calixtus III., promise and vow to the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to the Ever-Virgin Mother of God, to the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and to all the heavenly host, that I will do everything in my power, even, if need be, with the sacrifice of my life, aided by the counsel of my worthy brethren, to reconquer Constantinople, which in punishment for the sin of man has been taken and ruined by Mahomet II., the son of the devil and the enemy of our Crucified Redeemer. Further, I vow to deliver the Christians languishing in slavery, to exalt the true Faith and to extirpate the diabolical sect of the reprobate and faithless Mahomet in the East. For there the light of Faith is almost completely extinguished. If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand be forgotten. Let my tongue cleave to my jaws, if I do not remember thee. If I make not Jerusalem the beginning of my joy, God and His holy Gospel help me.—Amen."*

* The vow has been often printed, in Cochlaeus, Hist. Hussit., 1, xi.; d'Achery, Spicil., iii., 797; Raynaldus ad an. 1455, N. 18; Bzovius, xvii., 137; Wadding, xii., 245; Leibniz, Cod. jur. gent., i., 411, and others. It also occurs in Chronicles; see L. Boninc. Annal., 158. According to Platina (727) and others, Calixtus even before his election made this vow, using his Papal name by anticipation; but this is very improbable. St. Antoninus would surely have mentioned it in his discourse, instead of which he says: "Quia vero ad hoc efficiendum beatitudo tua a principio suæ creationis voto solemni se Deo dicavit," and the Pope himself, in his letter to the King of Ethiopia, says: "Antequam de conclave recederemus, votum emisimus." Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 45

With the resolute tenacity of a Spaniard, the aged Calixtus laboured unremittingly to accomplish his vow.

Seven centuries of warfare with the Moors had left an indelible impress on the Spanish national character. The crusades form an episode in the history of other nations, but the very existence of the Spanish race was a perpetual crusade; and one consequence of this state of things was the development of a high-souled enthusiasm, which led each individual to look on himself as one of a chosen race, and especially called to be a champion of Christendom.* That spirit of religious chivalry—which in other European countries had long since given place to more material views, or else degenerated into lawless feuds—still flourished in Spain. Like thousands of his fellow-countrymen, Calixtus III. had from his earliest days imbibed sentiments of deadly hatred for the mortal enemy of the Christian name, and after his elevation to the highest dignity in Christendom he deemed it his first duty to combat that foe. The repeated declarations in his writings that, next to the attainment of everlasting life, he desired nothing so ardently as the accomplishment of his vow regarding the deliverance of Constantinople, were no mere figure of speech.† He wished to make the most ample reparation for the shortcomings of his un-

(similar expressions occur in other letters, see *Ibid.*, ad an. 1455, N. 24-25), and on the 20th April, 1455, the *Signoria of Venice wrote to Cardinal Barbo: "Post hec alias litteras R^me^ V. P. accepimus die x. præsentis cum copia illis inserta voti per S. Pontificem novissime facti. Ea omnia nobis profecto fuere gratissima." Senatus Secret., xx., 59. State Archives at Venice.

* Döllinger, Academical discourse on the political and religious development of Spain, published in the "Allgem. Zeitung" (1884), App. No. 210. See Macaulay, 19.

† Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 8; 1457, N. 7, 12, 50; 1458, N. 35. See the *Brief to the Doge P. Campofregoso, dated 1457, May 10, Lib. brev. 7, f. 89-90. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

warlike predecessors, and as we read his fervent words we feel that years had done nothing to quell his ardent Spanish temperament. The union of Western Christendom against the power of Islam, the succour of imperilled Hungary, and the construction and equipment of a Papal fleet were the objects to be accomplished within the shortest possible space of time. With an energy which seemed to defy the advance of age, the Pope at once began to deal with the matter in all its aspects.*

The history of the Papal power was materially affected by the action of Calixtus. The Papacy under Eugenius IV. had been engrossed by Italian politics and contests with the Councils, and under Nicholas V. it had been absorbed in literary and artistic interests. Now under Calixtus III. it seemed to be roused to remorse by the fall of Constantinople, and, as in the days of Urban II., to realize the magnitude of the Eastern problem, whose solution might be the means of endowing it with fresh vigour.†

The warlike zeal and indomitable resolution displayed by Calixtus III., notwithstanding his age and infirmities,‡ is justly characterized by ecclesiastical annalists as marvellous.§ "The Pope," writes Gabriel of Verona, "speaks and thinks of nothing but the crusade." For whole hours he used to converse with the Minorites on the subject, which seemed to him to surpass all others in importance.

* Voigt, Enea Silvio, i., 174.

† Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 144.

‡ Even on the 2nd October, 1456, Nicodemus informed Fr. Sforza that the condition of the Pope was such that he might die any day. *Despatch from Florence of this date. Secret Archives at Milan, Pot. Est.; Firenze, i.

§ Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 1. See also regarding the feeble state of the Pope, Vespasiano da Bisticci, Card. Capranica, § 6 (Mai, Spicil., i., 191).

"Other affairs," says the historian, "he despatches with a word, but he treats and speaks of the crusade continually."*

On the 15th May, 1455, Calixtus published a solemn Bull, by which all the graces and indulgences granted by Nicholas V. on the 30th September 1454, to those who should take part in the crusade, were confirmed, and all other indulgences published since the Council of Constance repealed. New regulations were made concerning the tithes to be devoted to the war, and the 1st March of the following year was appointed as the day for the departure of the expedition against the common foe of Christendom.†

In order to restore unity among the Christian princes, and to incite them to hostilities against the Turks, the Pope determined to send special legates to the principal countries of Christendom. The Cardinal Archbishop of Gran, Dionysius Széchy, was appointed to Hungary; the indefatigable Cardinal Carvajal to Germany, Hungary, and Poland;‡ Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa to England and Germany;§ and Cardinal Alain to France. On the 8th September Calixtus III. personally conferred the cross on

* Wadding, xii., 290.

† The Bull, "Ad summi apostolatus apicem," is given in part in Raynaldus ad an. 1455, N. 18, and fully in the *Regesten des papstl. Geheim. Archivs, 436, f. 163-165 (in the margin, Blondus).

‡ The Brief nominating D. Széchy is in Raynaldus ad an. 1455, N. 25, and Theiner, Mon. Ung., ii., 277-278. The latter passage also gives (278-279) Carvajal's appointment as legate to Germany and Hungary. Regarding the extension of his legation to Poland, see Raynaldus ad an. 1455, N. 26, and Theiner, Mon. Pol., ii., 103. See in *Regest., 442, f. 245 *et seq.*, the numerous faculties for Carvajal, d.d. 1455, xviii. et xvii., Cal. Octob., and 1456, iii., Non. Mai. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ Raynaldus ad an. 1455, N. 27; 1455, viii., Id. Sept.: "Nicolao tit. S. Petri in vinc. conceditur commissio super decima colligenda in partibus Germanie." Regest., 438, f. 217. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Cardinals Alain and Carvajal, and on the Archbishop Urrea of Tarragona, who was to hasten with a naval force to the relief of the hard-pressed Christian islands in the Ægean and Ionian waters.* This solemn ceremony was performed at St. Peter's. This was indeed fitting, as the place hallowed by the remains of him whom our Lord had made the rock and foundation of His Church. It was the scene of all the most important actions of the Popes, and as such it was also to witness a deed whose effects were destined to embrace the whole of Christendom.† The Pope, as we learn from the Bishop of Pavia, manifested the greatest devotion on this occasion, and shed many tears. Calixtus III., he adds, is most eager to combat the Turks; anyone, who places obstacles in his way, is guilty of a great sin.‡ As early as September 17th Alain entered on his office as legate,§ and a week later Carvajal left the Eternal City on his way to the North.‖ Nicholas of Cusa apparently did not undertake the journey to England, for the negotiations with the Duke of Tyrol prove that he spent the whole of the year 1455 in his diocese of Brixen.

The deplorable issue of the Diet summoned in the time of Nicholas V. to deal with the Turkish question determined

* Raynaldus an an. 1455, N. 28.

† Hürter, Innocenz III., i., 3rd ed., 95.

‡ *Letter from the Bishop of Pavia to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome 1455, September 9 (Appendix No. 35). State Archives, Milan.

§ Raynaldus (ad an. 1456, N. 1) erroneously gives the year 1456 as that of the commencement of Alain's mission. Regarding the Cardinal's departure, see the *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1455, September 17. State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen., and *Acta consistorialia. See the Letter to Cologne from the Archives of that City in Appendix No. 34.

‖ *Acta consistorialia (see Vol. i., Appendix No. 16) in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Calixtus III. to renounce the idea of any assembly of the kind, and to endeavour to deal directly with the individual potentates. He accordingly sent to the lesser European Princes and States, bishops, prelates, or monks who were to treat with the chief persons of the country regarding tithes, to call upon the people to contribute, to take part in the expedition, and to pray earnestly for the success of the Christian arms. He granted at the same time ample indulgences to those who should thus assist in the holy work. Anyone who has had the opportunity of looking through the thirty-eight thick volumes in the Secret Archives of the Vatican which contain the acts of Calixtus III.'s short Pontificate* must be amazed at the immense energy manifested by the aged and sickly Pontiff.

* Regest. De curia, Vol. 436-453. Secret., Vol. 454-464. Officior, 465-467. The Secret Archives of the Vatican of the time of Calixtus III. also contain in the Arm. xxix. a yellow leather book, bearing on its back the inscription: "Calixt. III., Divers. Cam., 1455, ad 1458, T. 28" (in the volume are these words: "Calixti III., Diversor. ann. 1455, ad 1458," lib. i., n. 2008); in Arm. xxxi., T. 8: "Diversor. Calixti III., Pii II., et Pauli II.," a thick volume of copies from the Regesta, and T. 59, a small volume of 83 pages, also containing copies, but only of Calixtus III.; in Arm. xxxix. two most important "Registra Brevium," T. 7 and 8 (cited by me as lib. brev., 7 and 8; see the detailed description of these volumes by F. Kaltenbrunner in the "Mittheil" [1884], p. 83); finally, a folio volume containing a transcript of Briefs and Bulls on the Oriental question from the time of Innocent III. to that of Leo X., which has no determined position. This volume bears the number 104, followed by the inscription "Pontif. bullæ pro subsidio Terræ sanctæ et de bello Turcis inferendo," and below, the number 12. To these 38 volumes of the Secret Archives of the Vatican we must add two now preserved in the Roman State Archives (Tesoro Pontificio, Mandati), the first of which is entitled "Diversor. Calixti III., 1455, ad 1456, Sec. Carm.," and begins with the words: "In nomine domini. Amen."

Special envoys were despatched, not merely to the larger Italian States, such as Naples, Florence, and Venice, but also to the smaller Republics and cities, and to the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. In the Regesta of Calixtus III. we, moreover, find records of the appointment of preachers of the crusade and of tithe collectors for the several provinces of Spain and Germany, for Portugal, Poland, Dalmatia, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, and an ambassador was sent even to Ireland and to the distant shores of Scotland.*

Most of these envoys were chosen from among the Observantine Friars, who, as mendicants and as brethren of St. John Capistran, enjoyed the confidence of the people to a remarkable degree. The names of San Jacopo della Marca, of Roberto da Lecce, and of Antonio de Montefalcone, on whom the cardinals in conclave had for a

The second of these volumes has the superscription: "Bulletar. Calixti de anno 2°" (179 written pages, with some blank places). These 40 volumes belonging to the brief reign of Calixtus III. are, however, far from containing all the acts of the Pontiff. It is evident from the description of Amati in the Arch. Stor. Ital., Series 3, iii., 181, that other volumes formerly existed in the Papal Archives. According to private accounts a number of volumes of the acts of Calixtus III. were lately discovered in the Archives of the Lateran, which for some time have been in course of rearrangement.

* See for example *Regest. 438, f. 251: "Mag. Birgerius constituitur nuntius et collector decimarum in regno Suetie, 1455, s. d." He received Faculties, 1455, duodec. Cal. Octob., 442, f. 43. Two Collectors "in regno Scocie ac ducat. Cleven. et Geldrie necnon comit. Holandie et Zelandie" are nominated 1456, duodec. Cal. Mai. A° 2°, 447, f. 33; Faculties for "Marino de Fregeno subdiac. Parmen. dioc. jur. can. perito in Norvegie, Dacie et Suecie regnis cum suis adherentiis, etc., nuntio et collectori nostro." See also Theiner, Mon. Hib. et Scot. (Romæ, 1864), 402-404, 405-406.

moment fixed their attention, are worthy of special mention.* But other Orders were also called upon by the Pope to assist in the work he had at heart. Heinrich Kalteisen, a Dominican from the Rhenish province, who had already given proof of his zeal at the Council of Basle, and whom Nicholas V. had appointed Archbishop of Drontheim,† laboured in Germany, preaching in Vienna, Ratisbon, Augsburg, Eichstädt, Nuremberg, and finally in his own Rhenish home, and had the honour of receiving a Brief‡ of special commendation from the Pope.

Another instance of the extent to which the Pope claimed the assistance of the religious orders in the matter of the crusade against the infidels is to be found in the command addressed on the 4th May, 1456, to the General and Provincials of the Augustinians, whereby he required them, under pain of excommunication, to immediately detain all the preachers of the Order, to give up all other undertakings, and to devote themselves entirely to preaching the crusade.§

* See Wadding, xii., 324, N. 329; xiii., 14. *Cf.* Arch. stor. Nap., vii., fasc. 1. *Anthonius de Montefalco ord. min. constituitur collector decime in episcop. Perus., civit. Castellæ, etc. D. Prid. Cal. Octob. A° 1°, Regest. 438, f. 193. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† In reference to Kalteisen, see Echard, i., 828 *et seq.* Bull ord. præd., iii., 122, 270 *et seq.*, 239 *et seq.*, 336. J. Wegeler, Berühmte Coblenzer (Cobl., 1865), 73. L. Daae, Kong Christian den Förstes Norske Historie (Christiania, 1879), 98 *et seq.* Interesting notes left by Kalteisen are preserved in the Library of the Gymnasium at Coblenz (see Dronke's Progr. Coblenz, 1832), and in the University Library at Bonn, Cod. 326 and 327. See *supra*, p. 20, note ‡.

‡ See Speyerische Chronik, i., 406, 412. Gemeiner, Regensb. Chronik, iii., 246 *et seq.* Deutsche Städtechron., iii., 408; x., 215. Voigt, ii., 200. The *Brief s. d. in lib. brev. 7, f. 57. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ See in Appendix No. 39 the Papal Decree from lib. brev. 7, f. 9ᵇ-10. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

The chronicler of Viterbo enables us to form a clear idea of the manner in which it was published. "On the 8th September," he says, "a Franciscan monk began preaching the crusade in the chief square near the fountain. First of all he caused drums and fifes to be sounded, and then a silver gilt cross with a figure of the Redeemer to be set up; afterwards he brought forth the Pope's Bull and thoroughly explained it."*

Calixtus III. guarded against the abuses which had frequently occurred on former occasions by the most exact directions respecting the collection and keeping of the tithes to be levied on all ecclesiastics for the Turkish War. In the march of Ancona, for example, it was decreed that, subject to the advice of the Bishop, one or two collectors and treasurers should be appointed for each city, and should keep duplicate accounts of the names of the contributors and the sums paid. The Papal envoys were empowered to inflict the severest ecclesiastical penalties on the refractory, and, if necessary, to invoke the secular arm. They were, moreover, carefully to examine the preachers and to insist upon their explaining the contents and the import of the Bull of the crusade. A chest with four locks was to be placed in the sacristy of the cathedral to receive the alms; one of the keys of this chest was to be kept by the Bishop, the second by the Papal Commissioner, the third by the two collectors, and the fourth by two notable citizens to be chosen by the congregation. A notary was to write down the names of the contributors and the amount paid, so that everyone might be sure that the funds were devoted exclusively to the object of the crusade.†

* Niccola della Tuccia, 243. See the account of the preaching at Bologna in the Cronica di Bologna, 718.

† See the ** Brief of Calixtus III. to the Dominican Giovanni de Curte, dated 1455, Sept. 1. Reg. 438, f. 59-61. Secret

Nevertheless, as nothing human is perfect, serious abuses occurred. Some of the collectors retained the funds entrusted to them; false collectors arose, as they had done in the time of Nicholas V., and cheated the people out of their money. Calixtus III., when informed of these malpractices, lost no time in proceeding against the offenders, yet it was impossible for him entirely to avert the discredit brought upon the whole enterprise in many cases by their misconduct.*

Not content, however, with causing collections to be made in every country for the expenses of the Holy War, the Pope, like a true Spaniard, determined to devote all the pecuniary and military resources at his disposal to the same object.

He accordingly did not hesitate to alienate jewels from the Papal treasure and even Church property in order to provide the means required for warlike preparations.† The

Archives of the Vatican. I saw in the Archives of Ferrara in lib. delib. H., f. 252b, the * Decree of the 6th October, 1455, by which two keepers of the alms for the crusade were nominated.

* A * Brief to the Bishop of Arezzo deals with the misappropriation of the alms for the crusade by a priest of that city. Lib. brev. 7, f. 54. See *Ibid.*, f. 73-74b, the Brief to Pontius Fenollet, dated 1457, March 26, and f. 132b-133b to Cardinal Scarampo, dated 1457, Dec. 4, in which similar defalcations are mentioned. See also Vigna, vi., 698 *et seq.*, 738-740. On the 15th July, 1457, the Bishop of Feltre received orders to proceed against an impostor who was going through Austria as a preacher of the crusade. Lib. brev., 8, f. 76-78.

† Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 49. The Pope repeatedly speaks of the alienation of Church property which he had made. See *Briefs to Cardinal Alain, dated 1456, Nov. 8; to Philip of Burgundy, s.d.; to Charles VII. of France, dated 1456, Nov. 6, and to the Archbishop of Milan, dated 1457, Feb. 15. Lib. brev., 7, f. 40, 42b, 52, 63. Secret Archives of the Vatican. See also the account of the sale of the castles of Giulianello, Vallerano,

long list of gold and silver plate bought by the art-loving King Alfonso of Naples from the Pope in the year 1456 is still extant, and mentions gilt amphoræ and cups, a silver wine cooler, a table service for confectionery, and also a tabernacle with figures of the Saviour and of St. Thomas, chalices and instruments of the pax.* It is easy to understand that such a Pontiff lost little time in dismissing the needy men of letters and most of the artists and craftsmen who had been constantly employed by his predecessor. Those whom he still retained in his service were required to labour in the cause of the crusade. The painters and embroiderers had to devote their skill exclusively to the fabrication of banners, and the sculptors to that of stone cannon-balls.

We can hardly wonder that the records of this Pontificate do not speak of any new buildings of importance. In Rome, however, the erection of fortifications was not altogether discontinued, and the works commenced by Nicholas V. at the Ponte Molle, the Castle of St. Angelo, and on the walls of the city were continued.† A medal of this period represents the Eternal City surrounded with great fortifications. But the ramparts of the Vatican seem to have been left as they were, and the Tribune of St. Peter's to have remained a ruin rising scarcely twenty feet above the ground. In vain did the Poet Giuseppe Brippi conjure

Carbognano, etc. (Morichini, 121), for twelve thousand golden florins in Cod. Vatic., 9835, f. 43 *et seq.* of the Vatican Library, which may be supplemented by Acts in the Archives of S^to^ Spirito.

* Müntz, i., 208-209. Kinkel, N. 209. See *Calixti diversor. T. 28, f. 175. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† "Scientius Jacobi Vannutii constituitur suprastans et revisor murorum urbis" D. 1455, Octov. Cal. Jan. A° 1°. Reg. 465, f. 138. Secret Archives of the Vatican. See Guglielmotti, Fortificazioni, 23 *et seq.*

the Pope to continue the building of St. Peter's.* He merely placed a new organ in the church, restored the windows, and repaired the circular chapel of St. Andrew.

The architects who always found a welcome from Calixtus III. were military engineers and ship-builders, and he willingly expended the treasure of the Church in remunerating their labours. Although the great projects of his predecessor remained in abeyance, the Pope caused some works to be undertaken in those churches of the Eternal City for which he felt some special attraction.† He was not in reality indifferent to the state of the public buildings, but the war against the infidel absorbed his attention almost to the exclusion of every other subject.‡ A Bull is still extant in which severe penalties are pronounced against the robbers who were in the habit of

* Jos. Bripius, "Ad sanctissimum dom. nostr. papam Calixtum tertium," etc., f. 12; "Exhortatio ad complendum mirabilem capellam ecclesiæ S. Petri." Cod. 361 of the Riccardi Library at Florence. This MS. (of fourteen pages)—a beautiful renaissance codex with miniatures and the arms of the Borgia family—is probably the very copy presented to the Pope.

† Müntz, i., 192-210. Kinkel, N. 209. See also Rasponus, 93, and Bertolotti, Artisti Lomb., i., 18 *et seq.* Two *Orders issued by Cardinal Scarampo, dated 1455, June 16, and 1456, May 24, deal with the cleansing and improvement of the Roman streets. *Calixti divers., T. 28, f. 31 and 155. Secret Archives of the Vatican. We may further add that Calixtus III. also interested himself in the restoration of the church of San Lorenzo fuori le mura; see *Reg. 453, f. 360, and *Cod. Vat., 7871, f. 55b. Vatican Library.

‡ In granting an Indulgence to those who should assist in the restoration of St. Mark's, the Pope plainly declared that warlike preparations against the Turks rendered it impossible for him to spend money on building. *Reg. 452, f. 40. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

removing stones and ornaments from the churches of Rome.*

Calixtus III., however, took no interest in an antiquarian discovery made in July, 1458. In preparing the grave of a Penitentiary in the Church of St. Petronilla, adjoining St. Peter's, a great marble sarcophagus was brought to light, which contained a large coffin and one for a child, both made of cypress wood and lined with silver. These coffins were so heavy that six men could with difficulty carry them. The bodies, which had been wrapped in rich, gold-embroidered, silken fabrics, crumbled away when exposed to the air. As no inscription was found, many conjectures were made; some believed the remains to be those of the Emperor Constantine or of his son. Calixtus III. had the coffins removed, and the gold of the embroidery, worth about a thousand ducats, was, by his desire, sent to the Mint to be made available for the Turkish war. Contemporary writers mention the circumstance without a word of disapproval;† a century later the destruction of such a treasure would have elicited expressions of indignant protest.

It was the intention of the Pope to attack the Turks at once, both by land and sea, and by this combined assault he expected to recover possession of Constantinople. He mainly relied for the land forces on Duke Philip of Burgundy, who ruled the richest and most important countries of Western Europe. He had received the Cross from the hands of a Papal envoy, and accordingly had been favoured, as in the time of Nicholas V., with the grant of a plenary indulgence for his companions in arms, a tax on all reserved

* Bull, "Quoniam multiplicata est." Regest., 447, f. 36. Published in Bull. Vatic., ii., 156-157.

† See, in Appendix No. 51, the report of the discovery, dated 24 June, 1458, taken from the original in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and Niccola della Tuccia, 256.

benefices, a tithe of the ecclesiastical revenues in his territory, and other privileges.* Moreover, in order that he might devote himself without distraction to the crusade, the Pope, in July, 1455, confirmed the peace which had been concluded between Burgundy and France.†

As no dependence could be placed on Venice, King Alfonso of Naples‡ seemed pointed out as the leader of the attack by sea. His sway extended over Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, and the Balearic Isles; in fact, with the exception of Corsica which belonged to the Genoese, he commanded all the western portion of the Mediterranean, and could have done more than any other Western Prince to stay the advance of the Turks. Accordingly the Pope spared no effort to induce him to take part in the expedition, and the intimate relations, which had subsisted between them, gave good grounds for expecting his hearty co-operation. The monarch was lavish of fair promises and begged the Pope to allow him to be invested with the Cross. Calixtus III. gladly consented, and the ceremony was performed with great solemnity on All Saints' Day, 1455. Many of his nobles and

* Voigt, ii., 176. Raynaldus ad an. 1455, N. 31. The *Bull containing the "Confirmatio super litteris fe. re. Nicolai pap. v. concernentibus cruciatiam in favorem ducis Burgundie concessis" begins with the words "In sacra," and is dated Romæ, 1455, iii. Cal. Jan. (30 Dec.), A° 1°, Regest., 456, f. 1, *et seq.* Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† *"Calixtus III., archiepiscopis Bisuntinen, et Cameracen, et Lausannen necnon Basil. episcopis," d.d. 1455, prid. Non. Jul. (6 July), A° 1°. Regest., 454, f. 172b-175. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ See Sanudo, 1159, and the **Answers of the Republic to Cardinal Carvajal of the 12th Sept. and 12th Oct., 1455. Senatus Secreta, xx., 70-71. State Archives at Venice.

barons also took the Cross on this occasion,* and the hopes of the Pontiff rose high, soon however to be blighted by the troubles which Jacopo Piccinino excited in Central Italy.

Deprived of his livelihood by the peace of Lodi in 1455, this Condottiere had threatened Bologna and the Romagna. The Duke of Milan, however, by sending an army of four thousand men into the field, had made it evident that insurrection in these quarters would not be tolerated, and Piccinino crossed the Appenines and directed his course towards Siena. This Republic had in the last war been hostile to Florence and Venice, and had also offended King Alfonso of Naples.† These circumstances emboldened Piccinino to advance against the Sienese, who at once appealed to all the powers who had joined the league, and more especially to the Pope, imploring assistance. Calixtus granted their request all the more willingly because the renewal of hostilities in Central Italy would necessarily have hindered his preparations for the crusade. In June, 1456, he informed the Venetian ambassadors that he would offer the same resistance to Piccinino as to the Turks, and would make an example of him, deeming the maintenance of peace in Italy to be a matter equal in importance to the defence of the Christian faith, and, indeed, inseparable from it.‡ In

* See Raynaldus ad an. 1455, N. 30, and the autograph *letter of Æneas Sylvius to Siena, dated Rome, 1455, Nov. 5 : "Allata sunt certissima scripta, quæ referunt seren. regem Aragonum cum grandi solemnitate in die omnium sanctorum crucem accepisse idemque multi et barones et nobiles factitarunt, ob quam rem papa boni animi est." Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives, Siena.

† E. Rubieri, Fr. Sforza, ii., 305. See L. Banchi's valuable treatise, Il Piccinino nello stato di Siena, 44 *et seq.*, 47 *et seq.*

‡ **Despatch of Bartolomeo Visconti to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1455, June 29. State Archives, Milan (erroneously given in Pot. Est. as Roma, 1461).

order to protect Siena, he despatched the Papal forces which were in readiness to make war upon the Turks. Napoleone Orsini, Stefano Colonna, and Deifobo and Ascanio, sons of Count Everso of Anguillara, accompanied these troops, and their commander was the Sicilian, Giovanni Ventimiglia.* Venice and Florence also declared against Piccinino, and Francesco Sforza desired his generals, Roberto di Sanseverino and Corrado Folliano, to start in his pursuit. King Alfonso alone remained passive, from which it was soon surmised that there was a secret understanding between him and the Condottiere.

The troops of the Duke of Milan joined those of the Pope near the Lake of Thrasymene. Piccinino boldly advanced and made an unexpected attack, which at first promised to be successful, but Roberto di Sanseverino soon rallied his forces and repulsed the enemy, who then fell back upon Castiglione della Pescaja. This fortress was situated between a marshy lake and the sea, and was almost impregnable. It belonged to King Alfonso, who caused his fleet to convey provisions to Piccinino.† In consequence of this assistance afforded to the Condottiere by

* *Johannes comes de Vigintimiliis constituitur capitaneus generalis gentium armorum S. D. N. Pape," 1455, xv. Cal. Jul. (17 June), A° 1°. Regest., 465, f. 61. On the 14th April, 1455, Calixtus III. had given orders "vicariis in temporalibus Rom. ecclesie subiectis, ut non permittant transire Jac. Piccininum in terras ecclesie." Regest., 436, f. 1. Secret Archives of the Vatican. See the **Pope's Brief of the 11th May, 1455, to Bologna. The original is in the State Archives at Bologna, Q. lib. 3.

† Banchi, Il Piccinino, 48 *et seq.* In a letter from "Jacobus archiepiscopus Ragusanus, exercitus S. D. N. commissarius et gubernator," to Fr. Sforza, d.d. ex castris, S. D. N. apud Borianum, 1455, Aug. 13, Castiglione della Pescaja is described as "inexpugnabile." The support given by Alfonso is also mentioned in this letter. Cart. gen. State Archives at Milan.

the King, and of the incapacity and indecision of Giovanni Ventimiglia* the war was protracted to a disastrous length. This was exactly what the King of Naples desired, for it gave him time to place fresh obstacles in the way of the projected campaign against the Turks, and involved Calixtus III. and his allies in great expense.† Yet the Pope seems to have hoped that the influence of their ancient friendship would have enabled him to persuade Alfonso to second his efforts for the defence of Christendom. The King's pretensions on behalf of Piccinino were, however, little calculated to encourage such hopes. He required that the Italian league, into which he had entered, should consent to support a common army, and that Piccinino should be its general, and be always in readiness to resist the Turks. The Italian powers were called upon to promise a yearly payment of a hundred thousand florins to the army, and quarters for the soldiers. Francesco Sforza and Calixtus III. indignantly rejected the proposal that Italy should be made tributary to one whom they justly regarded as a brigand.‡ The attempt made by Piccinino

* See the **Letter of reproof addressed by Calixtus III. to Giovanni Ventimiglia, dated Rome, 1455, July 9 (State Archives, Milan; in Pot. Est. the date is erroneously given as Roma, 1461), in consequence of which he asked to be dismissed from his post. See the *letter already cited from the Archbishop of Ragusa on Aug. 13, in which he defends Ventimiglia. "Al prelibato capitaneo io non cognosco che in questa impresa di quanto ce e stato facto li se possa imponere mancamento alcuno," etc. State Archives, Milan.

† By the end of June, 1456, the war had cost the Pope seventy thousand ducats; see the **Despatch of Bartolomeo Visconti, on the 29th June, 1455, which we have already cited. State Archives, Milan.

‡ Sismondi, x., 36. Banchi, Il Piccinino, 52, 56, 58. *Copia brevis Calixti III., ad ep. Novarien., d.d. 1455, Julii 26; "latrunculus Jacobus, Dei et hominum inimicus," and *Despatch of Jacopo Calcaterra, dat. Rom., 1455, Oct. 9. State Archives, Milan.

to burn the papal crusading fleet at Civita Vecchia may enable us to estimate his fitness for the command of the army destined to make war upon the Turks.*

Unspeakable mischief was done to the Sienese by the petty warfare which Piccinino waged against them,† and their hardships were increased when, in the October of 1455, he took possession of their port of Orbitello, and from its plunder derived means to maintain himself for a season.‡ In despair they determined on sending an ambassador to the Court of King Alfonso, the source of all their troubles. But no agreement was arrived at, and early in April, 1456, a fresh embassy, consisting of Galgano Borghese, Leonardo Benvoglienti, and Æneas Sylvius, proceeded to Naples. Just at this time an open breach between Alfonso and the Pope seemed imminent. The King had been informed that Calixtus had on Maundy Thursday pronounced a sentence of excommunication against Piccinino, his partisans and protectors, and, enraged by these tidings, Alfonso had declared that he would have all the Pope's relations banished from his dominions. He also sent subsidies to Piccinino's adherents. He was satisfied, however, when it was pointed out to him that those who took arms against the Church had been excommunicated by previous Popes since the days of Martin V, and that the action of Calixtus in this matter was nothing new.§

* Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 6. The Genoese ships were also attacked by Piccinino ; see Vigna, vi., 628-629.

† Banchi, Il Piccinino, 233. See the *Despatch of Nicodemus of Pontremoli to Lucca, dated Siena, 1456, March 18th, in which, however, the opinion is expressed that Piccinino would come off worst in the end. State Archives at Lucca (Lettere orig., N. 444).

‡ Niccola della Tuccia, 244. Banchi, Il Piccinino, 235 *et seq.*

§ See *Despatches of Ant. de Trezzo to Fr. Sforza, dated Naples, 1456, April 2 and 7. Fonds Ital., 1587, f. 115-116 of the National Library, Paris. The *" Excommunicato lata in die Jovis

This cause of discord having been set at rest negotiations were resumed, and on the 31st May were at last concluded. The following were the conditions of peace: Piccinino was to give up the places he had conquered, to evacuate Tuscany and retire into the domains of his patron Alfonso; the States of the League were to pay fifty thousand florins for the maintenance of his army, Alfonso undertaking to furnish a fifth part of this sum. The arrangement of details was confided to the Pope,* who desired that twenty thousand florins should be paid out of the apostolic treasury; and Siena was to contribute a like amount. The admonitory briefs of Calixtus III.† preserved in its State Archives, bear witness to the dilatory discharge of this obligation by the exhausted city. Piccinino did not leave Orbitello until constrained to do so by King Alfonso in September, 1456, fifteen months after his disgraceful inroad into the territory of the unfortunate Sienese,‡ who now sent Bishop Alessio de' Cesari of Chiusi as their ambassador to Rome to thank the Pope for the great services which he had rendered them during the continuance of the war.§

sancta," 1456, viii. Cal. April, in Regest., 441, f. 202. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* Banchi, Il Piccinino, 244.

† *Calixtus III. to Siena, dated Rome, 1456, Oct. 18, Nov. 17 and 23. State Archives, Siena. See Banchi, *loc. cit.* 245.

‡ In the Regest., 458, f. 3, Secret Archives of the Vatican, I found the "Littera passus" for Piccinino, d.d. 1456, v. Non. Jul. Nicodemus of Pontremoli in a Despatch to Lucca, dated Siena, 1456, Sept. 19, also says that Piccinino most reluctantly withdrew into Alfonso's kingdom. Lett. orig., N. 444, in the State Archives at Lucca.

§ Banchi, *loc. cit.*; *ibid.*, 225, with regard to the picture of Sano di Pietro, preserved in the collection of the Istituto di Belle Arti in Siena, which has reference to the liberality of Calixtus III. towards Siena.

Another circumstance which occurred in the first year of his Pontificate caused the Pope even greater distress than that occasioned by this war in Central Italy. In September, 1455, he had entrusted to Archbishop Pietro Urrea of Tarragona, Antonio Olzina, and Antonio de Frescobaldis the command of the vessels destined for the relief of the Christian islands in the Ægean Sea, which were at this time harassed by the Turkish fleet.* The traitors, however, instead of employing the vessels which had been procured with money collected for the crusade in operations against the Turks, combined with King Alfonso's fleet, commanded by Villamarina, attacked the Genoese, devastated their coast,† and waged war with the ships of other Christian powers.‡ As soon as the first faint rumour of these events reached the ears of the Pope he at once despatched letters of urgent remonstrance to King Alfonso.§ "If only a few Christian galleys had shown themselves in the neighbourhood of Ragusa," wrote the justly incensed Pontiff to his

* See *supra*, p. 350. *Regest., 436, f. 104: "Antonio Olzina, duarum galearum patrono, militi S. Jacobi de Spata contra Turchos destinato conceditur littera passus," 1455, x. Cal. Jun. (23rd May); *ibid.*, f. 38b: "Antonio de Frescobaldis, priori Pisar., assignantur pecuniæ cameræ ap^ce debitæ pro rebus necessariis ad armandum 4 galeas et unam navim in portu Pisano," 1455, iv. Non. Mai (4th May). Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Raynaldus is mistaken in asserting that these troubles broke out in the year 1455. The **Letter of Pietro de Campofregoso to Fr. Sforza, dated Genoa, 1456, July 17th, proves that they took place in the latter year. State Archives, Milan. Pot. Est., Genova.

‡ As, for example, the Venetians. See the *Letter of the Signoria to Barbono Morosini, their ambassador at Rome, dated 1456, May 25th. Senatus Secreta, xx., f. 92b. State Archives, Venice.

§ See **the Brief of Calixtus III. to Genoa, dated Rome, 1456, s.d., Lib. brev., 7, f. 24b. State Archives, Venice.

ambassadors at Naples, "the Hungarians would have taken fresh courage. As it is they hear nothing of our fleet, and break forth into bitter complaints. Oh, traitors! your ships might have discomfited the Turks, raised up the Christians of the East, and delivered Hungary from the danger which threatens her. Instead of this, you have shamefully betrayed us with the help of our own money. The vengeance of God and of the Holy See will surely overtake you! Alfonso, King of Aragon, help Pope Calixtus! If you refuse, you will incur the wrath of heaven!"* The Pope then issued orders removing Urrea and his accomplices from their posts, and entrusted the execution of the sentence to Cardinal Scarampo, who was nominated Admiral of the Fleet.†

* Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 12. The letter from which the above extract is taken is addressed to Jacopo Perpinya, and unfortunately bears no date. Lib. brev., 7, f. 6-6b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† For the *Bull of deposition preserved in duplicate in the Regesta, see Appendix No. 38. In an undated *Letter to Cardinal Scarampo the Pope gives him permission to remove Urrea and Olzina: "a te vocandi et ut personaliter veniant cogendi et prefatos archiepiscopum et Antonium ac ceteros patrones vel substitutos ab eis si videris expedire a regiminis administratione et officiis per nos sibi commissis privandi et amovendi, sicuti nos harum serie et alias per nostras patentes litteras ab eisdem officiis, capitaneatu, admiratu, patronatu, regimine et administratione galearum et aliorum navigiorum amovemus et privamus." At the same time authority was given to Scarampo to appoint others to the vacant posts. Lib. brev., 7, f. 21b. In the Regest., 458, f. 68b-69, the document empowering him to remove the offenders is dated 1456, vii. Id. Jul. (9th July), A° 2°. It is difficult to understand the subsequent leniency of the Pope towards these traitors. On the 18th August, 1456, Calixtus III. wrote to Scarampo that he had certainly issued the above Bull against Urrea and his companions: "Considerata tamen impraesenciarum temporum et

These disastrous occurrences, however, could not damp the courage of the Pope, on the contrary, difficulties only increased his zeal for the holy cause. The construction and equipment of a fleet in Rome was the object of his efforts, and it is the special glory of this Pope that he successfully carried into execution a project which had hitherto been scoffed at as hopelessly chimerical.* The astonished Romans, who were soon to behold the baptism of a Turkish prince (March, 1456),† suddenly witnessed the development of an unwonted activity on the banks of

negociorum qualitate non alienum a nobis videtur, si mitius quam eorum demerita postulent agimus cum eisdem. Volumus igitur harumque serie facultatem tibi damus, ut satisfacto per dictum archiepiscopum et alios prefatos illis Venetianis, Januensibus ac aliis de eisdem querelantibus de pecuniis rebus et bonis, quibus se spoliatos asserunt, si pro utilitate classis nostre tibi faciendum videbitur, possis eidem archiepiscopo et ceteris salvum conductum dare et eos assecurare, ut bene serviendo et operando mala commissa et detestabilia bonis et gratis serviciis compensando ad gratiam nostram reduci valeant." Lib. brev., 7, f. 31b. Olzina did not amend, as we learn from a *Brief of Calixtus III. to Scarampo, dated 1458, March 15, in which he says: "Antonium autem Olzina quid in nos . . . temerarie temptaverit volendo pecunias et alia que classi nostre per prefatum Mich. de Borga mittebamus auferre, credimus te ex eodem Michaele intellexisse et ita eum et ei similes, si venerint in manus tuas, merita pena castiges." Lib. brev., 7, f. 153b. All these letters are in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* Voigt, ii., 177.

† In the *Reichstagsacten, Ansbacher Serie, Vol. v. (also numbered as i., embracing the period from 1414-1493), is, f. 61b, the following contemporary notice: *"Receptus est unus Turcus de stirpe regia cum aliis tribus Turcis secunda post Letare (8th March) in ecclesia S. Laurencii in Damaso ad fontem baptismatis, cum quibus nepos pape facit solempnitatem ducendo eos de ecclesia ad ecclesiam." Formerly in the Royal Archives at Munich, now in the Kreisarchiv at Bamberg.

the Tiber: docks were constructed at Ripa Grande, and a wall for the mooring of the galleys erected at Sto. Spirito. In order to hasten as much as possible the completion of the naval preparations, the Pope caused carpenters and seamen to be brought from Spoleto* and other places.

Cardinal Lodovico Scarampo was appointed Captain-General and Admiral of the Fleet. This warlike and wealthy prince of the Church, whose character had much in common with that of Vitelleschi, had already given proof of his military capacity in the time of Eugenius IV. Of all the Cardinals, he was perhaps the one best fitted for the conduct of this arduous enterprise, but he would have preferred remaining in Rome, where he occupied a most influential position at Court. This very circumstance, however, made the jealous members of the Borgia family anxious for his removal, and the Cardinal was finally compelled to depart.†

Scarampo's appointment as Legate and Admiral of the Papal Fleet took place on the 17th December, 1455, and was the occasion of magnificent festivities in Rome. A further decree then extended his authority as Legate over Sicily, Dalmatia, Macedonia, the whole of Greece, the Islands of the Ægean Sea, Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus, and the Asiatic Provinces, and declared that all places which he should conquer from the enemy were to be subject to his rule.‡

* Æn. Sylvius, Europa, c. 58. Guglielmotti, 221-222.

† Cribellus (57) asserts that the Cardinal declined to leave Rome, alleging as his reason the fewness of the ships, and that Calixtus III. threatened to proceed against him. I have not found any confirmation of this statement in the numerous Despatches of Ambassadors of the period.

‡ Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 13, where, however, the second decree is not given. The date of the appointment, which is omitted in the Regesta of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, is supplied by

The arrangements for the construction of the ships of war were henceforth chiefly in Scarampo's hands; but a commission which had been formed by Nicholas V., and consisted of Cardinals Bessarion, d'Estouteville, Capranica, Orsini, and Barbo, shared his labours.* The Pope's anxiety was increased by the frequent arrival of evil tidings from the East, and he unceasingly strove to push forward the works, and, in addition to the general tithe, required from the Cardinals a special contribution towards the cost of the fleet.†

A Register marked with a red cross is preserved in the Roman State Archives, and furnishes us with an account of the arrangements concerning the sums expended on the construction of the fleet in 1455-1456. The insight afforded us into the warlike preparations so zealously carried on by the Pope is most valuable. The administrative labours were directed by the Surveyor-General, Ambrogio Spannochi, under the control of Cardinal Scarampo. From this Register we learn that the work was begun in the autumn of 1455, and carried on during the whole of the following winter.‡ The cost of the iron,

Niccola della Tuccia (187) and by the Cardinal's letter which I found in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua, and have inserted in Appendix No. 36. Poggio congratulated Scarampo on his appointment (lib. iii., ep. 20 [ed. Tonelli]), and so did Genoa (Vigna, vi., 517), and Venice on the 29th December, 1455 (the latter speaks of the selection of Scarampo as "facta per Pont. Max. unanimi voto et consensu sacri collegii R^or. dominor. cardinalium"). Senatus Secreta, xx., f. 76. State Archives, Venice.

* This is evident from a letter addressed by the above-named Cardinal to Lodovico de Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1456, Febr. 15. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Makuscev, i., 1, 307.

‡ *Mandata pro classe conficienda. Diversor. Calixti III., 1455 ad. 1456, Sec. Cam., f. 183 *et seq.* Previously in the Archivio

pitch, and timber required for ship building is accurately entered, as well as the amount spent in the purchase of stone and leaden cannon-balls, cross-bows, arrows, morions, coats of mail, lances, swords, pick-axes, chains, ropes, and anchors. We are made acquainted with the smallest details of the equipment of the expedition, including even the flags and banners, the tents, and the ship-biscuits. The very bill for five reams of paper, (sent from Rome to Ostia), for the future correspondence of the Papal fleet is before us.*

The eager Pontiff desired that the expedition should start on the 1st April, 1456,† but the month of May had drawn to

Camerale dei Cancellieri della R.C.A., now in the Roman State Archives. Guglielmotti (252) also cites as existing in the Secret Archives of the Vatican *"Liber domini Thesaurarii introituum et exituum pro galeis 1455 et 1456, quattro codici segnati 1549, 1550, 1551, 1552," and gives some particulars from them. Amati (181) also mentions these documents, but says there are only two volumes. Unfortunately these Registers were not forthcoming, either in 1879 or on the occasion of my last sojourn in Rome in the spring of 1884. Guglielmotti's extracts are by no means so complete as might be desired, and do not suffice, in the absence of these volumes, to give us a complete idea of the expenditure of Calixtus III.

* *Mandata of the Roman State Archives (see Guglielmotti, 224 *et seq.*, whose statements are in part incorrect. His omission of the exact dates is misleading, and so is his neglect to make any distinction between Scarampo's decrees and those issued by his successor.) The "Mandata Ludovici Card. Aquilej." begin, f. 193, with the 22nd October, 1455, and end, f. 208b, with the 29th May, 1456. Then follow decrees of Georgius episcopus Lausan. to f. 217, but at f. 213b is another decree of Scarampo's of 1st May, 1456. The chronological order is by no means accurately preserved in the entries in this Register, for at f. 194 we find a decree of the 7th October, 1455.

† See the above-mentioned letters of the six Cardinals to Lodovico Gonzaga of the 15th February, 1456, in the Gonzaga

its close before the preparations were so far advanced as to render its departure possible. On the Feast of St. Petronilla (May 31) the Pope himself affixed the cross to the shoulder of the Cardinal Legate, who at once proceeded to Ostia with the ships which had been built in Rome.* Three weeks more passed before they stood out to sea, for in an Italian Archive there are letters written by Scarampo on the 13th and 20th June, and dated from the mouth of the Tiber.† According to the commonly received account, the forces under the Legate's command consisted of sixteen galleys; a recent historian, however, asserts that the fleet numbered twenty-seven sail, was manned by a thousand seamen, and conveyed five thousand soldiers with three hundred pieces of cannon.‡

The troops were gathered partly from Rome, Civita-

Archives at Mantua. See Makuscev, i., 1, 307, and the Papal **Letter to Fr. Sforza of the 27th April, 1556. State Archives, Milan.

* Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 12. See the *Brief to Joh. Solerius: "Hodie [June 1; see *Acta consist.] vero idem noster legatus suscepta per nos omnipotentis Dei benedictione cum ea qua decuit tantum negocium ceremonia triremes ascendit, ut recta via ad Reg. Maiestatem proficiscatur et acceptis xv. galeis per eundem regem oblatis felici auspicio impii Turci terras petat easque inimiciter invadat. Dabis igitur operam, ut dicte xv. triremes armate reperiantur." Romæ s. d. Lib. brev. 7, f. 35b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† The *Letters of Scarampo to Lodovico Marchese di Mantova, d.d. ex ostio Tiberis super classem, 1456, June 13 and 20, in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua. The statement of the Papal Letters that the fleet was sent forth "ab ultimo die Maii" is, therefore, only correct in a general sense; the expression occurs in the *Letter to Cardinal Széchy, and in that to St. John Capistran, d.d. 1456, viii., Cal. Sept. (25 Aug.), Lib. brev. 7, f. 22 and 39b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ Guglielmotti, 267-268.

vecchia, Ancona, and Perugia, and partly from Fermo and Bologna. Among them were the Counts of Anguillara and other leaders of the mercenary bands which had been engaged against Piccinino. Velasco Farigna, a Portuguese, was appointed by the Pope vice-admiral. Judicial functions were confided to Alfonso de Calatambio, of Aragon.* By the month of August the cost of the fleet had amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand ducats.†

The object of the expedition was twofold—firstly, to protect the harassed Christian populations of the islands in the Ægean Sea from the Turks; and, secondly, to divide the armed forces of the infidels by means of a sea attack.‡ For the latter purpose the fleet was evidently inadequate, and accordingly the Pope's first care was to provide reinforcements. Scarampo, furnished with ample powers,§ directed his course at once to Naples, in order to take possession of fifteen galleys which had been promised the year before by

* Guglielmotti, 237-239, 235-236. See *Regest., 467, f. 169: "A° 1456 die xxiv. mensis Maii spect. dominus Valiscus de Farinha de Portugallo iuravit officium viceadmiratus classis apostolicæ contra Turcos," etc. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† *Calixtus III. to Cardinal Dionys. Széchy (s.d., but after the arrival of the tidings of the victory at Belgrade): "in qua (classe) paranda et armanda Deo teste iam supra cl. ducatorum millia expendimus." Lib. brev. 7, f. 22. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ See Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 10. *Calixtus III. to Bishop John of Pavia (s.d.): "Nos vero ad eorum vires distrahendas, scis quanta cum celeritate emisimus classem nostram iamque legatus Neapoli est, qui receptis triremibus regiis intra paucos dies Constantinopolim feliciter ad hostium terras invade[ndas] navigabit." Lib. brev. 7, f. 5b-6. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ *Regest., 433, f. 122 *et seq.* Faculties for "Ludovicus tit. S. Laurentii in Damaso in partibus orient. legato," d.d. 1456, ix. Cal. Jun.. v. Cal. Jun., x. Cal. Jun., viii. Cal. Jun., vii. Cal. Jun. etc. (=24, 28, 23, 25, 26 May). Secret Archives of the Vatican

King Alfonso. But the faithless monarch now made difficulties of every kind. As long as he could extort money from the churches and clergy of his realm he had been lavish of promises, but the money had been spent in the payment of his debts, squandered in splendid feasts, or employed in the prosecution of the war against the unfortunate Genoese.* The departure of Scarampo was thus delayed so long that the Pope became extremely impatient. He sent a special messenger to Naples, requiring the legate to put to sea immediately, even if the King's galleys were not in readiness. Letters from Cardinal Carvajal had reached Rome with tidings that the Turks might be expected to attack Hungary unless their forces were shortly weakened by the operations of the fleet.† Calixtus III. shortly afterwards desired his ambassador to "constrain" the legate to depart, saying that in Sicily he would find money and the ships which had been commanded by the Archbishop of Tarragona.‡ The Pope also wrote himself imploring him to start without delay, and finally laid him under an obedience to do so. In one of the Papal Briefs he thus addresses him: "Gird yourself with the sword, beloved son; leave Naples and fulfil your promise. Then

* J. J. Pontanus, De liberalitate (Opp. Basil., 1538), t. i. c. 9. Voigt., ii., 175; Vigna, vi., 697. Regarding Alfonso's promises, see a *Despatch from Æneas Sylvius, dated Rome, 1455, December 17, in the P.S. of which he says: "Rex Aragonum promittet pape pro nunc contra Turchos galeas xv. et sperat de meliori sibi subvenire summa." Concistoro, Lettere ad an. State Archives, Siena.

† *Calixtus III. to Jacopo Perpinya (s.d.): "Quare te hortamur ut, illico cum Neapolim applicueris, omni cura instes, ut legatus noster etiam cum solis galeis nostris, si illae regis non sunt paratae, recedat." Lib. brev. 7, f. 6. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ See Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 13, and *Lib. brev. 7, f. 7, 30b, 34. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

will God be with you, and neither money nor anything else that is necessary will be wanting."*

Scarampo entered on the expedition with great and manifest reluctance, and endeavoured as much as possible to defer its departure. The Pope was greatly incensed, and bitterly complained of the Cardinal, who only quitted Naples with a few of the King's galleys on the 6th of August.† The persistent entreaties of the Pope, who had in an autograph letter urgently implored Alfonso to furnish the promised galleys, were at least effectual in bringing about a change in the mind of the King.‡

Almost as soon as the Pope heard that Scarampo had

* Calixtus III., Camerario Legato (s.d.): "Accinge[re], dilecte fili, gladio potentissime et recede de Neapoli, adimple promissa et Deus erit tecum, nam pecunie non deficient nec alia necessaria. Victoria etiam cum paucis ab alto promissa est contra perfidum Turcum, nisi per te steterit. Et considera iam esse prope finem estus, et si nunc non navigas, quod tempus expectas?" Lib. brev. 7, f. 34b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† The Despatch of the 24th August, 1456, given in the Appendix No. 43, bears witness to the indignation of Calixtus III. against Scarampo. A *Despatch from Æneas Sylvius, Galgano Borghese, and Bernardo Benvoglienti, dated Naples, 1456, August 6, and containing the following words: "El rev. patriarcha questa sera si parti," has furnished me with the hitherto unknown date of Scarampo's departure. Cod. A., iii., 16. City Library, Siena.

‡ Calixtus III., Joh. Solerio, 1456, August 6: "Alfonso regi Aragonum et utriusque Siciliae illustri, cui etiam manu propria ut in copia hic inclusa, scripsimus, ut intelligat in quanto (the following words to 'classe' are identical in Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 13), non enim parum utilitatis, ut dictus legatus scribit, facient galee nostre licet non sint in multo numero," etc. Lib. brev. 7, f. 22b-23. Secret Archives of the Vatican. It cannot be doubted that Alfonso finally gave some ships. Whether they were, as the Despatch in Appendix No. 43 asserts, the fifteen which had been promised, I am, in the absence of further evidence, unable to say.

quitted Sicily he urged him to proceed to the Greek waters.* His anxiety for immediate action was due to the continuance of disquieting reports from Hungary regarding Turkish preparations. He hoped that the appearance of his naval forces in the Ægean Sea would ultimately divert the attention of the Turks from that Kingdom, and meanwhile diminish their power of attacking it. Accordingly his first care was for the fleet.† New ships for its reinforcement were built in Rome. Odoardo Gaetani, Count of Fondi, presented Calixtus with a vessel which, in company with one of these, was to proceed to the relief of Rhodes early in the year 1457. The command of these two ships was entrusted to two Knights of St. John.‡

The ardent desires of the Pope were at last fulfilled; the flag of St. Peter appeared in the Greek waters, and the Christian islands were in some degree defended against the advances of the Turks.

The Papal force under Scarampo first touched at Rhodes to supply the distressed Knights with money, weapons, and corn, and then proceeded to Chios and Lesbos. In vain did the Cardinal endeavour to incite the inhabitants of these two islands to refuse payment of the tribute imposed by the

* Calixtus III. to Jacopo Perpinya, Appendix No. 40. See his other undated *Brief to J. Solerius: "Et ita si aliquid operari potes; ut (sc. legatus) brevissime a Sicilia recedat, facias quod poteris." Lib. brev. 7, f. 10b.

† *Brief to Scarampo (s.d.(. Lib. brev. 7, f. 27. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ See Guglielmotti, ii., 275-276. In the Brief nominating Giov. Rolla he has omitted, after "fabricatæ," the words: "quam ad classem nostram et partes orientales tradendam ibi legato nostro mittimus patronum auctoritate apost. tenore praesentium facimus." *Regest., 465, f. 256b. For particulars regarding O. Gaetani's vessel, see Vigna, vi., 719-720, and Lib. brev. 7, f. 63b, 68, 69, 69b, 71. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

infidel. Dread of Turkish vengeance deterred them from joining the Christian cause. He was more successful in Lemnos, whence, as well as in Samothrace and Thasos, he expelled the Turkish garrison and left Papal troops in their place. He then established his head-quarters at Rhodes, where a large arsenal was at his disposal.*

The hopes and expectations of Calixtus III. were, no doubt, out of proportion with the strength of the fleet at his command.† Yet he also clearly perceived that no decisive success was possible without the co-operation of some of the most powerful of the western princes. But the danger which threatened to annihilate all the great results of centuries of Christianity elicited from these princes nothing but fair words. In vain did the aged Pontiff raise his voice in favour of the Holy War; his fiery eloquence produced little or no effect.

It became more and more evident that the age of crusades was past, and that the ideas which for centuries had ruled the minds of men had now lost their power. Internal dissensions had destroyed the sentiment of the solidarity of Christendom and its interests as opposed to the infidel. The great cause of Eastern Christianity touched no chord in the heart of Europe.‡

Fruitless deliberations took place in Germany, where a portion of the clergy sought to veil their selfish dislike to the levy of tithes for the crusade under a show of zeal for

* See Ducas, Hist. Byz. (Bonn edition), 338. Chalcocondyl. 469. Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 10. See the *Brief to P. Fenollet (s.d.). Lib. brev. 7, f. 59b. Secret Archives of the Vatican. Sanudo, 1159. Pius II., Comment., 205. J. Phil. Bergom., 306. Hammer, ii., 26. Zinkeisen, ii., 235. Heyd, ii., 319. Guglielmotti, ii., 216, 217 *et seq.* Vigna, vi., 792. The last two writers over-estimate the success of the fleet.

† See Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 50.

‡ Kampschulte, Zur Gesch., 20.

the liberties of the German Church.* The peace-loving Emperor Frederick III. was by no means the man to rouse the empire to united and vigorous effort. Indeed its distracted condition would have made it an easy prey to any invader who once gained a footing in the realm. He would have found only isolated forces to resist him, each one of which could have been separately overcome.

The conduct of France was utterly unworthy of a Christian power. Repeatedly and in eloquent terms did the Pope appeal to the French King, particularly at the time of the departure of the fleet,† but the weak and helpless Charles VII. was indifferent to the exhortations by which he was reminded of his predecessors, and especially of St. Louis.‡ He excused his failure to comply with the Papal demands on the ground of the uncertain state of his relations with England, and of the necessity of being on his guard against that State. In the first instance he had forbidden the passage of troops through France, the promulgation of the Bull of the Crusade, and the collection of the tithes for the war. These proceedings called forth just and serious complaints from the Pope,§ who used every effort to bring about peace with England, and so remove the King's pretext. His attempts were unsuccessful in this matter, as were also those which he made to reconcile Charles VII.

* Döllinger, Lehrbuch, ii., 1, 349. Further particulars in the next chapter. Nicholas V. had already been constrained to reproach the German clergy with their lack of zeal for the crusade; see Kayser, 229.

† **Calixtus III. cariss. in Christo filio Carolo Francorum regi illustri, d.d. 1456 (ca. Mai). Lib. brev. 7, f. 1b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ *Despatch to the same (s.d. [1456, October ?]). Lib. brev. 7, f. 48. Secret Archives of the Vatican. See Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 3 and 43, and Wadding xii., 380 *et seq.*

§ Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 3.

with his son.* The Pope was much distressed by the manner in which Cardinal Alain neglected his duties as legate in France.† There are a number of unpublished letters on this subject. In the first of these, which was written in September, 1456, Calixtus expresses his surprise at the conduct of the French King, who, notwithstanding the goodwill recently manifested towards him by the Pontiff, would not permit the collection of the tithes for the crusade or even the publication of the Bull concerning it. This unfriendly conduct at such a time was, Calixtus declared, most painful to him. In conclusion, Alain is urgently exhorted to show himself zealous in the fulfilment of the duties entrusted to him, so as to falsify the sneering remarks which were current in regard to the failure of his

* Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 5. *Calixtus III. domino Delphino (s.d.). " . . . Vince te ipsum, ut alios vincere valeas; cum pater tuus dicat se omnia erga te velle facere, quæ pius et bonus pater debet . . . dum ad præsentiam suam veneris; age igitur, ut de te speramus, quoniam non modica pars victoriæ contra perfidum Turcum stat in concordia tua. Super his dil. fil. Ludovicus Cescases dicet tibi magis ample et extense verbis et consilio," etc., Lib. brev. 7, f. 13. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Raynaldus (ad an. 1456, N. 1) is mistaken in assigning 1456 as the year of Alain's appointment as legate for France. The document which he gives is not the Brief of appointment. *This is to be found, d.d. 1455, prid Id. Sept., in Regest., 455, f. 5, of the Secret Archives of the Vatican. See also in Appendix, No. 35, the *Despatch of the Bishop of Pavia of the 9th Sept., 1455, and a *letter from Æneas Sylvius, dated Rome, 1455, Nov. 27, from the original in the State Archives at Milan. From these documents it appears that Alain was received in a very friendly manner, especially by the Dauphin, and that accordingly joyful anticipations of the co-operation of France were entertained. State Archives, Siena.

mission to France.* In October of the same year the Pope again felt it necessary to write to him in a similar strain. "The Christian who does not now render assistance in following up the victory God has granted," he says, alluding to the battle at Belgrade, "proves himself unworthy of divine favours." To this exhortation was added a command to urge upon the King the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction.† The Knights of St. John at Rhodes were at this time endeavouring to secure a very large portion of the French tithes. In a long letter to Charles VII. the Pope objected to this arrangement, inasmuch as a great deal had already been done for Rhodes, and the support of the fleet was now the first consideration.‡

In February, 1457, Alain was again urged in the strongest manner to forward the money for the crusade. That which had been collected in Italy was far from sufficient for the

**Calixtus III. to Cardinal Alain (s.d. [probably Sept., 1456, as the appointment of Blaise de Gréelle to the Archbishopric of Bordeaux is mentioned]). Lib. brev. 7, f. 43b. Secret Archives of the Vatican. See *Ibid.*, f. 47b-48, a Brief also undated, but belonging to the same period, addressed to Charles VII., and in Appendix No. 44 the *Brief of 17th December to Alain. Colonna Archives, Rome.

† Calixtus III. to Card. Alain, dated 1456, Oct. 8 (two short passages in Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 43 and 51). "Quis igitur, qui catholicus sit et a deo potentiam accepit, negliget prosequi victoriam a deo pro salute nostra incohatam? Certe non nisi ingratus beneficiorum dei, qui de eis, quicunque fuerint, vindictam accipiet, Dabis igitur operam omni cura, studio et diligentia, ut, quod plerique ridiculose aiunt, frustra pro ecclesia missus esse non videaris." The Pope had acceded to the King's wish in regard to the appointment to the See of Bordeaux: "Utinam quo ei facimus faciat nobis." Lib. brev. 7, f. 49. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ *Ibid.*, f. 52-52b. Here is also a similar *Letter to Card. Alain.

support and reinforcement of the fleet, and he was to take measures for the collection of the tribute, not merely in France, but also in England. "Woe, woe to those, whoever they may be," exclaimed the Pope, "who hinder the cause of the crusade!"* At the end of March, 1457, Calixtus had not yet received a penny towards the war from the wide dominions of France. While he deplored this strange fact, he expressly blamed Alain for writing so little regarding the crusade. In the same brief he regrets the sluggishness of the Catholic princes;† and in hopes of stirring up the French King to greater zeal, he this year sent him the Golden Rose.‡ Afterwards when an agreement had been entered into between Charles VII. and the Pope§ for the construction of a fleet of thirty sail from the proceeds of the tithe, fresh difficulties arose. The King expressly prohibited the export of the money collected for the crusade, and even detained the ships which he had engaged to send, and employed them, not against the Turks,

* *Brief to Card. Alain, dated 1457, Feb. 16: "Des operam, ut pecunie ex ista tua legatione decima ac cruciata ad nos transmittantur, non enim sufficiunt facultates nostre nec pecunie, quas in Italia colligimus, ad sustentationem classis emisse et munitionem alterius emittende. . . . Et ve ve adversantibus, judicium enim portabit, qui nos conturbat quicunque sit ille." Lib. brev. 7, f. 66-67.

† *Brief to Card. Alain, dated 1457, March 26. Lib. brev. 7, f. 74b. See Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 51. In another *letter (s.d.), probably also addressed to Alain, are the following words: "Adhuc nihil nisi verba habuimus." *Loc. cit.*, f. 95.

‡ Brief to Charles VII., dated 1457, May 24. *Loc. cit.*, f. 93b-94. The conclusion, asking a favourable reception for J. Perpinya, the bearer of the Golden Rose, is wanting in Raynaldus (ad an. 1457, N. 52). See the *Brief to L. Cescases. *Loc. cit.*, f. 99.

§ Besides the passages adduced by Voigt (ii., 176, note 4), see also Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 33 and 54.

but partly against the English and partly against Naples.* This amounted to actual treason against the Christian cause.

Under these circumstances it can hardly be deemed surprising that a considerable proportion of the French clergy assumed an attitude of absolute opposition to the Papal demands.

As early as the year 1456 the University of Paris had ventured to appeal from the Pope to a council in regard to the tithe for the war imposed by Calixtus.† The University of Toulouse and several ecclesiastical corporations in different dioceses of the kingdom joined in this appeal. Alain lost courage, and failed to act with the energy required.‡ The appellants then presented a very violent memorial to the King, strongly urging him to resist the "presumption of the Pope in levying a tax on the Gallican Church without her consent," and to do this all the more zealously in view of the audacity with which the Pope had opposed the newest fundamental law of the French State,

* St. Antoninus, iii., tit. xxii., c. 16, §1. The serious accusations in the Commentary of Pius II. (f. 94, the whole passage is given in Cugnoni, 198), to the effect that Alain had embezzled money collected for the crusade, had never given the Pope a penny, and had not returned to Rome until after the death of Calixtus, cannot be maintained, for the *Acta consist. (Secret Archives of the Vatican) bear witness that the cardinal came back to Rome on the 4th May, 1458. From other Archives we learn that Alain was in Rome during the life of Calixtus III., see Chap. IV.

† Bulaeus, v., 609, 613, 617. Planckh, Gesch. des Papstthums, iii., 512.

‡ Calixtus III. expressed his surprise at the cardinal's conduct in a *Brief to Ludov. de Narnia. Lib. brev. 7, f. 104. Secret Archives of the Vatican. See Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 54, and Basin, Hist. de Charles VII. et de Louis XI., published by Quicherat (Paris, 1855), i., 321.

the Pragmatic Sanction of 1438. In August, 1457, the King answered by a declaration that "the levy of the tithe prescribed by the Pope was to take place, but that the rights of the French were in no way to be impaired."*

In June, 1457, the University of Paris had even sent a special envoy to Rome to protest before the Pope and cardinals against the collection of the tithes, and at the same time to present eighteen anti-Papal articles and demand a general council.† The reply of Calixtus was by no means wanting in decision. Alain was reproved for his negligence, and commanded to compel the University of Paris to withdraw the appeal, which was declared invalid on the score of "rashness and impiety," while the appellants were visited with ecclesiastical penalties.‡

Notwithstanding all the grand promises made by the Duke of Burgundy, he did no more than Charles VII. to assist in the Holy War. None of the money collected in his dominions appears to have been transmitted to Rome, for, in the Register of Briefs of Calixtus III., we find one addressed to Philip regarding the large sums obtained in Burgundy for the crusade. The Pope here begs that, if not the whole, at least a portion of the amount may be sent to him.§ In December, 1457, when alarming accounts of the immense warlike preparations of the Turks reached Rome,

* Lett. pat. du Roi, Aout. 3, 1457, in the Preuv. des libert. de l'Eglise Gallic., ii., 861-862.

† *Despatch of the Abbot of St. Ambrogio, dated 1457, June 23, in Appendix No. 46, from the original in the Ambrosian Library.

‡ **Bulle, "Illius qui," d.d. 1457, iv. Cal. Jul., Reg. 460, f. 134-135b. Secret Archives of the Vatican. The Brief to Alain is in Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 56-57.

§ Brief to Philip of Burgundy s.d. Lib. brev. 7, f. 42b; see *ibid.*, 48-48b. *Calixtus III. duci Burgundie (Britanie). Secret Archives of the Vatican. Regarding Philip's power, see Kampen, Geschichte der Niederlände, i., 212, f. In the year 1455 the income of the Duke of Burgundy was nine hundred thousand

the Pope wrote a fresh letter of remonstrance to the Duke, but it proved equally fruitless.*

King Christian of Denmark and Norway, and King Alfonso of Portugal, had also been lavish in promises of assistance against the Turks. But on the 2nd June, 1455, we find the former of these two monarchs providing himself with money by abstracting from the sacristy of the cathedral at Roskilde the pious offerings which had been collected for the expenses of the war and for the relief of the King of Cyprus! †

The solemn promises made by the King of Portugal in the autumn of 1456 both by letters and by his envoys to Rome had filled the Cardinals, the whole Court, and the Pope himself with the brightest hopes, and Calixtus had felt no hesitation in leaving in his hands the tithe collected in his dominions in the years 1456 and 1457.‡ King

ducats, that of Milan five hundred thousand, the Pope's four hundred thousand, that of Naples three hundred and ten thousand, and of Florence two hundred thousand ducats. Müntz, La Renaissance, 50.

* **Brief to Philip of Burgundy. Dat. u.s. (1457, Dec. 21), lib. brev. 7, f. 144. Regarding the Turkish preparations the Pope wrote as follows to Cardinal Alain on the 20th December, 1457: "Perfidus Turchus opera et studio nostro et dei auxilio jam pridem apud Hungaros turpiter profligatus et multis calamitatibus a classe nostra et alias affectus incredibili studio, ut certiores sumus effecti, et terra et mari magnam parat potentiam, ut tanquam canis rabidus in Christianos irruat et hoc hac estate proxime futura." *Loc. cit.*, f. 135-136. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Danske, Magazin, i., 352. Jahn, Danm. Hist., 259. L. Daae, Kong Christian (Christiania, 1879), 112.

‡ *Episc. Silvensi nuncio in regno Portugallie, d.d. 1456, Oct. 28. Lib. brev. 7, f. 49. For an account of the powers granted by Nicholas V. to the Portuguese King in regard to the heathen and Mahometans in Africa, and confirmed by Calixtus III., see Hergenröther, Staat und Kirche, 344 *et seq.*, and Margraf, Kirche und Sklaverei, 187 *et seq.*

Alfonso certainly kept possession of the money, but was as far as his Neapolitan namesake from taking part in the crusade. Calixtus did not spare his exhortations,* and continued to hope against hope for the ultimate fulfilment of the royal promise. A letter addressed to Cardinal Carvajal on the 23rd May, 1457, shows that he at that time expected the immediate appearance of vessels of war from Portugal and from Genoa.† The nuncio to Portugal received repeated instructions to do everything in his power to hasten the King's arrival,‡ but all was in vain. Towards the end of the year 1457 the Pope's patience was at length exhausted. He commanded his nuncio to return to Rome, bringing all the money for the crusade with him unless Alfonso should set sail in the following April. When the month of April was near its close, and the Portuguese fleet had not started, Calixtus was constrained to carry his threat into execution.§ By this means he at least saved the money collected in Portugal, which was greatly needed for the reinforcement of the fleet.

Forsaken in this manner by all the European powers, the Pope could look for assistance to the Italian states alone. Here, however, he found the same indifference, the same treachery, in regard to the Christian cause. None of the Italian statesmen of the day could rise to the idea of a

* See Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 8, 10.

† *Letter to Carvajal. Lib. brev. 7, f. 75. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ *Episc. Silvensi, d.d. 1457, Apr. 10; in Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 2, the commencement and the conclusion are wanting: "Qua propter incumbe, venerabilis frater, totis viribus et omni ratione adventum præfati regis accelera." Lib. brev. 7, f. 82b-83. *Ibid.* (f. 96), similar letters to the same, and also to the King of Portugal himself, dated 1457, May 25.

§ **Episc. Silvensi, d.d. 1457, Dec. 26, and 1458, Apr. 28 *Loc. cit.*, f. 136-160.

crusade. Their views were directed exclusively to their own immediate interests.*

We have already spoken of the great difficulty which the faithless King Alfonso of Naples had, like "the most Christian Monarch," placed in the way of the crusade. Next to Alfonso, Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan was the most powerful of Italian potentates. The Pope's constant requests for the favourable reception of his envoys and for material help against the Turks were met by the fairest promises.† In reality, however, the great general had no intention of heeding the Papal behests,‡ nor of placing himself in the cause of the crusade at the head of an army against the Turks. The strengthening of his own rule in Lombardy was his constant and principal care, and all other interests were secondary to this object.§

The Republic of Venice, which was beyond all other States bound to take a decisive part in this struggle, turned a deaf ear to all the Pope's exhortations. The Signoria would not on any account compromise its commercial

* Regarding the absence of any wrong general feeling in Italy against the Turks, see Burckhardt, i., 3rd edition, 89.

† Fr. Sforza to Calixtus III., dated Milan, 1455, Nov. 12, and 1457, Dec. 22. Draft in the State Archives at Milan, Pot. Est. Roma. See Ersch-Grüber, Sect. i., Vol. 86, p. 126.

‡ See the *Original Briefs of Calixtus III. to Fr. Sforza, dated 1456, Jan. 29, March 16, and Nov. 4. In the last of these are the following words : "Die certe noctuque nihil aliud cogitamus, quam ut pessimum Turcum et ceteros infideles penitus perdamus, in quo cum non parvo tua nobilitas possit esse auxilio, eandem hortamur, ut pro viribus suis id faciat, quod tuam decet facere excellentiam, prout in ea confidimus et speramus." State Archives, Milan.

§ See Sforza's answer, dated Milan, 1456, June 1, to the request of King Ladislas for assistance. Regest. in Cod. 1613, Fonds Ital., of the National Library, Paris.

interests, and accordingly kept up constant and amicable relations with the Sultan.*

Florence also used every effort to avoid any open espousal of the Christian cause. The envoy who in the autumn of 1445 went to Porto Pisano to meet the Cardinal Legate Alain on his way to France, was strictly admonished on no account to make any definite promise in regard to co-operation in the Turkish war.† Love for the "cursed flower," as Dante called the Florentine golden florin, outweighed all else. A few of the smaller powers, like Mantua,‡ supported Calixtus, but the words of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, "The Pope calls for help and no one listens to him; he threatens, and no one is afraid," may be taken as of a most universal application.§

The courage of Calixtus III., in presence of such overwhelming difficulties, was marvellous. He continued to adjure the Christian princes and potentates to make peace

* See D. Malipiero, Annal. Veneti, 5. **The answer given to the Papal ambassador on the 8th March, 1456 (Sen. Secret, xx., f. 85b), shows the indifference of the Venetians, who at this time were endeavouring to assume arbitrary power over Ancona, and were, therefore, threatened by the Pope with excommunication. See *Bull "Romanus pontifex," dated 1456, iv. Cal. Mai. A° 2° Lib. croc. magn. f. xxiii. Ancona Archives.

† *Commissio Joannis Cosmi de Medicis deliberata cum collegiis sub die xx. Sept., 1455, ad rev. card. Avinionen. legat. D. N. P., Cl. x., dist. i., No. 44, f. 158b. State Archives, Florence.

‡ *Scarampo to Lodovico de Gonzaga, d.d. Ex hostio tiberino, 1456, Jun. 20: "Venerunt nuper ad nos missi per ill. D. V. pedites et ballistarii," etc. Original in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua. In contrast to Lodovico de Gonzaga we find that the Duke of Urbino at once forbade the collection of money for the crusades in his dominions, for which the Pope, on the 26th July, 1457, threatened him with excommunication. Lib. brev. 7, f. 113. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ Epist., 239. Opp., 780.

among themselves, and take arms against the enemies of God. He still sent a number of ambassadors, chiefly selected from the Minorite friars, to collect money and troops for the holy war from every country in Europe. He himself gave the example of sacrifice by turning the treasures and jewels collected by Nicholas V. into money, and finally giving up the silver plate used at his table. Brother Gabriel of Verona informed his friend, St. John Capistran, that one day when gilt salt-cellars and other valuable articles were placed on his table, the Pope exclaimed: "Away, away with these things! take them for the Turks! Earthenware will do quite as well for me!"* In one of his briefs Calixtus expresses his willingness to have only a linen mitre for the sake of the defence of the Holy Gospel and of the true faith.†

No danger or difficulty had power to subdue the fiery enthusiasm of the aged man. "Only cowards," he used to say, "fear danger; the palm of glory grows nowhere but on the battle-field."‡ The epithet of "high-souled old man" has been well bestowed on Calixtus III. by Palmieri,

* Wadding, xii., 290. The Pope speaks in many of his letters of his great outlay for the war. See also the *Letters of Cardinal Scarampo to Lodovico de Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1455, Nov. 18, and 1456, Jan. 2. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† *Nec non tedeat dicere: ad gloriam immortalem in prosequicione defensionis sacri Evangelii et fidei orthodoxe, quam prosequimur eciam noctes transeundo insopnes, sola mitra linea remaneat nobis." Brief, without address or date, in lib. brev. 745. See *ibid.* (f. 23), the *Brief to Todi, dated [1457], Aug. 7: *"pro quo" (the war against the Turks) "nos aurum, argentum et iocalia nostra etiam usque ad mitras et exposuimus hactenus et exponere decernimus," and (f. 40), the *Brief to Cardinal Alain, dated 1456, Nov. 8.

‡ Raynaldus ad an. 1458, N. 41.

but the reproach uttered by Petrarch in the days of Urban V. was still applicable to the European potentates.

> Ye lords of Christendom! eternal shame
> For ever will pursue each royal name,
> And tell your wolfish rage for kindred blood,
> While Paynim hounds profane the seat of God!*

* Trionfo della Fama, c. 2. Translation by Boyd.

CHAPTER III.

THE VICTORY OF THE CRUSADERS AT BELGRADE—THROUGH THE INDOLENCE OF THE CHRISTIAN POWERS IT IS NOT TURNED TO ACCOUNT — ANTI-PAPAL FEELING IN GERMANY—RELATIONS OF CALIXTUS III. WITH NAPLES.

THE failure of the efforts made by the Holy See to unite all the nations of Europe in a defensive alliance against the ceaseless encroachments of Islam strengthened Mahomet II.'s determination to adopt aggressive measures and attack Hunyadi, whom he justly considered as, after Skanderbeg, the only enemy able to meet him on equal terms. Hungary was the power most dreaded by the Sultan, and accordingly his chief aim was to cripple or to annihilate it. In order to give a firmer basis to the political and military operations undertaken for this purpose he had even in the year 1454 begun to extend his dominion in Servia. Hunyadi was not in a position to prevent this, and in July, 1455, the important and strongly fortified city of Novoberdo, with all the treasures, which had in the course of years been amassed within its walls, fell into the hands of the infidels.*

In the following year Mahomet resolved to deal Hungary a decisive blow. He had no reason to apprehend hostile attacks by sea from the west, for the Republic of Genoa

* Hertzberg, Byzantiner und Osmanen, 607. Zinkeisen, ii., 68 *et seq.*, 77 *et seq.*

was helpless, and Venice was friendly, while the little Papal fleet, unsupported by any Christian naval power, was not likely to give him much trouble.

During the winter of 1455-1456 the Turks were actively engaged in getting ready for war. Troops were assembled from all parts of the kingdom, and an immense number of men worked day and night in a cannon-foundry, which was established at Kruschewatz on the Morava. Extensive preparations were made for the provisioning of the army which was to besiege Belgrade. War materials of all descriptions were carried to the spot. Weapons, especially bows and arrows, and a great part of the provisions, were procured in the adjacent province of Bosnia and stored up in magazines. Mills for grinding corn and a number of bakeries were constructed. With a care and foresight almost unknown in the West, everything was provided that could be needed for a protracted siege, or serve, in the event of success, to render Belgrade available as the Sultan's headquarters for future operations against Hungary and more northern lands.*

In June, 1456, the ruler of the infidels led an army of more than a hundred and fifty thousand men† with three hundred cannons towards the Danube, on his way to Belgrade, the bulwark of Vienna. His progress was absolutely unopposed, and by the beginning of July the city, which was the key to Hungary, was completely invested by land. A terrible fire was opened and kept up night and

* Zinkeisen, ii., 80-81. See the letter of the Minorite Friar, Giovanni da Tagliacozzo, in Wadding, xii., 344 *et seq.*

† This estimate is the lowest, but the one nearest to the truth. See Voigt, in Sybel's Zeitschr., x., 77 *et seq.*, and Zinkeisen, ii., 80. Others affirmed "that the Turkish Emperor, with more than four hundred thousand men, horse and foot, lay before Belgrade." Anz. für Kunde Deutscher Vorzeit, x. (1863), 253. Speyerische Chronik., 406.

day. The thunder of the artillery was heard at Szegedin, more than twenty-four Hungarian miles distant. Mahomet, after his victory at Constantinople, looked on the siege of Belgrade as mere child's play, and is said to have boasted that he would in a fortnight subdue the fortress which his father had vainly besieged for half a year, and within three months' later would sup in Buda.* The besieged had completely lost heart, when unexpected succour arrived in the persons of John Hunyadi and St. John Capistran. These two great men were powerfully supported by the Papal legate Cardinal Juan Carvajal, a fellow-countryman of the Pope's, and one of the noblest characters of the age. In November, 1455, he had arrived at Wiener-Neustadt, whence he proceeded to Vienna and to Buda. "He brought," writes the biographer of Æneas Sylvius, "nothing with him but a plenary indulgence for all who should take up arms against the Turks, and promises, which had proved often delusive. But he brought himself, and his own inspiriting example."† "Such a legate truly corresponds to the greatness of our need," said the King of Hungary when he thanked the Pope for sending this distinguished man, who spent the next six years on the banks of the Danube, sharing all the sufferings and privations of the crusaders, and ready to close by a martyr's death a life of complete devotion to the service of God and His Church.‡

* Hammer, ii., 22.

† Voigt, ii., 80. Carvajal vainly endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between Frederick III. and Ladislas. As Carvajal was then completely employed in Hungary, the Pope appointed the Bishop of Pavia nuncio to the Imperial Court; see Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 17 (the first of the letters here published is given incompletely). The Pope begins by saying that he had received from Carvajal very disquieting news regarding the warlike preparations of the Turks. I have given another passage which Raynaldus has also omitted from the same letter; see *supra*, p. 372, note ‡.

‡ Vast, Bessarion, 226-227

The summons issued on the 14th January, 1456, to the Hungarian Diet to meet at Buda, and the arrival of King Ladislas himself in Hungary towards the end of the month, were alike due in great measure to Carvajal's energy. When the Diet opened in February he did his utmost to encourage the Hungarians, by holding out the prospect of assistance from the Papal fleet, and from the King of Naples and the Duke of Burgundy, who were both engaged in warlike preparations. On behalf of the Pope he granted a plenary indulgence to every soldier who should take the field. The States levied a contribution of a golden florin on every farmhouse, made arrangements to provide shelter and food for the crusaders, who were expected to arrive in great numbers from other countries, and begged the Pope soon to send the promised fleet to the Hellespont. At the same time they declared that in consequence of the bad harvest of the previous year the expedition could not set out until August.* They had barely time to draw up their reports before messengers from the Lower Danube arrived bringing the alarming news of the advance of the Sultan with an immense army, and the imminent danger which threatened Belgrade, the bulwark of Hungary. At this critical moment the eyes of the nation naturally turned to King Ladislas, who, with his Privy Counsellor, the Count of Cilli, was still at Buda. But the King, having absented himself from his capital on pretext of a hunting party, made his escape to Vienna. His flight was a signal to the cowardly barons, who had taken no measures for the defence of their country, and they also at once left Buda and concealed themselves.

In this terrible extremity, Hungary was saved from the advancing tide of Islam by the three great men whom we

* Fessler-Klein, ii., 556.

have mentioned, each of whom bore the name of John.* Hunyadi raised a force of seven thousand men at his own cost; Carvajal, who, at the earnest desire of its Governor, remained in Buda, laboured unremittingly to procure means of transport, provisions, and assistance; while St. John Capistran collected the Crusaders who had been won to the cause by his own burning words and those of the missioners, Giovanni da Tagliacozzo, Niccolò da Fara, and Ambroise of Languedoc.

As the Hungarian nobles, like those of Germany, remained, with few exceptions, inactive, the crusading army assembled by the Saint and Carvajal constituted the only aid afforded to the heroic Hunyadi.† The force was made up for the most part of poor citizens and peasants, monks, hermits and students, armed with axes, pikes, flails, pitchforks, and such other weapons as they could collect. Some greedy adventurers were certainly to be found among the motley crew, but the majority of the crusaders were determined to fight and die for their faith. They wore a red cross on the left breast, and their banners bore on one side a cross and on the other the figure of Sts. Anthony, Francis, Louis, or Bernardine. A number of German foot soldiers and three hundred Polish warriors gave some support to the untrained and ill-armed masses; the generalship

* Æneas Sylvius draws attention to this coincidence (Europa, c, viii.). See Raph. Volaterranus, xxii., f. 234.

† For an account of Carvajal's labours, see Pray, iii., 170; Katona, 1678; Wadding, xii, 332 *et seq.*, and the *Orders of Carvajal, dated Buda, 1456, July 8, 9 and 18, in Cod. Palat., 368, f. 283, of the Vatican Library Many crusaders assembled in Germany in consequence of the preaching of H. Kalteisen; see Janssen, Reichscorrespondenz, ii., 130. Regarding the "Türkenraizz" of the Viennese, see Schlager, Wiener Skizzen (Wien, 1846). Neue Folge, iii., 85 *et seq.*, 156 *et seq.*

of Hunyadi, seconded by the zeal of St. John Capistran, did the rest.*

* Hertzberg, Byzantiner und Osmanen, 608. Zinkeisen, ii., 84. The relief of Belgrade is, as Zinkeisen, *loc. cit.*, justly observes, one of those historical events regarding which it is extremely difficult to form an exact and complete idea, although we are in possession of a large amount of valuable information on the subject. From the first, the various reports of the eye-witnesses were made party matters, and, moreover, the first despatch of Hunyadi to King Ladislas, the second exhaustive letter of St. John Capistran, and the narrative sent by Carvajal to the Pope, are still undiscovered. I vainly endeavoured to supply the deficiencies when in Rome; I found nothing relating to Belgrade in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, and in the Vatican Library only a letter, "Pro domino Francisco Schlick, canon. Ratispon," of which I shall speak hereafter. As, however, we learn from Theiner (Mon. Ung., ii., 282), Raynaldus (ad an. 1456, N. 41), and *Lib. brev. 7 (f. 25b-26 [Brief to the King of Portugal]), that the Pope sent the reports he received from Hungary to his legates and ambassadors to be communicated to the princes of Christendom, there is still hope that the missing documents may be found in some Archives; other accounts of the battle were also sent from Hungary; see in Appendix No. 41 the *Letter of the Doge, Fr. Foscari, written 7th August, 1456. Hunyadi's second despatch is published by Pray, iii., 180; and St. John Capistran's first and third letters are given by Wadding, xii., 371-374. We have also a detailed account, though, unfortunately, the end is wanting, from the Minorite, Giovanni da Tagliacozzo (Wadding, xii., 340-362). This is valuable as proceeding from the pen of an eye-witness, but is throughout one-sided. For Voigt's exhaustive criticism of the relation between this narrative and the letter of the Minorite, Niccolò da Fara (also in Wadding, xii., 362-368), as well as the other authorities, including Æneas Sylvius, see Sybel's Historische Zeitschrift, x., 75 *et seq.*, from which I have almost literally borrowed the excellent description of the relief of Belgrade. The report published by Birk in the "Quellen und Forschungen" (230 *et seq.*, 251-252), shows that Hunyadi's account of the victory is not absolutely correct.

Belgrade is situated on a rocky hill, in the corner of the promontory formed by the union of the Save with the Danube. At the summit of this steep hill stands the castle, which, at the time we are speaking of, was strongly fortified. The declivity along the banks of the river was occupied by the lower town, which was then surrounded by walls and also on the land side defended by a double wall and moat. Mahomet II. had not only shut in the fortress completely on the land side, but also sent a flotilla to cut off communication by the Danube and the Save.* To make a breach in this iron circle was the first object of Hunyadi and St. John Capistran. The former, with the assistance of the legate, collected about two hundred boats at Salankemen, laden with munitions of war and provisions. He embarked his followers and the crusaders who joined them, and on the 14th of July, taking advantage of the current, bore down upon the Turkish ships, which were chained together. After five hours' fighting, during which the waters of the Danube ran red with blood, the Christians succeeded in breaking through the Turkish line, and gained a complete victory. While the combat was going on, St. John Capistran stood on the shore and encouraged the Christian warriors by holding up the crucifix, which the Pope had sent him by Cardinal Carvajal,† and calling out the Holy Name of Jesus!

The moral effects of this great victory were most important, for it broke the charm of supposed invincibility which had grown up around the Crescent. Moreover, it afforded breathing-time to the besieged, who had been under fire for a fortnight in the burning heat of summer. The Danube too was free, and the fortress was replenished with corn, wine, and troops. Hunyadi was prudent enough not to lose time in the pursuit of the Turkish vessels, but seizing

* Fessler-Klein, ii., 558. † Wadding, xii., 323, 341-342.

on the favourable moment, at once occupied the fortress which had been so hardly won. St. John Capistran accompanied him, and with his heart-stirring eloquence stimulated the courage of the besieged for the decisive day* which was approaching.

Mahomet, infuriated by defeat, determined to avenge the disgrace of the 14th July by the complete destruction of the place. Night and day the city was subjected to an unceasing fire, and meanwhile he gathered together the flower of his army for a general assault which was to deal the final blow. In the evening of the 21st July, the seventh day after the engagement on the Danube, at the head of his janissaries, he gave the signal for attack. The battle lasted throughout the whole of that night and the following day. From a tower in the fortress, Hunyadi and the Saint watched its vicissitudes, the former giving orders for the despatch of succour where it was required, and for the relief of the wearied and wounded. If he saw his forces anywhere giving way he flew to the spot, reanimating the courage of his men by fighting among them as a common soldier. St. John Capistran from the tower held up the crucifix which the Pope had blessed, and poured forth unceasing supplication to the Almighty for aid.† The besieged fought like lions, all the Turkish assaults were

* Zinkeisen, ii., 87.

† Voigt, ii., 182. See the Letter "Pro domino Francisco Schlick, canon. Ratispon." d.d. 1456, Aug. 2. In this, which is translated by the compiler of the Speirische Chronik (408) the following passage occurs: "Pater iste devotus Capistranus in pinnaculo in loco eminenti castri stans, crucifixum in altum erigens clamabat ejulato flebili; O Deus meus, O Jesu, ubi sunt misericordie tue antique? O veni, veni, in adjutorium veni! noli tardare, veni, libera nos, quos pretioso sanguine redemisti, veni, noli tardare, ne dicatur: ubi est Deus eorum?" Cod. Palatin. 368, f. 283. Vatican Library.

repelled, and those who had taken up their position in the trenches were dislodged by means of bundles of brushwood soaked in oil, pitch, and sulphur, and set on fire.

Various accounts are given of the final crisis of the battle. The following is probably the true one. The crusaders, whose enthusiasm had by this time reached its climax, ventured in opposition to Hunyadi's commands, and without any order from St. John Capistran, on a strong sortie against a portion of the fortified camp of the Turks. The voice of the Saint, who not only called out from the walls, but hastened down amongst them, was powerless to restrain their ardour. Suddenly the Turkish cavalry charged the rash Christian warriors, who, eager for plunder, were pressing forward into the encampment of a pasha, and drove them, exhausted as they were, into a narrow place. At this critical moment Hunyadi came to the rescue, making a fresh sally from the city, spiking some of the enemy's artillery and turning some against the Turks themselves.* The Sultan, wounded by an arrow and mad with rage, was compelled as night came on to give the signal for retreat. The whole of the Turkish camp with all the arms and a portion of the artillery fell into the hands of the Christians.† And thus, to use the words of Nicholas Cusa, on the day of St. Mary Magdalen the Cross of Christ triumphed over its enemy.‡ Belgrade, Hungary, and, in some sense, Christendom and European civilization were saved; their deliverance was due in great measure to the fiery eloquence of the indefatigable St. John Capistran, who, in conjunction with Hunyadi, had been the soul of this terrible battle, and who had the chief share in its happy

* Voigt, in Sybel's Zeitschr., x., 82.

† See the Letter cited above from Cod. Palat. 368. Vatican Library.

‡ With regard to the sermon of Cusa, see Scharpff, 275-277.

result.* Calixtus III. and his legate, the noble Cardinal Carvajal, must also be mentioned as having contributed to this memorable victory. "Whatever was achieved against the Turks," says a Protestant historian, "was entirely the Pope's doings, and the great deliverance wrought at Belgrade is to be ascribed most properly to him."†

It would be hard to describe the agitation of the Pope when the first tidings of the advance of the Turks towards

* Such is the wvie of Zinkeisen, ii., 84. See Krones, Gesch. Oesterreichs, ii., 371. In regard to the jealousy existing between Hunyadi and St. John Capistran, see Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Boh., c. ixv., and Europa, c. viii. The latter passage is: "Verum neque Capistranus Huniadis neque idem Capistrani Huniades mentionem fecere in eis literis, quas de obtenta victoria sive ad Romanum pontificem, sive ad amicos scripsere; per suum quisquam ministerium Deum dedisse Christianis victoriam affirmavit. Avarissima honoris humana mens, facilius regnum et opes quam gloriam partitur. Potuit Capistranus patrimonium contemnere, voluptates calcare, libidinem subigere, gloriam vero spernere non potuit." On the other side, see Pagi on Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 26, and Wadding, xii., 370-371. Voigt (in Sybel's Zeitschr., x., 84) justly observes that a conclusive judgment regarding this matter cannot be arrived at, until all the war despatches of Hunyadi and St. John Capistran are before us. Voigt has overlooked the Saint's report of the 28th July, which Herschel publishes from a Dresden Codex in the Serapeum (xiv., 163-166). This document is very short, is addressed to the public, and is of the nature of an official Bulletin. No weight is to be attached to its complete omission of any allusion to the above-mentioned differences. There is more significance, I think, in the fact that the Pope in his Letter ascribes the victory equally to Hunyadi and St. John Capistran; see Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 41 and 51. I must also observe that the Letter to Fr. Schlick, dated Vienna, 1456, Aug. 2, contains these words: "Hec gesta de Capistrano non comprehenduntur in litera gubernatoris, sed qui ascendunt ita referunt ut etiam affirmat Michael Paldauff, qui heri sero venit de domino legato." Cod. Palat. 368, f. 283. Vatican Library.

† K. A. Menzel, vii., 242.

Belgrade reached Rome. The report of the Milanese ambassador, Jacopo Calcaterra, who had a long conversation with Calixtus III. on the 27th July, 1456, gives a vivid picture of the distress of the aged Pontiff, who, in his noble efforts for the defence of Christendom, found himself abandoned by all the Western Princes.* While groaning under the heavy burden laid upon him, the brave man was ready to sacrifice himself for the common cause. "I acknowledge and firmly believe, O Almighty God," he said, in the course of this memorable interview, "that it is Thy will that I alone should wear myself out and die for the general good. So be it! I am ready, even if I must myself go into bondage and alienate all the possessions of the Church." And, alluding to the plague which was at this time raging in Rome,† he added, "Nothing will induce me to leave Rome, not even if, like so many others, I am to fall a victim to the plague. Mahomet, the enemy of our

* See the **Despatch of this ambassador, written at Castel Giubileo, on the 28th July, 1456. State Archives, Milan. Cart. gen.

† *"Ogni homo e partito o parte . . . El papa pur sta fermo," says Antonio Bicardo to Lodovico de Gonzaga in a *Despatch, dated Florence, 1456, July 24. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, xxix., N. 3, Firenze. See Infessura, 1137, and *Despatch of Jacopo Calcaterra to Fr. Sforza, d.d. Ex castro Jubileo, 1456, Aug. 6 ("El morbo non solamente persevera a modo uxato, ma augmenta . . . La B^ne del papa pur he in proposito fermo et stabile de non volerse partire"). State Archives, Milan. Many fell victims to the pestilence, not only in Rome, but in the other cities of Italy, and especially in those of the States of the Church; see Massari, 42-43. Borgia, Velletri, 368. The confusion was increased by the appearance of a comet and by earthquakes which caused destruction chiefly in the kingdom of Naples (see Arch. st. Napol., x., fasc. 2), but also in Rome. Almost all chroniclers mention the comet; see Celoria, Sull' appariz. della Cometa di Halley avvenuta nell' anno 1456, in the Rendic. del R. Ist. Lomb., Series ii., Vol. xviii.

faith, compels me to remain. He does not relax his efforts, although thousands in his immense army have been carried off." The ambassador was greatly touched by the Pope's words, and on the day following the audience wrote thus to his master: "No man on earth can have so hard and stony a heart as not to be moved with the greatest compassion for His Holiness."

A month before this, Calixtus, bereft of all human aid, had solemnly sought Divine assistance. On the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul (29th June), 1456, he addressed a Bull to all the Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots of Christendom, exhorting them by prayers, fasting and penance to "return to the Lord, that He may again return to us," and also to direct their attention to the reformation of the flocks committed to their charge. The following special directions were added: "On the first Sunday of each month processions were to be made in every diocese in order to pray that the threatened Turkish invasion might be averted; the *Missa contra Paganos* was to be said, and a suitable discourse delivered to the assembled people. Moreover, every priest, without exception, was required to use the following prayer in every Mass he said: "Almighty, everlasting God, to whom all power belongs, and in whose hand are the rights of all nations, protect Thy Christian people and crush by Thy power the pagans who trust in their fierceness." Indulgences were attached to the performance of these devotions, and to enable the people to share in these prayers and indulgences it was further enacted that in every church, between noon and vespers, one or more bells should be rung as for the angelus, and three "Our Fathers," and "Hail Marys" recited. Indulgences were granted for these prayers.* The Pope

* Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 19-24. The remarks made by Gihr, in the Freiburger Kirchenlexikon (1, 2nd ed., 847), may be

considered the splendid victory on the Danube primarily due to these supplications.*

The Christian world breathed more freely after hearing of the triumph of Hunyadi and St. John Capistran. If the fear of Turkish invasion had been extreme, the joy of

corrected by a reference to the above summary of the contents of the Bull. The Papal commands were carried out in the States of the Church (see Cronica di Bologna, 721, Annal. Bonon., 889), and in the other countries of Christendom (in the Diocese of Brixen, by Cusa, see Bickell, 54), and the Pope himself took special care as to their accomplishment; see his *Letter "ven. frat. Petro episc. Alban. card. de Fuxo, ap. sedis legato," dated 1456, Oct. 13, and the undated *Brief "duci Burgundie (Britanie)," both of which are in Lib. brev. 7, f. 47 and 48-48b; from the latter we quote the following: "Ceterum quoniam vires humane sine Deo inanes sunt, quod videri potuit in exercitu Turcorum, mittimus ad nobilitatem tuam bullam orationum, quam fecimus et per universam christianitatem publicari et observari mandamus, prout iam per totam Italiam, Alamanniam, Hungariam et Hispaniam et, ut credimus, Franciam publicata exsistit et observatur, ut eam in tuo toto dominio et publicari facias et observari, ita ut continuato per orbem christianum orationum studio ipse Deus noster det successum laboribus nostris contra hos perfidos sue religionis hostes." Secret Archives of the Vatican, *loc. cit.* See also Theiner, Mon. Ung., ii., 280, 282. I copied from Cod. lat. 4143, f. 113b-114 of the Court Library at Munich an **"Oratio devota tempore huius cruciatae singulis diebus iussu Calixti papae a Christifidelibus recitanda," the authenticity of which must, however, remain doubtful. The foolish story repeated by Draper and Arago, that Calixtus caused the bells to be rung against the comet which appeared at this time and excommunicated it, is not worthy of refutation. See Clément, 8-9.

* See Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 24; Wadding, xii., 380; Theiner, Mon. Ung., ii., 280, 282, and the *Brief to Ragusa (s.d. [August, 1456]): "Compertum enim est, quid divina illa maiestas nunc pro sua sacrosancta religione operata sit nostris et aliorum Christifidelium precibus inclinata, quas cum summa devotione per universum orbem christianum fieri mandamus." Lib. brev. 7, f. 27b-28. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Christendom at the happy tidings of unlooked-for victory knew no bounds. Every heart that beat true to the good cause received the news as a favour from God. "We can hardly find a chronicler, however distant from the scene of action, or however obscure, who fails to mention this wonderful victory of the poor crusaders."* Even in Venice, though she had done her best to remain neutral, the victory was the occasion of the greatest rejoicings.† Splendid festivities took place in the cities of the States of the Church, which learned the good news from special messengers sent by the Pope. Processions, in which the Madonna of St. Luke, the heads of St. Petronius and St. Dominic, the hand of St. Cecilia, and other precious relics were borne, were made in Bologna for three days.‡

No one throughout all Christendom was more delighted than the Pope at the defeat of the infidels. In one of his Briefs he speaks of the victory at Belgrade as the happiest event of his life.§ The Emperor and other potentates informed the Pope of it by special messengers.‖ In Rome, by

* Voigt, ii., 184. Regarding the rejoicings in Florence, see the Letter of this Republic to Calixtus III. on September 13th, 1456, in Müller, 183-184.

† Sanudo, 1163. Zinkeisen, ii., 96. On the 12th August, 1456, Venice congratulated Cardinal Carvajal and Hunyadi. Sen. Secret., xx., f. 98b and 99b. State Archives, Venice.

‡ The Papal Brief addressed to Viterbo on the occasion of the victory is mentioned by Niccola della Tuccia (248). For an account of the rejoicings in Bologna, see Cronica di Bologna, 721, and *Ch. Ghirardacci, Storia di Bologna, Vol. iii., lib. xxxiv., f. 320. Cod. 768, University Library, Bologna.

§ Theiner, Mon. Ung., ii., 281 *et seq.*

‖ See in Appendix No. 42 the *Despatch of Nicolaus Severinus to Siena, dated Rome, 1456, Aug. 13. State Archives, Siena. From an undated *Brief of Calixtus III. to the Republic of Ragusa we learn that the Pope had sent thither a "tabellarius" to announce the victory. Lib. brev. 7, f. 27b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

his desire, the ringing of all the church bells, processions of thanksgiving and bonfires* announced the good news.

The Milanese ambassador, Jacopo Calcaterra, writing on the 24th August, 1456, gives a detailed and highly interesting description of the impression made on the aged Pope by the tidings of the relief of Belgrade.† In an audience lasting three hours and a half Calixtus poured forth his feelings with the utmost expansiveness and freedom. "The Pope," writes the ambassador, "was so full of the great victory that he constantly reverted to it. He praised Hunyadi to the skies, calling him the greatest man that the world had seen for three hundred years. But with equal energy did he lament the torpor of the Hungarians who

* The first news of the victory reached Rome on the 6th August, premature reports of success having been circulated in Naples in the beginning of July. See the *Despatches of Æneas Sylvius, Galgano Borghese and Leonardo de' Benvoglienti, to Siena, d.d. Napoli, 1456, Luglio, 3: "Qua sono venute novelle a la M^ta del Re dalo Scandarbeg, signore in Albania, come Janni a dato una rotta a Turchi che erano achampatia Belgrado." See the *Despatches of the two last-named ambassadors of the 13th July. I did not see the originals of these Despatches in the State Archives at Siena, but I found copies in Cod. A., iii., 16, of the Biblioteca Comunale in that city. Calixtus III. did not receive Cardinal Carvajal's report, now unfortunately lost, until the 22nd August (Infessura, 1137). It is strange that this letter should have reached Rome so late, and it is possible that Infessura's date, which does not appear in the Latin version (Cod. xxxv., 37, f. 187, Barberini Library, Rome), is incorrect. Other accounts of the victory were sent forth by the Pope as early as the 10th August; see Wadding, xii., 380. Letters regarding the victory reached Venice by the 7th August; see Appendix No. 41. *Letter from the Doge to Fr. Sforza. State Archives, Milan.

† I found the original of this document in the State Archives at Milan; see Appendix No. 43. This account may be compared with the Pope's Brief to his legate in Theiner, Mon. Ung., ii., 28 *et seq.*

had not supported Hunyadi and the crusaders." Moreover, Calixtus ascribed the victory to the grace of God more than to human courage. "God," he said, "has granted this victory especially to bring shame and confusion on those who opposed my efforts for the crusade, who said that no one could understand what I wanted, and that in pursuit of my vain dreams the treasures of the Church, which other Popes had amassed, were being thrown to the winds." "His Holiness," here observes Jacopo Calcaterra, "plainly told me that it was King Alfonso of Naples who had thus reproached him." Even more strongly did the Pope express himself regarding Scarampo; and it is evident that this Cardinal's influence at the Papal Court was entirely gone, and that the Borgias had succeeded in prejudicing the mind of the Pope against him. This estrangement was no doubt also caused by the delay of Scarampo in leading the Papal fleet against the Turks.

The victory at Belgrade had, as the letter of the Milanese ambassador shows us, raised the Pope's spirits wonderfully. Calixtus fully expected that the Christian Princes would look with very different eyes on the crusade, and would be more willing to make sacrifices for the common cause of Christendom now that his predictions, a thousand times repeated in the course of the past year, had been accomplished by the defeat and destruction of the Turks.

There can be no doubt that in the first joyful enthusiasm elicited by the success of the Christian arms he cherished far too brilliant anticipations regarding the consequences of the victory. The accounts which reached him from Hungary were well calculated to strengthen these hopes. In the joy of their triumph, Hunyadi and St. John Capistran were so persuaded of the approaching annihilation of the Sultan's power that they did not hesitate to represent it to

the Pope as an accomplished fact, only now requiring from him the support of an insignificant force to secure its fruits.* "Most Holy Father," wrote St. John Capistran, a few days after the relief of Belgrade, "the right time has come. The day of the salvation of Christendom has dawned! Now is the moment when the long cherished desire of your Holiness will be fulfilled, not only by the recovery of the Greek empire and Europe, but also by the conquest of the Holy Land and Jerusalem. Almighty God will surely help us if only your Holiness persevere in your pious purposes. But one thing do your legates ask from your piety and zeal for the faith, namely, that you will send some ten or twelve thousand well-armed horsemen from Italy. If these remain with us for at least six months, together with the crusaders, who are devoted to you as obedient sons, and the noble princes, prelates, and barons of the kingdom of Hungary, we hope to acquire enough of the goods of the infidels to cover all expenses for three years and richly to reward the whole army. For at this moment we can do more with ten thousand men for the spread of the Christian faith and the destruction of these heathens than could be accomplished in other times by thirty thousand." Hunyadi wrote in a similar strain: "Be it known to your Holiness, that at the present time the Emperor of the Turks is so completely crushed that if the Christians, as is proposed, would only rise against him they might very easily, with the help of God, become masters of the whole Turkish kingdom."

No wonder that the lively imagination of the Spanish Pope rose to gigantic schemes on the reception of such letters. The victory granted by God must now be followed up, and immediately after the tidings arrived he urged his legates and the Christian princes to proceed with united

* Zinkeisen, Oriental. Frage, 557.

forces against the Turks. In the following March a great expedition was to set forth. Constantinople was to be reconquered, and Europe set free, the Holy Land and all Asia to be purged of infidels, the whole race of unbelievers extirpated.* In almost all the Briefs of the period these exaggerated schemes appear again and again, showing what complete possession the subject had taken of the Pope's mind.†

These hopes were no doubt illusory; and yet it was a misfortune for Europe‡ that the heroes who had given them birth, and had fostered them in the mind of the Pope, closed their earthly career soon after the glorious day at Belgrade.

A fearful pestilence, generated most probably by the heat of the burning sun brooding on the heaps of unburied corpses, broke out and carried off the brave Hunyadi on the 11th August. "When he felt his last hour draw near," said Æneas Sylvius,§ "he would not permit them to bring the body of the Lord to his sick bed. Dying as he was, he had himself carried into the Church, and there, after having received the Holy Sacrament, breathed forth his soul beneath the hands of the clergy." On the 23rd October the aged St. John Capistran followed his companion in arms.‖

* Theiner, Mon. Ung., ii., 282; Voigt, ii., 284.

† See Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 38; Wadding, xii., 380; Notizenblatt zum Archiv fur Oesterreichische Geschichtsquellen, 1856, p. 34-35; Theiner, Mon. Ung., *loc. cit.*, and the *Briefs to Fr. Foscari and to Florence (both of August, 1456), to King Alfonso of Portugal, to Jayme Girad, Bishop of Barcelona (s.d.), to Ragusa (s.d.), to Cardinal Scarampo (s.d.), to Charles VII. of France (s.d.) Lib. brev. 7, f. 19b, 20, 25b-26, 26, 27b, 28b, 47b-48. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ So says Zinkeisen, Oriental. Fr., 559.

§ Hist. Frederici III., 460. Voigt, ii., 183.

‖ Voigt, in Sybel's Zeitschr., x., 84 *et seq.*, subjects the account of St. John Capistran's death to a searching criticism. He died and was buried at Illok. His body was subsequently lost. The

By the death of these two great men the operations against the Turks were deprived of their most powerful promoters.* The hope that the unexpected victory at Belgrade would give a fresh impulse to the Holy War melted away through the indifference of the Western Powers, which manifested itself in a disgraceful manner at the very time when its fruits might have been secured. Again was the Pope the only one who took the interests of Christendom seriously and honestly to heart. He wrote in strong terms to the Emperor, the Kings of France and of Naples, to the more powerful German princes, and to the several States of Italy,† entreating them to give God thanks

story of its being cast into the Danube, or into a well, dates only from the seventeenth century, and is unworthy of credit; see the article of Fr. Eusebius Fermendzin in the periodical "Djakovacki Glasnik," Vol. for 1874. Probably the corpse of the celebrated preacher was stolen by the Turks in 1526; it seems afterwards to have been purchased from the unbelievers by the Bann Barbul, a Roumanian, and presented to the Convent of the Basilian monks of Bistritz. The reasons for this opinion are given in a *treatise by Blasius Kleiner, which I saw in 1884 in the Convent of Araceli at Rome, through the kindness of the Bosnian Franciscan, Father Eusebius Fermedzin, who has undertaken a history of the Church of his country, founded on Acts of the Propaganda and the Vatican Archives. The MS. in question bears the title: "Archivium inclytæ provinciæ Bulgariæ sub titulo immacul. conceptionis b. virginis Mariæ fratrum min. regularis observantiæ s. patris nostri, Francisci, 1761."

* Yet Calixtus III. did not lose courage. See the *Brief to "Petrus episcop. Alban. Card[lis] de Fuxo," dated Rome, 1456, October 13, of which Raynaldus (ad an. 1456, N. 52) gives but a portion. Lib. brev. 7, f. 47, and *Ibid.*, f. 49. *Brief to Cardinal Alain, dated 1456, October 8. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† See the many similar Briefs to Charles VII. (dated 1456, August 10; Wadding, xii., 380-381) and to Fr. Sforza (August 23), Notizenblatt zum Archiv fur Oesterreichische Geschichtsquellen, *loc. cit.*, as well as the *Letters to Fr. Foscari, containing the words:

for the victory, and to turn it to account; but his words were all in vain. Because the danger was for the moment averted, and this victory had been gained by the Hungarians and the undisciplined Crusaders, the Christian potentates seemed to think themselves justified in leaving all further defensive operations entirely to them. All through the upper ranks of society, which ought to have given an impulse to the rest, slothfulness, selfishness, and petty interests again outweighed all better feelings, and deadened all energy for good.*

Almost all the other powers followed the example of Venice. In vain did the eloquent Carvajal unite his prayers and exhortations with those of the Pope; all that could be said as to the necessity of following up the victory fell on deaf ears. The ambassador of the King of Hungary about this time failed to obtain any answer from Venice, "for, on account of the plague, no deliberations could take place;" and when he again, on his way from Rome, visited the city he received an evasive answer.†

The tepidity of the Western Powers, although unable to deter Calixtus from his efforts against the Turks, caused him for a time to seek for aid in other quarters. In December, 1456, he made an appeal to the Christian King of Ethiopia; in the following year he applied to the Christians in Syria, Georgia, and Persia, and finally to Usunhassan, Prince of the Turcomans, the only one of the Eastern

("Jam tempus est a sompno surgere"), and to Florence (s.d.), Lib. brev., f. 19, 20b; *ibid.*, f. 28; a second *Brief to Fr. Foscari, dated August 24. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* Zinkeisen, ii., 97. Regarding the Pope's firm purpose of doing all that was possible to follow up the victory, see *Calcaterra's Despatch of the 24th August, 1456. State Archives, Milan.

† **Answer of the 23rd October, 1456. Senatus Secreta, xx., f. 106. State Archives, Venice.

princes whose power could compare with that of the Sultan.*

As a lasting memorial of the victory at Belgrade, and in thanksgiving for the unlooked-for success of the Christian arms, the Pope in the following year decreed that henceforth the Feast of the Transfiguration of our Lord should be solemnly observed throughout Christendom.† A number of briefs attest the importance attached by Calixtus to the due observance of this decree,‡ by which he hoped to revive the enthusiasm for the holy war. As far as the princes were concerned, however, these expectations were vain.

A pleasing contrast to the indifference is furnished by the zeal with which the lower orders received the Papal exhortations regarding the crusade. In many places the excitement and ardour manifested were most remarkable. A

* Raynaldus (ad an. 1456, N. 44, 45, and 1457, N. 68) gives the Pope's Letters from the Registers of the Secret Archives of the Vatican. See Wadding, xii., 420-423. Regarding Usunhassan, see Heyd, ii., 326 *et seq.*

† Bull of August 6, 1459, printed in Raynaldus ad an. 1457, n. 73-80 (see Mansi, and remarks on the earlier celebrations of the F. of the Transfiguration), and in Bull, v., 133 *et seq.* On the "Officium festis transfig. d.n. Jesu Christi, see Bibl. Hisp. vet., ii., 293; Eckard, i., 831. The institution of this feast has been the cause, as Hammer (ii., 846) has already observed, of the mistake of Bonfinius and Bernino, who suppose the victory to have been won on that day. It is no doubt for the same reason that Gregorovius, in the three editions of his History of Rome (vii., 1st ed., 145), puts off the battle of Belgrade to the 9th August, a date which is contradicted by all the best authorities (see Wadding, xii., 378). Droysen (ii., 1, 185) makes it take place on July 13.

‡ Besides the Brief to Carvajal (Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 80), see *those to P. Fenollet in Aragon, dated 1457, Sept. 24, and to L. Roverella in Germany, dated 1457, Nov. 30. Lib. brev. 7f., 124, 132. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

contemporary tells of peasants abandoning ploughs and of bridegrooms leaving their brides in order "to fight for the Catholic Faith for the love of God." Supernatural signs induced others to join the expedition.* Throughout Upper Germany especially fresh hosts of crusaders assembled after the relief of Belgrade. These bands were incomparably superior in discipline to those that had flocked together before that decisive victory.† Another contemporary description of the departure of the Nuremberg crusaders for Hungary‡ says, "Anno 1456, when our Holy Father, Pope Calixtus III., sent a Danish legate and Bishop named Heinricus Kaldeysen to preach the crusade against the Turks, and to confer the cross, in September (more correctly August), many people came to the church here to take the cross, and set forth against the Turks. And as they were without a leader, and needed one to maintain order and authority for the glory of God and the honour of the city, the Council gave them for their help and comfort Heinrich Slosser, of Berne, who was the captain of the Swiss, and Otto Herdegen, who knew the Hungarian language, with eight horses and a red and white pennon (the colours of Nuremberg). These captains appointed chiefs over tens and over hundreds, and the chiefs and their men respectively took an oath of mutual fealty. This oath is written in the little book which is kept in the Court, and the men are inscribed by name in the same register. About fourteen baggage

* See the *record of Brother Grys in Cod. Palat. 368, f. 283b. Vatican Library. I intend elsewhere to publish this document, which refers particularly to the crusaders from Nuremberg.

† See Oesterreich. Chronik in Senckenberg, Sel. jur., v. 13 *et seq.* (again published by Rauch in Vienna, 1794). Quellen und Forschungen, 57, 61, 251. Gemeiner, Regensb. Chronik, iii., 247-248. Speyerische Chronik 409. Chroniken der Deutschen Städte, iii., 407 *et seq.*; iv., 326; x., 217.

‡ Chroniken der Deutschen Städte, iii., 409 *et seq.*

waggons were also borrowed from the city to take their armour to Ratisbon. They bought three great ships for two hundred and twenty Rhenish florins, in which from one thousand three hundred to one thousand four hundred* well-armed men were to be embarked, six hundred carrying muskets, and the rest spears, cross-bows, and battle-axes. And they went forth in goodly array on the Friday after St. Bartholomew's day (27th August), shriven, and fortified with the Blessed Sacrament. They marched under the banner of the Holy Cross, whereon were also painted St. Sebaldus, St. Lawrence, and the Holy Lance, and under the flag of Nuremberg, which the chief leader, Heinrich Slosser, bore, as the Council had commanded through Niclas Muffel, Paulus Grunther, and Erhart Schürstab, who admonished him in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost to keep faith with the city, and to be a true leader of the people. By the Council they were provided with pots, kettles, pans, plates, spoons, and other vessels for cooking, two tents, a cask of powder and priming, lead, arrows, five bushels of oatmeal fried in dripping in little barrels, and six bushels of millet and peas, and fifty hand-guns. Item, in Hungary they were immediately to receive four hundred pounds' weight of copper coins for the general benefit, and in Vienna the house of Baumgartner gave two hundred pounds of the same, also to be spent for the general good. All this was done by the Council. Item, on the day when they departed hence each one of them was touched with the holy lance and with the holy cross at the hospital in the church of the Holy Ghost."

* This number, according to the account of the chiefs to the Council on the 15th September (Anz. für Kunde Deutscher Vorzeit, 1863, p. 253), represents the strength of the united armies of Nuremberg, Passau, and Salzburg. See Chroniken der Deutschen Städte, iii., 410.

The German crusaders were joined, the chronicle of Spire informs us, by crusaders from England, France, and other countries, among whom were "priests and monks, and they were mostly poor working people."* Cardinal Carvajal welcomed them all with real joy, and in every way that he could, showed them the greatest goodwill.†

The army of King Ladislas was now increased to forty-four thousand men, and, accompanied by Count Ulrich of Cilli, he landed with his force at Belgrade on the 8th November, 1456. The King and the Count were received with all due respect, but as soon as they and their servants had entered the fortress the gates were shut behind them, and admittance was refused to the armed Germans and Bohemians. On the following morning Cilli was invited to take part in the Council of the Hungarian nobles. When he appeared Ladislas Hunyadi upbraided him in violent terms with his ambition and his hatred of the Corvinus family. Ulrich, overmastered with rage, drew his sword and wounded Hunyadi and three Hungarian nobles, but finally himself fell beneath the blows of his enemies.‡ When this became known in the army of the King and among the crusaders, "everyone put on his armour, and the leaders went forth with their men intending to storm the castle." Young King Ladislas, however, dissembling his grief and indignation, sent word to the soldiers "that they were to take no notice of this matter, which did not concern the

* Speyerische Chronik, 409. Eight hundred well-armed crusaders came from Silesia. Grünhagen, Gesch. Schlesiens, i., 292.

† See the testimony of the above-named leaders in their letters to the Council of Nuremberg in the Anz. für Kunde Deutscher Vorzeit, 1863, p 287, 290.

‡ See Quellen and Forschungen, 229 *et seq.*, 251. Palacky, iv., 1, 401 *et seq.* Krones, ii., 373 *et seq.*

crusaders, and were to take off their armour." Soon afterwards the crusading army, which was "as in a sack" between fortress and town in double danger from Turks and Hungarians, was permitted by mutual agreement between the King and Cardinal Carvajal to "go home again." "And so ended the expedition against the Turks on account of the perfidy of the Hungarians, of which we complain to God."*

At the very time when the people of Germany were thus loyally supporting the crusaders their prelates were occupied in evading any real participation in the common cause by again coming forward with "complaints" against the Holy See. Now, as on former occasions, reform was the pretext, and pressure the means used to accomplish their end, which was to evade their obligations.† As leader of the opposition, the aged Elector Dietrich, Count of Erbach, filled the place of Jakob of Trèves, who had died in the end of May, 1456. The Elector's Chancellor, Doctor Martin Mayr, accompanied him and concentrated all his diplomatic and intriguing skill on the cause in hand.‡

In June, 1455, at a Provincial Synod at Aschaffenburg, the Archbishop of Mayence had caused a whole list of complaints against the Court of Rome to be drawn up.

* Quellen und Forschungen, 521-252.

† Such is the opinion of Voigt, ii., 198. How little any real purpose of reform was cherished by these exalted personages may be gathered by the "Abschied zwischen geistlichen Kurfürsten," probably to be assigned to the year 1452 (in Ranke, Deutsche Gesch., vi., 10 *et seq.*). See Gebhardt, 9; Bachmann, Königswahl, 282 *et seq.*

‡ Gebhardt, 12. Regarding M. Mayr (†1481), this "worthless intriguer, without conscience or heart for the master whom he served," see Voigt in the Hist. Zeitschrift, v., 453 *et seq.*, f. 54, and Riezler in the Allg. Deutschen Biogr., xx., 113 *et seq.*

These complaints, which referred chiefly to violations of the Concordat, were contained in an instruction for the embassy to be sent to Rome, and are important as being the foundation of many similar documents of a subsequent date.* After the close of this Synod, Dietrich and the Archbishops of Cologne and Trèves entered into an understanding for the summoning of a great German national Council. The object of this Council was to confirm the decrees of Basle and to "take precautions against the burdens laid upon Germany, which strangely permits its eyes to be again torn out after having them restored by those salutary decrees.†

The anti-papal sentiments of the Elector of Mayence, the ally of the Count Palatine Frederick, were manifested in a most decided manner at a Synod which he held at Frankfort-on-Main in February and March, 1456. It was here determined that the Archbishop and his suffragans should unite in resisting the violition of the Constance and Basle decrees by the Court of Rome and the oppression of the German nation by tithes and indulgences.‡

On the Feast of St. Peter ad vincula (1st August), 1456, the representatives of the five Electors, together with the Bishops of Salzburg and Bremen, again met at Frankfort-on-Main; the Elector of Trèves held back, as he had not yet been confirmed by Rome. The fact that the Cathedral Chapters of Mayence, Trèves, Cologne, and Bremen sent messengers to this assembly gave it a great importance. All were unanimous in refusing the tithe which Cardinal Carvajal was about to demand from the clergy for the

* See Gebhardt, 12 *et seq.*

† Letter of Rudolf of Rüdesheim (see the monograph of J. Zaun, Frankfurt, 1881) to the Archbishop of Trèves on the 23rd June, 1455, in Voigt, ii., 199, note 3.

‡ See Menzel, Friedrich der Siegreiche von der Pfalz, 22.

crusade. In order to furnish a plausible excuse for this refusal the old disputes which the Concordat had set at rest were again revived. The war against the Turks was used by the Pope, they declared, as a pretext to fleece Germany. This was the object of the tithe, and the reason why the Indulgence granted to the defenders of Cyprus by Pope Nicholas had been withdrawn and declared invalid. They were resolved to appeal against the tithes; they would send the dealers in Indulgences back over the Alps with empty purses; they would not give money to support the spendthrift Catalan nephews at the Papal Court. The assembly then proceeded to draw up a report. This began with the usual complaints of the burdens imposed on the German nation; the tithes claimed by Rome for the Turkish war closing the list. A series of resolutions were passed for the redress of these grievances and the relief of the German Church. An appeal against the exactions of the Roman officials was drawn up and recommended. A league was formed, of which the members exchanged promises of mutual support in case anyone of them were threatened with excommunication, outlawry, war, or ecclesiastical or judicial proceedings, and also bound themselves not to enter into any "negotiation or understanding" without the consent of all.* "This," says a recent historian, "was an attempt at a German Pragmatic Sanction, which the ambassadors in the old fashion were to "bring after them." Practically but little result was to be apprehended from all this bluster. The assembly was to meet again at Nuremberg to consider whether it might not be better simply to accept the decrees of Constance and Basle. In reality their resolutions were nothing but a compilation of these with some slight modifications, which

* K. A. Menzel, vii., 237. Voigt, ii., 204 *et seq.* Gebhardt, 17 *et seq.*

essentially altered nothing."* The Frankfort assembly also resolved to apply to the Emperor and see if he would not make common cause with the Princes in endeavouring to find a remedy for the grievances of the nation, either by concluding a Pragmatic Sanction with the Holy See or by some other means. Moreover, they strongly urged him to come into the Empire, and to take upon himself the charge of it. Could he really suppose that the infidels were to be vanquished by letters and messengers? The document closes with a threat that if the Emperor should fail to appear at the Diet to be held in Nuremberg at the end of November, "we, with the help of God, will meet there to take counsel and to determine on all that it behoves us to do as Electors of the Holy Roman Empire and all that may be necessary for the furtherance of the Christian expedition."†

The Emperor met these demands with a blunt refusal, and the Pope in a brief to his nuncio expressed his just displeasure. He strongly condemned the appeal of the Elector of Mayence, but did not excuse the dilatory Emperor. "O, hearts of stone which are not moved by this!" exclaims Calixtus, after speaking of the victory won at Belgrade, "without King and without Emperor. Our fleet with the legate has sailed for Constantinople, and the Emperor sleeps. Arise, O Lord, and support our holy enterprise."‡

At the Diet held at Nuremberg in the end of the year 1456, anti-Imperial feeling for a moment effaced the opposition to the Pope. There is no doubt that the revolutionary party contemplated setting the Emperor aside by the election of a King of the Romans; the candidate they

* Gebhardt, 25.

† Ranke, Deutsche Gesch., vi., 21. See Speyerische Chronik, 413-415, and Janssen, Reichscorrespondenz, ii., 131.

‡ Raynaldus ad an. 1456, N. 40.

had in view was the young and powerful Frederick I. of the Palatinate, but as the anti-Imperial party was still too weak for action, it was merely determined that another Diet should meet at Frankfort-on-Main on *Reminiscere* Sunday (13th March); counsel was there to be taken as to the manner "in which the Pope was to be entreated regarding the Holy Roman Empire and the German nation."* No energetic measures against the Emperor were adopted at this Diet (March, 1457), which assembled in spite of his formal prohibition. The attitude of the anti-Papal party seemed more threatening. Its grievances were fully set forth in an intemperate letter addressed by Doctor Martin Mayr to Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who had meanwhile been promoted to the purple. The Pope, says this letter, does not observe the decrees of the Councils of Constance and Basle, he does not consider himself bound by the treaties which his predecessors have entered into; he appears to despise the German nation and to extort all he can from it. The election of prelates is frequently postponed without cause; and benefices and dignities of all kinds are reserved for the cardinals and Papal secretaries. Cardinal Piccolomini himself has been granted a general reservation in an unusual and unheard-of form on three German provinces. Expectancies without number are conferred, annates and other taxes collected harshly and no delay granted; and it is also known that more has been exacted than the sums due. Bishoprics have been bestowed, not on the most worthy, but on the highest bidder. For the sake of amassing money, new indulgences have daily been published and war-tithes imposed without consulting the German prelates. Lawsuits, which ought to have been dealt with and decided at home, have been hastily trans-

* Müller, Reichstagstheater, 553. See Gebhardt, 26, and Bachmann, Königswahl, 318 *et seq.* Keussen, 71 *et seq.*

ferred to the Apostolic Tribunal. The Germans have been treated as if they were rich and stupid barbarians, and drained of their money by a thousand cunning devices. And therefore this nation, once so glorious, which, with her courage and her blood had won the Holy Roman Empire, and was the mistress and queen of the world, is now needy, tributary, and a servant. For many years she has lain in the dust, bemoaning her poverty and her sad fate. But now her nobles have awakened as from sleep; now they have resolved to shake off the yoke and to win back their ancient freedom.*

The real weight to be attached to this document was soon made manifest, for hardly three weeks had passed away before the same Doctor Martin Mayr made private overtures to Cardinal Piccolomini for a treaty to be concluded between his master, the Archbishop of Mayence and the Pope. This proposal elicited the humiliating reply that it was not for subjects to make alliances with their lords, and that an Archbishop of Mayence should be content with the position which his predecessors had occupied and not seek to rise above it.†

All this anti-Papal agitation was well known, and caused grave solicitude in Rome. The apprehension that Germany might follow the footsteps of the French, who adhered to the Pragmatic Sanction, caused much anxiety, and the chief

* Voigt, ii., 232-233. Mayr's Letter (dated Aschaffenburg, 1457, Aug. 31) has very often been printed; to the editions named in the Archiv für Oesterreichische Geschichte (xvi., 416), we may add Goldast, Polit. Imp. (Frankf., 1614), p. xxiii., p. 1039 *et seq.*; Freher, Script., ii., 381 *et seq.*, and Geschichte der Päpst. Nuntien, ii., 663-664.

† Letter of the 20th Sept., 1457. Æn. Sylv., Opp., 822 *et seq.* "Mayr and his master," justly remarks Voigt (Hist. Zeitschr., v., 454), "only wished to frighten the Roman Court so as to sell themselves to it on good terms."

object of the Pope was to prevent the Emperor from being drawn into the party of the anti-Roman princes. The Brief which Calixtus addressed to Frederick III. was drawn up by Cardinal Piccolomini. In this document the Pope denies the charge of disregarding the Concordats and of neglecting to appoint bishops. In regard to reservations and other exercises of patronage, if, in the multiplicity of affairs, anything has been amiss, this, he says, has been through inadvertence. Although the authority of the Holy See is absolutely independent and cannot be limited by the bonds of a contract, yet, in token of his ardent desire for peace and his goodwill towards the Emperor, he will allow the Concordat to continue, and will never, as long as he is at the helm, permit its violation. If, however, the nation has other complaints regarding the proceedings of his Court, and amendment is deemed necessary (for even he may fail and err as a man, especially in matters of fact), it does not become bishops or others to follow the example of those who, to the injury of ecclesiastical government, the destruction of the mystical Body of Christ and the ruin of their own souls, maintain principles which would authorize them to despise the commands of the Apostolic See and direct the affairs of the Church after their own will. He who ventures to act thus cannot call God his father, inasmuch as he does not acknowledge the Church for his mother. No one may oppose himself to the Roman Church; should anyone think himself wronged he must bring his grievances before her. The Pope dwells in forcible terms on the unreasonableness of the complaints regarding the money collected in Germany for the Turkish war, inasmuch as the great expenses which he incurred on behalf of Christendom in general, by the equipment of a fleet in the East, by supporting Skanderbeg in Albania, by paying so many ambassadors in all parts of the world, and by assisting multitudes

who needed help in Greece and Asia, were evident to all. "We venture," Calixtus says, "to glory in the Lord, for while the Christian princes have almost all been sunk in slothfulness, He, through His own servants, who alone carry on the holy work, has broken the proud ranks of the Turks in Hungary, and discomfited the great and mighty army which had threatened to ravage not only Hungary, but also the whole of Germany, France, and Italy, and to overthrow the kingdom of Christ."*

Copies of this Brief were sent from Rome to various persons, amongst whom were the King of Hungary and Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa; and, at the same time, Cardinal Carvajal and the Minorite, San Jacopo della Marca were exhorted to resist the anti-Papal agitation in Germany.† A very severe letter was addressed by the Pope to the Archbishop of Mayence, the chief promoter of the movement. Calixtus declared that he could not believe so prudent a prelate to be capable of undertaking anything against the Papal authority, by which he would incur ecclesiastical and civil penalties and be guilty of the sin of heresy. As Elector, the Archbishop was, beyond all others, bound to maintain and extend that authority; if devils in human

* Brief of 31st August, 1457, given in part by Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 40, and completely in Æn. Sylv., Opp., 840 *et seq.*, and in the Gesch. der Nuntien, ii., 640 *et seq.* "Considering the immense expense," says the very anti-Papal author of this work (353), "of the naval war in which the Pope had engaged, it is easy to believe that in this Brief to the Emperor he speaks the simple truth; and that instead of gaining anything he himself was obliged to contribute." In explanation of the expression regarding the fallibility of the Pope, see Hergenröther, Staat und Kirche, 934.

† Raynaldus, ad an. 1457, N. 42. The date of the Brief to Carvajal, "penultim. Novemb., 1457," which is wanting in Raynaldus, is supplied in the Lib. brev. 7, f. 131b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

form taught otherwise, he ought not to give ear to them. To the Archbishops of Cologne and Trèves* he wrote in a similar strain, and also sent despatches to several States of the Empire, to Berne and other cities, exculpating himself from the charges made against him.† As Carvajal had more than enough to do in Hungary, it was determined that another legate should be nominated for Germany, and Lorenzo Roverella, a distinguished theologian and diplomatist, was selected. Cardinal Piccolomini gave him detailed instructions as to the manner in which he was to proceed against the anti-Roman party in Germany.‡

The Cardinal himself personally took part in all these measures, and wrote a number of letters, among which those to Martin Mayr have attained a certain celebrity. This is the case more especially in regard to one of them, subsequently known as "Some account of the state of Germany," a title which, in strictness, is applicable only to a small portion of it. In it he defends the action of the Holy See, and appeals to the prosperity of the country as a refutation of Mayr's complaints of Roman extortion. This graphic picture of German life in the middle of the fifteenth century is still read with pleasure by patriotic Germans.§

* Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 49 (the beginning is omitted; the date is also wanting in Lib. brev. 7; probably this document, like the one which precedes it in the MS., is of the 23rd December, 1457) and 50 (Lib. brev., "D. u. s."=1457, Dec. 12). Rossmann, 429.

† See Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 39; and in the Appendix No. 48, the *Brief to Berne. State Archives of the Vatican.

‡ Letter of December 1st, 1457. Æn. Sylv., Opp., 821. For the date, see Archiv. für Oesterr. Gesch., xvi., 420. I have sought in vain in the Secret Archives of the Vatican for the special instructions to Roverella.

§ Böhmer was much interested in this "charming picture of medieval civic prosperity," and translated it; see Janssen, Böhmer's Leben, i., 66, 122; ii., 85.

"The apology of Æneas Sylvius," to use the words of a French historian, "perhaps too closely resembles that of the ancient Roman who replied to a charge of malversation of public money by proposing that his accusers should go to the Capitol and thank the gods for the victories which he had won. It must be confessed that there is much truth in the plea of the Pope's champion, and history will not fail to praise the zeal with which the common Father of Christians laboured to stem the further progress of the Turks and wrest their victims from them.*

At the beginning of the year 1458 alarming reports of the excited state of Germany again reached Rome;† no decided step, however, was taken, and ultimately the opposition died a natural death.‡

The conduct of Alfonso, the powerful King of Naples, was calculated to cause the Pope even greater anxiety than that occasioned by German discontent. From the very beginning of the Pontificate of Calixtus III. the personal relations between him and this monarch, which had formerly been most friendly, had totally changed.

The King who could boast of having in great measure brought about the elevation of Calixtus III., expected his old friend to show his gratitude by acceding to all his requests. The first of these was certainly not a

* Michaud, Histoire des Croisades (Bruxelles, 1841), Vol. ix., p. 17. There is certainly much exaggeration and sophistry in these apologetic writings; see Düx, i., 324, 326, 330 *et seq.*, 376, and Voigt, ii., 240 *et seq.*, on this subject and the erroneous dates of the letters to Mayr. Finally, see the opinion of K. A. Menzel, vii., 244 *et seq.*, 254.

† See the *Cipher Despatch of Otto de Caretto (who had seen letters from the Cardinal of Augsburg to the Pope) to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, Jan. 27. State Archives, Milan.

‡ Voigt, ii., 247. Droysen, ii., 1, 194 *et seq.* Gebhardt, 28 *et seq.*

modest one, for he asked the Pope to hand over to him the March of Ancona and other territories of the Church.* Calixtus, however, was not prepared to sacrifice his duty to his affection for his former patron, and refused the investiture.† Further misunderstandings arose when the King proposed for several bishoprics in his dominions persons whose youth and ignorance rendered it impossible for the Pope to accede to his request. It must have been with reference to these differences that the Pope exclaimed: "Let the King of Aragon rule his own Kingdom, and leave to Us the administration of the supreme Apostolate."‡ The tension between Calixtus III. and the King was considerably intensified by the arrogance of Alfonso, who went so far as to insult the Pope personally. This we learn from a letter shown by a Papal Secretary to the Milanese ambassador, in July, 1455, in which Alfonso, calling upon the Pope to proceed against the infidels, says that "he appears to be asleep!" The document is full of other unbecoming expressions.§

Calixtus greatly disliked the alliance between Alfonso and the Duke of Milan, which the former announced to

* Pius II., Comment., 35. See also *supra*, p. 340 *et seq.*

† Calixtus III. also refused to grant the King the renewal of investiture of Naples. The Neapolitan ambassador openly attributed this refusal chiefly to the ambition of the Borgias. Zurita, iv., 44b.

‡ Æn. Sylvius, Europa, c. 58. With regard to the matter of the bishoprics, see Platina, 736; Zurita, Anales, xvi., c. 39, and a *Despatch from Fr. Contarini, the Venetian ambassador in Siena, to the Signoria, dated 1455, Aug. 29 (Contest as to the appointment to the Bishopric of Valencia: "el qual el summo pontefice voleva per uno suo nepote et la real maiesta el voleva etiam per uno suo parente"). Cod. Ital., vii.-mcxcvi. of St. Mark's Library, Venice.

§ *Despatch of J. Calcaterra of the 22nd July, 1455; see Appendix No. 33. State Archives, Milan.

him on the 4th October, 1455. Francesco Sforza betrothed his daughter, Hippolyta, to Don Alfonso, grandson of the Neapolitan monarch, and son of Ferrante of Calabria, while the daughter of Ferrante was actually married in 1456 to Sforza Maria, a son of the Duke of Milan. Venice, Florence, and Siena shared the apprehensions which these unions between the most powerful among the Italian princes awakened in the mind of the Pope.*

The disgraceful conduct of King Alfonso on the occasion of Piccinino's war with Siena must have still more embittered the relations between him and Calixtus. A fresh outbreak of hostilities in Italy was the greatest possible obstacle to the crusade on which his heart was set, nevertheless the monarch, who had solemnly promised to take part in this, persisted in fomenting the war in the Sienese territory.†

These matters being at length settled, the question of the crusade again became prominent. The success of the war against the infidels depended in great measure on the King of Naples, who had large naval and military forces at his disposal, and whose example might be expected to have great influence in winning the co-operation of other states. Alfonso formally made the most magnificent promises,‡ but he really had no intention of performing his vow of joining the crusade. Instead of proceeding against the enemies of Christendom, and without a declaration of war,

* See Buser, 83, 85, 87.

† See *supra*, p. 359 *et seq.*, and the *Despatch of Fr. Contarini of 29th August, 1455, cited *supra*, p. 339, note †, St. Mark's Library, Venice. *"La M^ta del Re," says Bernardus de' Medici to Fr. Sforza, under date Naples, 1455 (st. fl.). Jan. 4, "non si loda de papa et il papa biasima la M^ta Sua et sdegno cresce." Pot. Est., Firenze, i. State Archives, Milan.

‡ See Voigt, Æneas Sylvius, ii., 189.

he commenced hostilities against Genoa, which had always been the object of his hatred, and employed the fleet equipped by the Archbishop of Tarragona for the Holy War in devastating the territory of his enemies. At the same time he never ceased to oppress Sigismondo Malatesta, the Lord of Rimini.* This policy, which not only stirred up fresh troubles in the Romagna, but also revived the designs of Anjou, and became the occasion of repeated interference on the part of the French, naturally had a most disastrous effect on the Pope's endeavours to unite Christendom against the Turks.† All his exhortations and attempts to re-establish peace were in vain,‡ and Alfonso's aggression finally compelled the Genoese to turn to France for assistance.§

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the relations between Calixtus and Alfonso became more and more embittered. The King was convinced that the Pope was determined to thwart him in every way.‖ In the summer of 1457 there was much excitement about a pre-

* See *supra*, p. 365 Balan, v., 172 *et seq.*; Vigna, vi., 463 *et seq.*; Tonini, 251 *et seq.*, 256 *et seq.* Fano did not venture to take part in the crusade, fearing an attack from Alfonso. Amiani, Mem. di Fano, i., 421.

† Reumont, iii., 1, 128.

‡ See Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 63; Vigna, vi., 697 *et seq.*, 727. *Despatch of Antonio da Trezzo to Fr. Sforza, dated Naples, 1457, April 20. State Archives, Milan, Pot. Est., Napoli I. See also the *Briefs to Genoa (s.d.) and to the Doge P. Campofregoso, dated 1457, Febr. 5, and May 10. Lib. brev. 7, f. 71, 64 and 89-90. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ See Sismondi, x., 83; Cipolla, 452; Buser, 88 *et seq.*; Vigna, vi., 787 *et seq.*

‖ Alfonso openly expressed this opinion to the Milanese ambassador. See *Despatch of Antonio da Trezzo to Fr. Sforza, dated Naples, 1456, April 29. Fonds. Ital. 1587, f. 120. National Library, Paris.

sentation to a bishopric. The Pope having refused to accede to the King's desire, the Neapolitan ambassador appealed to a future council, and thus incurred excommunication. If we may trust the report of an ambassador then in Rome, the dispute became so violent that Calixtus concluded a Brief addressed to Alfonso with the words: "His Majesty should be aware that the Pope can depose kings," and Alfonso rejoined, "Let his Holiness know that the King, if he wishes, can find a way to depose the Pope."*

The almost regal reception therefore accorded to the beautiful Lucrezia di Algano, who was generally supposed, though he denied it, to be King Alfonso's mistress, when she came to Rome with a great suite in October, 1457, can only have been due to political considerations.† Whether any improvement in the state of feeling between Alfonso and Calixtus ensued it is impossible to say. If, as an ambassador has asserted, Lucrezia asked the Pope for a dispensation to become Alfonso's second wife, it is evident

* *Despatch of the Abbot of St. Ambrogio of the 23rd June, 1457; see Appendix No. 46. Ambrosian Library, Milan. See also the *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1457, May 19, and preserved in the same library (Firenze, i.).

† See Niccola della Tuccia, 253-254; Pius II., Comment. 27, and Cugnoni, 184. The statement of Paolo della Mastro (Cron. Rom., 25), that Lucrezia arrived in Rome on the 9th October is confirmed by a *Despatch of Leonardus Benevolentus to Siena, dated Rome, 1457, Oct. 10: "Mad. Lucretia ieri entro in Roma con gran solemnita e grandissima compagnia . . . Oggi ando a visitare il papa essendo insieme con li cardinali convocati; venne con grandissima et ornatissima compagnia, fu ornato el palazzo con molti panni d'arazo e ornatissimi e richi paramenti e in tutte parti ricevuta con grandissima pompa e honore, se fusse stata la propria regina, non so se si fusse fatto piu." Cod. A., iii., 16, Siena Library.

that the contrary must have been the case, as the Pope neither could nor would have granted such a request.*

In March, 1458, we learn that the Pope's nephews, more especially Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia, made efforts to bring about a reconciliation between him and Alfonso, and there was some talk of sending the Cardinal to Naples.† It was expected that the great affection of the Pope for his relations would have ensured the success of these endeavours, but the King repelled all pacific overtures.‡ In June, 1458, Calixtus wrote of the Neapolitan monarch: "Since Alfonso has come into possession of Naples the Church has had no peace; he has been a constant torment to Pope Martin, Eugenius, and myself. Therefore, when he dies, I will do my utmost to deliver my successor from such bondage by preventing the succession of Don Ferrante, the King's illegitimate son."§ The feudal law of Lombardy

* *Despatch in cipher from Otto de Caretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1457, Oct. 29. State Archives, Milan.

† *Cipher Despatch from Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, March 28. State Archives, Milan (erroneously given in Pot. Est., Roma, 1461). According to a *Despatch from the same ambassador, dated Rome, 1458, Jan. 17, Cardinal Barbo also offered his services in bringing about a reconciliation with King Alfonso. *Loc. cit.*

‡ Cipher *Despatch from the same to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, March 21. *Loc. cit.*

§ *Despatch of the Bishop of Modena of the 11th June, 1458; see Appendix No. 50. Ambrosian Library, Milan. It is evident that Alfonso was by no means a good and trustworthy neighbour to the States of the Church. See Voigt, iii., 22. On the 31st May, 1458, Otto de Carretto was able to inform Fr. Sforza by a *Despatch in cipher (Ambrosian Library) that Calixtus intended on the death of Alfonso to take possession of Naples as an escheated fief.

was on the Pope's side and of this he was no doubt aware.* According to it legitimization does not of itself carry the right of succession to a fief, and no special provision had been made to secure this for Ferrante.†

* See the *Letter of Otto de Carretto and Gio. de Caymis to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, July 24. Cod. Z, 219, Sup., of the Ambrosian Library, Milan. We shall speak of this letter later on.

† Æn. Sylvius (Europa, c. 65) certainly asserts the existence of a recognition of his right of succession, but the document has never come to light. In this matter my statement, Vol. I. p. 331, needs rectification. According to Zurita (iv., 44b) Alfonso expressly requested the Pope to grant Investiture to Ferrante. Eugenius IV. had clearly acknowledged Ferrante's capability of succession. I am indebted to the kindness of Fr. Ehrle, S.J., for my knowledge of the *Document concerning this matter (d.d. Rome, etc., 1444, Id. Jul. A° xiii°); Reg. 380, f. 28ab; Secret Archives of the Vatican. Calixtus III. seems to have proceeded on the conviction that he was not bound by this act of his predecessor's.

CHAPTER IV.

SKANDERBEG, "THE SOLDIER OF CHRIST"—THE POPE'S SOLICITUDE FOR THE CHRISTIANS IN THE EAST—COMPLETE FAILURE OF THE PAPAL EFFORTS FOR A CRUSADE—THE RISE AND DOWNFALL OF THE BORGIA—THE LAST DAYS OF CALIXTUS III.—THE DEATH OF CARDINAL CAPRANICA.

AFTER the death of the great Hunyadi, the Turks had but one adversary, able to cope with them, left on the western battlefields, and this was George Kastriota, Prince of Albania, generally known by the name of Skanderbeg.* The history of this hero, on whom Calixtus III. bestowed the name, "Soldier of Christ," has been rescued by recent investigations from the romantic fictions which had obscured it.

It is now an established fact that Kastriota was not, as had been supposed, a scion of an ancient Albanian family, but was of Slavonian origin. Original documents have also refuted the story that he distinguished himself when a hostage among the Turks, gained favour with the Sultan, and, after the battle of Kunovica, escaped and returned home to incite his countrymen to take arms against the infidel. The truth is that Skanderbeg's youth was passed in his native mountains,† and his warfare with the Turks

* See Hopf, 122; Makuscev, Slaven in Albanien (Warschau, 1871) Kap. 4, and C. J. Jirecek, Gesch. der Bulgaren (Prag, 1876) 368-369.

† Hertzberg, Byzantiner und Osmanen, 609.

began with the victory gained over them in the Dibra in 1444. This victory filled western Christendom with joyful hopes, inaugurated the independence of Albania, which Skanderbeg maintained for more than twenty years, and ushered in the heroic age of its brave people. He was himself the hero of heroes. Contemporary testimony is unanimous in representing him as one of the noblest figures of the age. While yet a boy, his handsome features and commanding gestures presaged a glorious future. A companion in arms tells us that he used to turn up his sleeves in battle, that he might better wield the sword or the club. His warlike spirit was such that a battle from time to time seemed to be a necessity for him. He was at once a soldier and a general. His physical strength was almost inexhaustible, and in their rapidity his military movements resembled those of Cæsar.*

All the efforts of the infidels failed to vanquish this mighty foe, and after a while they attempted by cunning to accomplish that for which their power had proved unequal. They succeeded in inducing some Albanian chiefs, who found the rule of the energetic Skanderbeg too burdensome, to revolt, and among these were the Princes Nicholas and Paul Ducagnini. A bloody civil war then broke out, and there was reason to believe that the Signoria of Venice were no strangers to these disturbances. The hatred of the Venetians to Skanderbeg was due to his connection with King Alfonso of Naples.† Pope Nicholas, who in every way supported him, at length brought about a peace.‡ The Turks now stirred up Moses Golem Komnenos against him. In 1455, Isâbeg, one

* See Fallmerayer, Albanes. Element, 5, 7.

† Hopf, 133. See C. Padiglione, Di G. C. Scanderbech (Napoli, 1879).

‡ Theiner, Mon. Slav., i., 413-414. See *supra*, p. 246.

of the most experienced of the Turkish leaders, attempted a fresh attack on Albania. In order to make sure of the support of the King of Naples, Skanderbeg did homage to him as heir of the House of Anjou for his capital of Kroja, and Alfonso sent a thousand foot soldiers and five hundred musketeers to assist him. In the end of June, 1455, when with fourteen thousand men he attempted an attack on Berat, he was beaten by the superior Turkish forces, but his mountain home, with its raging rivers and torrents, easily placed him beyond the reach of his enemies. At the approach of winter the Turks retired and left the traitor Moses Golem in possession, promising him that if he brought them Skanderbeg's head he should receive a hundred thousand ducats, and be put in possession of Albania* without having to pay tribute.

For some time after the defeat at Berat Skanderbeg's fate was a matter of uncertainty in Western Europe, but in the spring of 1456 he reappeared upon the scene. In April he wrote to Cardinal Capranica, whose zeal for the cause of the crusades was well known, describing the warlike preparations of the Turks, and begging for his good offices with the Pope.† An envoy from the Albanian hero reached Milan‡ in June, and in October he again sent another messenger to Francesco Sforza and to Calixtus III. The Pope received his envoy with the greatest cordiality, but

* See Hertzberg, Byzantiner und Osmanen, 610. Hopf, 134. Regarding the stronghold of Kroja, see Hahn (Alban. Studien, Wien, 1853), i., 57, and Fallmerayer, 21. A *letter of the Doge Fr. Foscari to Fr. Sforza, dated Venice, 1455, Aug. 14, speaks of the Turkish invasion of Albania. State Archives, Milan, Pot. Est., Venez, i.

† *Skanderbeg to Card. Capranica, dated Alessio, 1456, April 8. Register in Cod. 1613, Fonds Ital., National Library, Paris.

‡ *Fr. Sforza to Jacopo Calcaterra, his ambassador in Rome, dated Milan, 1456, June 20. *Loc. cit.*

unfortunately was not able to assist the Albanians with ships or troops. He, however, encouraged and sanctioned their enterprise and afforded pecuniary help to the best of his power.*

On the 5th April Skanderbeg made his triumphal entry into his capital, Kroja, laden with rich spoils, after having a few days previously defeated the traitor Moses and his Turks in the Lower Dibra. Moses returned home a despised and vanquished man. Full of repentance for his treachery he fled to Albania and begged forgiveness from Skanderbeg. The hero pardoned him and generously restored his confiscated possessions; it was henceforth Moses' aim to atone for his treachery by loyal service against the common foe.†

A sorrow far deeper than that which the apostasy of Moses can have caused him fell upon Skanderbeg in the defection of his nephew Hamsa, who, beguiled by Mahomet II., proved false to his blood, his country, and his faith. In 1457 he joined the Turkish General Isâbeg with a considerable force, and advanced against his uncle, who had scarcely ten thousand men at his command. The latter, therefore, determined to avoid an engagement with an enemy so superior in number, and to entice him into the interior of the devastated country. The crops which were nearly ripe were hastily gathered into the fortresses, where

* Zinkeisen, ii., 119. Hopf., 134. See Æn. Sylvius, Europa, c. 15. Early in July, 1456, King Alfonso heard of a victory gained by Skanderbeg; see the *Letter of the Sienese ambassadors (Æneas Sylvius, Galg. Borghese and L. Benevolentus) to Siena, dated Naples, 1456, July 3. Cod. A. iii., 16, of the Siena Library. In a *Brief to Brother Lud. Constanz, dated [1456] Dec. 15, Calixtus III. speaks of the impossibility of immediately sending assistance to Skanderbeg. Lib. brev. 7, f. 53. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Zinkeisen, ii., 131. Hopf. *loc. cit.*

most of the country people with their goods also took refuge. As soon as the enemy began his march through the upper Dibra Skanderbeg with his troops retired towards Alessio. The Turks occupied a great part of the country, and extended their lines as far as this place, which belonged to the Venetians.* Venice complained bitterly of the violation of her neutral territory, but did not support the oppressed Albanians. Now, as before, the Signoria, in their desire to prevent any foreign interference in Albania, viewed with displeasure the assistance rendered by Alfonso of Naples to Skanderbeg, who in his necessity had also written to the Pope, entreating aid. The state of the Papal Treasury was unfortunately at this time far from prosperous. The maintenance of the crusading fleet was a great and constant expense, claims were made from all sides on the Supreme Head of Christendom, and meanwhile the war tithe came in very sparingly. The Pope did all that was in his power by transmitting a sum of money to Skanderbeg, and promising, as soon as possible, to send a well-equipped galley, which was to be followed by other ships.†

The most splendid and most bloody of Skanderbeg's victories was that which he gained in the Tomorniza in July, 1457. Isâbeg's army was surprised, and those who did not escape were cut to pieces. Thirty thousand Turks are said to have perished. Fifteen hundred prisoners, four-and-twenty horse-tails, and the whole camp of the enemy, with all its treasures, were taken by the conqueror. Hamsa, the traitor, was among the captives. Skanderbeg magnanimously spared his life, but sent him to Naples to be kept in safe custody by the King.‡

* Hammer, ii., 48. Zinkeisen, ii., 132. Fallmerayer, 68 *et seq.*

† Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 21 ; see 41 (from this passage it appears that the Papal succour arrived most opportunely).

‡ See Hopf, 135 ; Hammer, ii., 49 ; Fallmerayer, 69 *et seq.*

Albania was now delivered from the Turkish invasion, as Hungary had been by the victory of Belgrade in the previous year. The only powers who had afforded Skanderbeg any real assistance at this critical period were King Alfonso and the Pope. On the 17th September, 1457, the latter wrote to him in the following terms: "Beloved son! continue to defend the Catholic Faith; God, for whom you fight, will not abandon His cause. He will, I am confident, grant success against the Turks and the other unbelievers to you and the rest of the Christians with great glory and honour."*

The Pope had previously, on the 10th September, determined that a third part of the tithes from Dalmatia should be placed at the disposal of the brave Albanian chief. He also commanded his legate to come to Skanderbeg's assistance with at least a part of the fleet then in the Ægean Sea.† A special nuncio, Juan Navar, was sent to Dalmatia and Macedonia to collect the tithes; he was to oblige the people of Ragusa to fulfil their promises.‡ Navar does not, however, appear to have been very successful, for in December, 1457, the Pope threatened them with excommunication.§

After his victory Skanderbeg had informed the Western Princes that he was not in a position to bring the war to a happy conclusion without further assistance. The time had come, he said, for them to awaken from their lethargy,

* Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 26.

† Theiner, Mon. Slav., i., 426-428, and Mon. Ung., ii., 303-304. Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 23.

‡ Raynaldus, *loc. cit.* See *Brief to Ragusa, dated [1457] Sept. 18. Lib. brev. 7, f. 122. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ *Brief to Ragusa, dated 1457, Dec. 3. Lib. brev. 7, f. 134. *Ibid.* 135, a Brief to J. Navar on this matter; f. 139, reiteration of the threat to Ragusa, dated 1458, Feb. 6. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

to lay aside their dissensions, and to unite with him in exerting all their powers to obtain the liberation of the Christian world and to secure the future.* But this appeal was as ineffectual as those which the Pope had previously made. Naples alone sent some troops to Albania. Calixtus III. energetically expressed his satisfaction at the victory, and, on the 23rd December, 1457, appointed Skanderbeg his Captain-General for the Turkish war.† He also repeatedly sent him pecuniary aid.‡ Skanderbeg appointed as his lieutenant the despot of Roumania, Leonardo III., Tocco, ex-Prince of Arta, whose name was expected to rouse Southern Epirus to a general insurrection against the Turks. Unfortunately, Venice now came forward with various pretensions, the result of which was a new civil war, which was not terminated until February, 1458.§

In his zeal for the defence of Europe against Turkish aggression, and for the protection of the Oriental Christians, Calixtus III. never forgot the more distant outposts of Christendom in those regions. He interested himself more especially in the Genoese possessions in the Black Sea, which had already engaged the attention of Nicholas V.‖ On the second day after his coronation he issued a Brief urgently exhorting the inhabitants of the Genoese territory on the mainland, and some few specified provinces in the neighbourhood, to support the Bank of St. George with money and gifts, so that Caffa might

* Zinkeisen, ii., 136.

† Theiner, Mon. Slav., i., 431-433.

‡ Raynaldus ad an. 1458, N. 14-15, 16. Kaprinai, ii., 133 *et seq.* See *Brief to J. Navar, dated 1458, Feb. 6. Lib. brev. 7, f. 139b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ Details are given by Hopf, 135.

‖ See Raynaldus ad an. 1455, and Vigna, vi., 269.

not fall into the hands of the unbelievers. In order to give the more weight to this appeal, new and ample indulgences were granted to those who should in any way support this establishment in its opposition to the Turks.* On the 22nd November, in the same year, Calixtus, who had in the meantime personally afforded considerable assistance to the Bank, expressly declared that the Bull issued in favour of Caffa was not to be considered as suspended by that of the crusade of the 15th May.†

These favours occasioned great satisfaction in Genoa, and honest collectors were sent without delay to the territories indicated by the Pope. Calixtus continued to manifest his goodwill to the undertaking. On the 3rd March, 1456, the directors of the Bank of St. George wrote to Caffa in the following terms: "The Pope shows himself in every way so well disposed towards the Genoese colonies that their welfare appears to be even nearer to his heart than it is to ours."‡ The reason of this was that Calixtus's motives were nobler than those of the directors of the Bank; they only cared for the preservation of their colonies on account of the income they derived from them, while the Pope undertook their protection from zeal for the maintenance of the Catholic faith and the defence of Christian civilization against the inroads of Islam.§

* See the Pope's Letter to the Bank of St. George, given in part by Raynaldus ad an. 1455, N. 32, and completely by Vigna, vi., 403-407; see *ibid.*, 305, 390, 396 *et seq.*, 407 *et seq.*

† Vigna, vi., 412-414. In the beginning of November, 1455, the Bank of St. George had sent a special envoy (ven. sacr. litt. profess. Deodatus) to Rome, to represent to the Pope the necessities of the colonies in the Black Sea. *Cf.* on this subject a letter to Calixtus III., dated Genoa, 1455, Nov. 5, which I found in Cod. D. 4.4. 1, f. 2b-3, of the City Library at Genoa, and which is, to the best of my belief, unpublished.

‡ Vigna, vii., 431, 540 *et seq.*; see 550 and 603-604.

§ *Loc. cit.* 446.

The Pope's correspondence with Genoa, which has recently been brought to light, enables us to appreciate his marvellous energy in his care for the Eastern colonies at the very time when Hungary and the fleet were so urgently claiming his attention. On the 10th March, 1456, he extended to the dioceses of Albenga, Savona, and Ventimiglia the Bull by which Lodisio Fieschi and Giovanni Gatti had been appointed collectors of the ecclesiastical tithes in the Genoese territory.* Other Briefs called upon the Bishops of Tortona, Luni, Alba, Acqui, and Asti to assist the collectors in every possible manner, and to give a good example to their subjects by their zeal for the common cause of Christendom.† Others, again, confirmed the plenary powers given to these commissioners, and commanded them severely to punish those who, under the cloak of piety, deceived the simple people by falsely representing themselves as collectors.‡ The Pope strictly charged Valerio Calderina, Bishop of Savona, and Administrator of the Diocese of Genoa, not to damp the zeal of the people by the suggestion of doubts and scruples.§ He also addressed a special Brief to Paolo Campofregoso, Archbishop Elect of Genoa, urging him to set a good example by the complete and speedy payment of the tithes of his benefice.‖ In his indefatigable zeal he also exhorted the Duke of Milan and the Marquess of Montferrat, the neighbours of Genoa, to support Caffa.¶ We cannot give a full account of all the favours which the Genoese received from Calixtus III., but we can undoubtedly assert that he did everything in his power on their behalf.**

* *Loc. cit.* 458-559; see 561-562.
† *Loc. cit.* 563-564.
‡ *Loc. cit.* 569-570.
§ *Loc. cit.* 570-571.
‖ *Loc. cit.* 571-572.
¶ *Loc. cit.* 567-568.
** See Vigna, *loc. cit.*, 599 *et seq.*, 615 *et seq.*, 625 *et seq.*, 63[illegible] *et seq.*, 636-637, 638-639, 712-719, 738-740.

With regard to the fleet, the Pope was sedulous in providing it with reinforcements,* and in encouraging the legate and exhorting him to keep his forces together in readiness for any emergency.†

A splendid victory gained at Mitylene over the Turks in August, 1457, when no fewer than five-and-twenty of their ships were taken by the Papal fleet, gave much consolation to Calixtus.‡ He commemorated the happy event by causing a medal to be struck with the inscription: "I have been chosen for the destruction of the enemies of the Faith."§

This fresh success encouraged the Pope to do everything in his power for the support and assistance of Scarampo and his forces.‖ As time went on, he continued to urge

* See the *Briefs to the Archbishop of Milan, dated 1457, Feb. 15; to Scarampo, dated 1457, Feb. 28 and March 29; to Carvajal, dated 1457, March 23; to Pontius Fenollet, dated 1457, March 26; all of which are in Lib. brev. 7, f. 65b, 72, 76, 75, 74. Secret Archives of the Vatican. Also the Brief to Fr. Sforza, dated 1457, Feb. 15 (Ambrosian Library; incorrectly given by Christophe, ii., 584-585). Scarampo himself urgently implored assistance. See his *Letter to Onorato Gaetani, dated Rhodes, 1457, May 19. Gaetani Archives; see Appendix No. 45.

† See the *Brief to Scarampo of 10th March, 1457: "Super omnia autem, dilecte fili, te hortamur, ut nullam galeam aut navigium recedere a te permittas, sed omnes tua solita prudentia retinere studeas, ne classis ipsa ulla ex parte imminuatur, sed potius corroboretur." Lib. brev. 7, f. 69b; see *ibid.*, f. 72, a *Brief sent to the said Cardinal on the 28th February, 1457, and Theiner, Cod. iii., 399.

‡ See Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 31 and 32; St. Antoninus, xxii., c. 14, § 1; Pius II., Comment., 245; Cugnoni, 132.

§ Molinet, 9; Bonannus, i., 57; Venuti, 16; Guglielmotti, ii. 289 *et seq.*; Atti della Soc. Lig., iv. and xc.; Vigna, vi., 793.

‖ See *Brief to Scarampo, dated 1457, August 29 ("Ecce ad te inpresentiarum mittimus tres galeas"), and August 32 (Michael de Borgia will bring money with the ships). Lib. brev. 7, f. 116-118. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

on the Cardinal Legate the necessity of keeping the fleet together, and remaining with it during the winter,* so that the expedition might be carried on with renewed vigour in the following year.† Further reinforcements were sent for this purpose early in 1458, and, in announcing their arrival to the Cardinal Legate, Calixtus III. solemnly assured him that he would never give up the fleet, and would support it as long as he lived. He bid Scarampo not lose courage, and expressed his confident hope that God would grant victory, and would bring great things to pass by its means.‡ The energy of the Pope never flagged until he was struck down by mortal sickness ;§ and alas ! it was not granted to him to witness another victory for the cause so near his heart.

Save for these successes, won by the arms of Scarampo and Skanderbeg, the year 1457 was fraught with disappointments to Calixtus. The King of Portugal, like the rulers of France and of Burgundy, constantly buoyed up his mind with vain hopes and empty expectations. No one in Italy made any exertion for the defence of Christendom. Venice remained, as before, deaf and cold to all Apostolic appeals ; her traders cared only for their selfish interests, and accord-

* Besides the *Brief of 31st August, 1457, which we have mentioned, see *one to Scarampo, dated 1457, December 4, of which Raynaldus (ad an. 1457, N. 38) gives but a fragment. Lib. brev. 7, f. 132b-133b.

† *Brief to B. Vila, dated 1457, December 4. Lib. brev. 7, f. 134.

‡ *Brief to Scarampo, dated 1458, March 14. Lib. brev. 7, f. 152b-154. See Raynaldus ad an. 1458, N. 18.

§ *On the 29th May, 1458, he announced to Scarampo the early arrival of Juan Navar with succour, and the approaching despatch of four galleys built in Rome. Lib. brev. 7, f. 172 ; see *ibid.*, f. 174, the *Brief to Michael " de Borga," dated 1458, June 3.

ingly maintained peace with the Sultan, who invited the Doge in March, 1457, to the marriage of his son.*

The Duke of Milan endeavoured to obtain investiture from the Emperor by holding out hopes that he would send troops for the war. These tedious negotiations came to nothing, although the Pope took the Duke's part, and all expectations of succour from this quarter vanished.† Like the great victory on the Danube in 1456, the successes of Skanderbeg and Scarampo in 1457 were attended by no adequate results. All who wished to remain in peace, and attend without interruption to their own private interests, easily persuaded themselves that the power of the Turks was sufficiently subdued. Time was thus given to the enemy to recover from defeat, and to prepare for further aggressions, and an opportunity which never returned was lost by the short-sighted and egotistical policy of the European Powers.

The strength of Hungary was crippled; discord prevailed among her magnates and at the Court; Frederick III. was at variance with the young King Ladislas regarding the inheritance of the Count of Cilli. The Pope most earnestly adjured these two princes to lay aside this petty private matter for the sake of Christendom in general and of their own dominions. "How," he asks, "can the French, the Spaniards, and the English think of sending armies against the Turks when you, who are near at hand, and whose

* Sathas (Documents inéd., relat. â l'hist. de la Grèce, Première série [Paris, 1880], i., 36) has published the Sultan's letter. On the 20th October, 1457, Venice declared to the Sultan her firm purpose of maintaining peace with him. *"Imperatori Turcorum." Senatus Secreta, xx., 135. State Archives, Venice.

† See Buser, 86. *As early as the 1st November, 1456, the Pope had begged the German Electors to promote the grant of the Investiture to Sforza. Regest., in Cod. 1613, National Library, Paris.

interests are at stake, seem to take no heed of the danger which threatens you from the infidels?"* In the beginning of November, 1457, an agreement was at last arrived at between Frederick III. and Ladislas, but on the 23rd of the same month Ladislas died, and in consequence of his death affairs in the East took a new and unexpected turn. Matthias Hunyadi Corvinus, who was very young, ascended the Hungarian throne, and the Utraquist Governor, George Podiebrad, was elected King of Bohemia (2nd March, 1458).

In the election of George no regard was paid to the hereditary pretensions of Saxony, Poland, and the House of Hapsburg; the adjoining countries were not consulted, and the proceedings were altogether of an exceptional kind. Accordingly the new King was not without opponents, who had legitimate grounds for calling his election in question. Under these circumstances the congratulations of an eminent and generally esteemed Prince of the Church were peculiarly welcome. Cardinal Carvajal wrote from Buda on the 20th March to express his good wishes, and at the same time took the opportunity of urging upon the new Monarch the cause of ecclesiastical unity, and of the defence of Christendom against the Turks.†

Even before his elevation the crafty Podiebrad had been working to gain the favour of Rome. The Pope, who had already expressed his desire for the reconciliation of the Bohemians,‡ was all the more easily won because he was assured, not only of Podiebrad's Catholic sentiments

* Calixtus III. to Ladislas. Æn. Sylv., Opp., 819-820. See Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 8 *et seq.*, and Theiner, Mon. Ung., ii., 296.

† Palacky, Urkundl. Beiträge, 140. Bachmann (Podiebrads Wahl., 109) seems under the impression that Carvajal's letter is unpublished.

‡ See Palacky, iv., 1, 409

but also of his intention of taking part in the war against the Turks. The Premonstratentian Canon, Lukas Hladek, and Heinrich Roraw, the Procurator of the Bohemian Hospice in Rome, exerted themselves in his cause, and were so successful that the confiding Pontiff declared his determination in every way to defend the honour of the Bohemian King. Calixtus had letters of safe-conduct issued for the Bohemian ambassadors, and his confessor, Cosimo di Monserrato, shewed Lukas Hladek presents destined for King George.* The Pope's anticipations were raised still higher when he received tidings of what King George and his consort had, before their coronation, done and bound themselves by oath to do.

According to the decision of the States the coronation of George was to take place according to the ancient Catholic rite. Prague was at this time without an Archbishop; the Archbishop of Olmütz had not yet been enthroned, and the Archbishop of Breslau was hostile to the King. Consequently King Mathias and the Cardinal Legate Carvajal were requested to send a Hungarian Bishop to perform the ceremony.† The Bishops of Raab and Waitzen declared themselves willing to undertake the office. Carvajal would not allow them to start until they had promised to insist upon George's abjuration of the Hussite heresy previously to his coronation. The King, who well understood his obligations to the Utraquists, began by refusing to do this; the Bishops, however, stood firm, and at length he agreed to abjure his errors and take

* Report of the Roman parish priest Lichtenfelser, Rome 1458, April 3, in Palacky, Urk. Beiträge, 145. Regarding H. Roraw (Rohrau) see Voigt, iii., 426 and Vol. I. p. 254, and regarding Cosimo de Monserrato see *supra*, p. 335.

† See Palacky, iv., 2, 33. Bachmann, Podiebrads Wahl, 110 *et seq.*

a Catholic coronation oath, providing only that the matter was kept secret. Fresh difficulties arose when the Bishops required that the abjuration of heresy should be inserted with the other points in the formal record of his oath. George could not be induced to consent, and the Bishops contented themselves with his verbal abjuration.* In the coronation oath taken on the 6th May, 1458, in presence of only eight witnesses, who were bound to secrecy,† George swore "fidelity and obedience to the Roman Catholic Church, her head, Pope Calixtus III., and his lawful successors," and promised "to preserve his subjects from all errors, divisions and heretical doctrines, and especially from everything opposed to the Catholic Church and the true Faith, and to bring them back to obedience, and to perfect external and internal unity and union with the Roman Church in worship and ceremonials." Every difference of every kind was to be given up, and notably the administration of the Sacrament of the Altar in both kinds, and other things contained in the compacts which had never been confirmed by Rome.‡

* See the important letter of Carvajal to Calixtus III., 1458, Aug. 9, in Script. rer. Siles. (Breslau, 1873), 7-8, Markgraf, 7, 36f, and Bachmann, Podiebrads Wahl, 125 *et seq.*, 132 *et seq*

† Raynaldus ad an. 1458, N. 24, 25. Kaprinai, Hung. dipl., ii., 163-166. Theiner, Mon. Ung., ii., 405. Bachmann, Podiebrads Wahl, 134, 135. Frind, 465, 466.

‡ Bachmann, Podiebrads Wahl, 137. Frind, 45. The former co-religionists of the King had no suspicion of his change or of the oath he had taken; George gained them over by his solemn confirmation of the privileges of the kingdom amongst which the compacts were reckoned, at least by the Utraquists, though these do not seem to have been expressly mentioned. The two oaths were, as George well knew, contradictory. As to the Pope's refusal to confirm the compacts, see Voigt (against Palacky) in the Histor. Zeitschrift, v., 413 *et seq.*

These solemn promises on the part of the King led Calixtus III. to cherish confident hopes that in time the majority of the Utraquists would follow the example of their monarch and return to the Catholic Church. Soon after his coronation George further encouraged these anticipations by accrediting Doctor Fantino de Valle as his Procurator in Rome, sending the Pope a copy of his oath, and adding ample promises regarding an expedition against the Turks to be undertaken when he had arranged the affairs of his kingdom.* According to Cardinal Jacopo Ammannati Piccolomini,† the aged Pontiff now resolved on addressing a Brief to King George with the superscription: "To my beloved son George, King of Bohemia," after the formula generally employed in the case of Catholic Princes. This Brief, however, has not come to light, and neither the King nor the Court ever alluded to it.‡

The coronation of King George by two Catholic prelates

* Voigt, iii., 431. Markgraf, 8. From his letter of the 13th May, 1458, in Raynaldus ad an. 1458, N. 20, it would appear that Calixtus III. was at first somewhat hurt at not being consulted with regard to the election of the new Kings of Hungary and Bohemia.

† Pius II., Comment., ed. Gobelinus, 430, 431. Here it is also said that the Pope's eyes were opened by the Minorite, Gabriel of Verona, and that before he died he realized that he had been deceived. Bachmann (Böhmen unter Georg v. Podiebrad [Prag, 1878] 75) justly rejects this story.

‡ Markgraf, 8, and Histor. Zeitschrift, N. F., ii., 131. Voigt (iii., 431) and Bachmann (Podiebrads Wahl, 145) consider the Brief to be genuine. In the Secret Archives of the Vatican I found no trace of it, but the Briefs of Calixtus III. are very imperfectly preserved. Against the authenticity of the document we have the fact that in the latter part of Calixtus III.'s life, and especially during his illness, several Papal documents were forged; See Cugnoni, 201.

according to the rite of the Roman Church, together with the friendly relations established between him and the Pope, produced an immense impression, and the tide of feeling became much more favourable to the new monarch. He had now a fair hope of inducing the neighbouring States to acknowledge him, and of depriving the efforts of the Duke of Saxony and the Hapsburgs of any prospect of success.*

To the end of his life Calixtus III. continued heartily devoted to the cause of the crusade. In order to estimate the immense difficulties in his way, we must bear in mind that he had to encounter the obstinate opposition of almost all the European princes and of a great portion of the clergy. This opposition was displayed not only in France and Germany, but also in Italy and Spain, and the Papal registers contain a series of condemnatory briefs bearing on the subject.† The Pope laments this sad state of things in language which shews how deeply it affected him. "The harvest is great but the labourers are few," he writes, in December, 1456, to Cardinal Alain. The sense of his isola-

Bachmann, Podiebrads Wahl, 145, 174.

† See *Lib. brev. 7, f. 17: **"Archiepiscopo Mediolan" (s.d.). See f. 52b: "Fr. Coppino," dated 1456, Dec. 2, and f. 65b: "Archiepisc. Mediol.," dated 1457, Febr. 15; f. 60b: "Omnibus praelatis Sabaudiæ," dated 1457, Jan. 30; f. 83b-84: "G. P. Fenolleto," dated 1457, April 13 (concerning the appeal of the Chapter of Gerona); f. 92: "Episc., capit. et clero Urbinat.," dated 1457, May 20; f. 124: "Episc. Pensauri" (Pesaro), dated 1457, Sept. 24; f. 128b-129: to the clergy of the Province of Tarragona (d.u.s. [1457, Nov. 17]), see f. 160; f. 138: "Ant. de Veneriis nunt. in regnis Castelle et Leg.," dated 1458, Jan. 23; **to the Bishop of Trivento (with severe condemnation), dated 1458, Febr. 26, Regest., 459, f. 199: **"Declaratio contra prælatos et alios non solventes decimam in ducatu Sabaudiæ." Secret Archives of the Vatican. See also Vigna, vi., 680 *et seq.*

tion became at times so overwhelming that the burden of his office seemed almost intolerable.*

In Italy the restless spirit of Piccinino and the crafty policy of Alfonso of Naples caused him constant and serious anxiety. On account of these troubles, and also with the view of making yet another effort to avert the danger of Turkish aggression, Calixtus, in the autumn of 1457, conceived the idea of holding a congress in Rome. His invitation was addressed to all the princes of Christendom; and it was his last attempt. In order to facilitate the deliberations, the envoys were summoned for different dates. Naples, Milan, Genoa, Florence, and Venice were to send their deputies to Rome by December, 1457; France, Burgundy, and Savoy by the end of the following January, and the other European princes, with the Emperor, by the end of February.† The Pope placed great hopes on this congress,‡ but the appointed periods passed by without the

* See Raynaldus (ad an. 1456, N. 52; 1457, N. 35 and 50), the pathetic *Letter to the Archbishop of Florence, dated 1457, June 10, and the *Briefs to Joh. de Grolea, and the Archbishop of Granada, both of 20th Dec., 1457. Lib. brev. 7, f. 98, 145b, 145b-146. Secret Archives of the Vatican. The *Letter to Alain is in Appendix No. 44, from the Colonna Archives.

† See Raynaldus ad an. 1457, N. 36, 38. Sanudo, 1166. Theiner, Mon. Ung., ii., 305-306. See the *Briefs to Cardinal Carvajal, dated 1457, Nov. 29, and to the Duke of Burgundy, dated 1457, Dec. 21, Lib. brev. 7, f. 130-131b, and 144. That the case of Piccinino was to be one of the matters of deliberation appears from the *Despatches of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1457, Nov. 24, and 1458, March 21. State Archives, Milan (the last named despatch is in cipher; it is in Pot. Est., wrongly dated Roma, 1461), and from a *Brief to Bologna, dated 1457, Dec. 16, the original of which is in the State Archives, Bologna. See Appendix No. 50.

‡ See the *Briefs to B. Vila, dated 1457, Dec. 4, and to L. Cescases, dated 1458, Febr. 17. Lib. brev. 7, f. 134, 148.

arrival of any of those invited. Otto de Carretto wrote on the 4th February, 1458, to the Duke of Milan, "No one of the envoys convened to discuss the Turkish business has yet arrived."* In February several at last appeared, so that the deliberations could be commenced in March. They continued into the month of June,† but there is no record of any result.

The excessive nepotism of Calixtus III. is the only blot on his otherwise blameless character. The lavish prodigality with which he enriched his unworthy relations can only be, in some measure, excused as an effort to secure in them a counterpoise to the influence of the untrustworthy and often dangerous barons.‡

The relations of the Spanish Pope were very numerous, and some of them had come to Rome while he was still a cardinal. They belonged chiefly to the three allied Valencian families of Borgia, Mila, and Lanzol. Caterina Borgia, one of the Pope's sisters, was married to Juan Mila, Baron of Mazalanes, and was mother of young Luis Juan; another sister, Isabella, was the wife of Jofré Lanzol, a nobleman possessed of property at Xativa, and had two sons, Pedro Luis and Rodrigo. Calixtus gave both these nephews his family name by adoption.§

* The *Despatch is in cipher, and is to be found in the State Archives, Milan, where see also *Despatches from the same ambassador of the 4th and 8th Jan., 1458. Regarding the refusal of Venice to send ambassadors, see Banchi, Relaz., 441 *et seq.*

† See the *Briefs to Cardinal Scarampo, dated 1458, March 15 and May 29, and to Michael "de Borga," dated 1458, June 3, Lib. brev. 7, f. 153, 172, 174. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ See Papencordt, Höfler, 487, note 2. Hergenröther, ii., 1, 123. Döllinger, Kirche und Kirchen, 520. Höfler, Roman. Welt. 214.

§ Gregorovius, L. Borgia, 4. See the partly-incorrect article by L. N. Cittadella, Saggio di Albero genealogico e di memorie sulla famiglia Borgia (Torino, 1872), and Reumont in the Arch. St.

The promotion of his relations was in itself objectionable, and was rendered still more so by the vicious character of some among them. A recent historian draws a striking comparison between the family of Borgia and that of Claudius in ancient Rome; the Borgias were in general distinguished by physical strength and beauty; they were sensual and haughty in disposition, and had for their armorial bearings a bull.* Calixtus III. was the founder of their fortunes, but derived little satisfaction from them.‡ Could he have foreseen the evil which his nephews would do to Italy and to the Church, he would certainly, instead of elevating them, have banished them to the deepest dungeons of Spain.‡

Amongst the Pope's nephews, Rodrigo Lanzol, or, as the Italians called him, Lenzuoli, has attained the saddest celebrity. The remarkable abilities of this man, who was born at Xativa, near Valencia, in 1430 or 1431, have been

Ital., Serie iii., xvii, 320 *et seq.* These writers know of but two sisters of Calixtus III., but from a Codex preserved in the Roman State Archives, *"Libre de Rebudes del an. 1452" (Household Book of Cardinal Alfonso Borgia), it would appear that he had two other sisters, named Juana and Francesca (see Arch. della Soc. Rom., iv., 113). The former is referred to on other occasions. *Regest., 455, f. 115: "Nobili mulieri Isabelle 'de Boria' ('germane nostre vidue') conceditur altare portatile," etc., 1455, Sept., Cal. Nov. A° 1°, "Item aluid simile fuit expedit. p. 'Joanna de Borja,' germ. prefati dom. nostri" (d.u.s.). Item . . . p. "Chaterina de B.," etc. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 148.

† "Camerarius legatus Orientis," writes Æneas Sylvius on the 4th July, 1457, "duos papæ nepotes in vincula coniecit, qui Cyprum populati fuerant" (Opp. 792). See Guglielmotti, ii., 279. Another of the Pope's relations, Gregorio Prima by name, by his distinguished virtues, forms a contrast to these offenders; see Wadding, xii., 481.

‡ Gregorovius *loc. cit.* Rohrbacher-Knöpfler, 214.

acknowledged even by his bitterest adversaries. Guicciardini says that "in him were combined rare prudence and vigilance, mature reflection, marvellous power of persuasion, skill and capacity for the conduct of the most difficult affairs."*

Even while yet a Cardinal, Calixtus III. had a partiality for his gifted nephew;† and, after his elevation to the Papal Throne, he loaded him with dignities and favours of all kinds. As early as the 10th May, 1455, Rodrigo was Notary of the Apostolic See; on the 3rd June he was made Dean of the Church of Our Lady at Xativa, and other benefices in Valencia were conferred on him,‡ and in the same month he was sent by the Pope to Bologna to study jurisprudence.§ He accompanied Luis Juan Mila, Bishop

* See Reumont, Theol. Lit.-Bl., v., 688. Clément, 13, and L'Epinois, Rev. d. quest. hist. (1881), xxix., 363 *et seq.*

† Villanueva, iv., 270-271.

‡ Regest., 465, f. 58: "Rodericus 'de Boria,' sacrista eccl. Valent., recipitur in notarium sedis ap^ce," d.d. 1455, sexto Id. Mai, A° 1° ("Cum itaque tu nobilitate generis, litterar. scientia et claritate virtutem decoraris" etc.), 436, f. 239b-241: "'Rod. de Boria' conceditur decanatus eccl. b. Mariæ de Xativa Valent. dioc." d.d., 1455 tercio Non. Jun. A° 1° ("Grat. p. nepote d. n. p."), 441, f. 38: "'Dil. fil. mag. Roderico de Borgia' confertur paroch. ecclesia de Quart Valent.," d.d. 1455 [=1456], s.d. [probably like the preceding document, prid. Cal. Mart.] ("Grat. de mand. d. n. p."). These hitherto unknown documents from the Secret Archives of the Vatican fill up the gap which Matagne lamented (469). On the 21st August, 1456, the "rectoria hospitalis S. Andree Vercell." was bestowed upon Rodrigo. *Ibid.*, 444, f. 230.

§ See in Appendix No. 32 the *Brief of the 18th June, 1455, from the original in the State Archives at Bologna. This brief disposes of the fantastic ideas of the Abbé Clément (73), who supposes Rodrigo to have come to Italy for the first time in the autumn of 1456. Ghirardacci, who had access to good sources of information, says: "*Venne anche con il d° governatore per studiare in

of Segorbe, who was nominated Governor of Bologna on the 13th June, 1455. On the 29th June the two cousins reached their destination, where they were honourably received. Luis Juan, however, had to be on his guard with the Bolognese in the exercise of his new dignity: and his abilities do not appear to have been considerable.* Nevertheless, Calixtus III. determined to raise him, as well as the young Rodrigo, to the purple. In November, 1455, the Archbishop of Pisa, Filippo de' Medici, was made aware of this intention, and it was expected that it would be carried out in the following month.† Some obstacle, however, must have arisen, for it was not till the 20th of February, 1456, that the Pope's nephews were secretly created Cardinals.

The records of this creation are preserved, and it appears that it took place in a Secret Consistory, in the presence and with the consent of all the Cardinals then in

Bologna Roderigo Borgia . . . il quale era assai bel giovine et allogio nel palazzo Gregoriano." Cod. 768, University Library, Bologna. I found in Cod. Z., 219, Sup., of the Ambrosian Library, Milan, an original letter of Rodrigo's to Fr. Sforza, d.d. ex Bononia, 9th Oct., 1455, signed "Rodoricus de Boria pton. S.D.N. nepos."

* *Regest., 465, f. 56 : "Ludov. Joh. Segobricen. [episc.] constituitur vicarius generalis et gubernator in civitate Bononiæ et eius comitatu cum potest. leg. de lat.," d.d. 1455, Id. Jun. A° 1°. Secret Archives of the Vatican (also in the State Archives at Bologna, Q. 22, f. 23). On the same day Calixtus III. confirmed the "capitula" agreed upon between the Bolognese and Nicholas V., see *Bull in Cod. B. 19, f. 143, Vallicella Library, Rome. Regarding the arrival and the position of the Pope's nephews in Bologna, see Cronica di Bologna, 717; Annal. Bonon., 888; Æn. Sylvius, Europa, c. 53; Muratori, iii., 2, 1036.

† Letter from the Archbishop of Pisa to Florence, dated Rome [1455], Nov. 19. Cart. innanzi il princip., F. xvi., No. 356. State Archives, Florence.

Rome. Contrary to the usual custom, the Church of San. Niccolo in Carcere was on the same day assigned to Rodrigo as his title, and it was decreed that in the event of the Pope's death before his publication, the other Cardinals were at once, under pain of excommunication, to regard his creation as published, and to admit him to take part in the Conclave for the election of a new Pope.*

The new Cardinals had not as yet done anything to merit the dignity conferred on them, they were both very young—Rodrigo only five-and-twenty—their elevation was in itself an unjustifiable action, and the evil was aggravated by the fact that Rodrigo was an immoral and vicious man.†

Such is the judgment of a German Cardinal of the nineteenth century, and though it may seem severe, it is perfectly just. Rodrigo was handsome, of an ardent temperament, and extremely attractive to women. In the time of Pius II. the historian, Gasparo di Verona, sketched his portrait in the following terms: "He is handsome, of a pleasant and cheerful countenance, with a sweet and persuasive manner. With a single glance he can fascinate women, and attract them to himself more strongly than a magnet draws iron."‡ No unfavourable testimony regarding the conduct of Rodrigo during the lifetime of Calixtus III. has come to light; but the same cannot be said as to his subsequent course.

Repeated efforts have nevertheless been made in recent

* Rodrigo was, as Capranica had been, "creatus sed non publicatus," see Catalanus, 275, and Vol. i., p. 264. See the hitherto unknown *Decree of Nomination in Appendix No. 37, from the Registers of the Secret Archives of the Vatican; *ibid.*, 459, f. 119, the similar *Decree in favour of Luis Juan de Mila.

† Hergenröther, ii., 1, 130.

‡ Muratori, iii., 2, 1036. Gregorovius, L. Borgia, 8.

days to rehabilitate the moral character of this man. In the face of such a perversion of the truth, it is the duty of the historian to show that the evidence against Rodrigo is so strong as to render it impossible to restore his reputation. We shall have to speak at a future period of his scandalous relations with a Roman lady, Vannozza de' Catanei, which form part of this evidence.*

The first light thrown upon Rodrigo's immorality occurs in an admonitory letter of the year 1460, in which Pius II. reproaches the Cardinal, who probably was not at the time a priest,† with his unbecoming behaviour at an entertainment given at Siena, in the garden of Giovanni de Bichis. "Our displeasure," says Pius II., "is unspeakable, for such conduct disgraces the ecclesiastical state and office. It will be said to us that we have been made rich and great, not in order that we should lead blameless lives, but to give

* In a future volume I shall also revert to the recent apologies for Alexander VI. Regarding the work of the Dominican, P. Ollivier, Le pape Alex. VI. et les Borgia; P. 1: Le card. de Llancol y Borgia (Paris, 1870), it is sufficient to refer to the destructive criticisms of Reumont, Theol. Lit.-Bl., v., 685-692, and Matagne, 466 *et seq.* Leonetti's Apology is also a failure; see the article of L'Epinois in the Rev. des quest. hist. (1881), xxix., 357 *et seq.* Any further attempt to rehabilitate Alexander VI. is rendered for ever impossible by the documents from the Archives of the Duke of Osuna in Madrid recently published by Thuasne (Joh. Burchardi Diarium [Paris, 1885], iii., Sup., p. 11 *et seq.*).

† Clément has very justly brought this forward. After careful investigation of the *Registers of Calixtus III. and Pius II., I have found no evidence that Rodrigo was at this time a priest. Nothing is proved by the only document relating to the matter (Regest., 445, f. 303b-304: "Roderico etc. conceditur facultas concedendi pro se vel al. familiarib. suis semel tamen in mortis articulo remissionem omnium peccatorum"), for remissio peccatorum here means the indulgence at the hour of death, and any priest can absolve a dying person.

us the means of self-indulgence. This is the reason why princes and powers despise us and the laity daily deride us. They reproach us with our own conduct when we would blame that of others. Contempt falls even upon the Vicar of Christ, because he seems to tolerate such things. You, beloved son! govern the Bishopric of Valencia, the first in Spain; you are also Chancellor of the Church, and —which makes your conduct more reprehensible—you sit with the Pope among the Cardinals, the Counsellors of the Holy See. We leave it to your own judgment whether it is becoming to your dignity to pay court to ladies, to send fruit and wine to the one you love, and all day long to think of nothing but pleasure. We are blamed on your account; the memory of your blessed uncle, Calixtus, is blamed; many consider that he did wrong in heaping so many honours on you. You cannot plead your youth, for you are not now so young as to be unaware of the duties which your dignity imposes on you. A Cardinal must be blameless and an example of moral life before the eyes of all men. What right have we to be angry if temporal princes call us by names that are little honourable, if they grudge us our possessions and constrain us to submit to their commands? Truly we inflict these wounds upon ourselves and invite these evils when by our own deeds we daily lessen the authority of the Church. Our chastisement for these things is shame in this world, and the ways of sin in the next. We trust in your prudence to remember your dignity, and not suffer yourself to be called a gallant by women and youths. For should such things occur again we shall be constrained to show that we do not consent to them, and our censure will not fail to bring confusion on you. We have constantly loved you, and we held you worthy of our protection as a grave and discreet person. Let your conduct be such that we may retain this opinion

to which nothing can more conduce than the adoption of a regular life. Your years favour the hope that you will amend, and permit us to exhort you in a fatherly manner. Petriolo, the 11th June, 1460."* Cardinal Rodrigo hastened to write a letter of apology to the Pope and endeavoured to place the affair in a more favourable light. The reply of Pius II. was grave and dignified. The conduct of Rodrigo, he maintains, is inexcusable, although, perhaps, there may have been some exaggeration in the account of it. In any case the Cardinal must for the future keep aloof from all such things and be more careful of his reputation. If he will do this and live discreetly the Papal favour will not be withdrawn from him.†

* Raynaldus ad an. 1460, N. 31. See Gregorovius, L. Borgia, 7-8. Ollivier (162) had already gently insinuated a doubt as to the authenticity of this brief of Pius II. Leonetti (i., 165) then affirmed that he had not found a trace of it either in the papers of Raynaldus or in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. Considering that if Leonetti had only looked through the volume cited by the Annalist of the Church he would have found the brief in question, we are at a loss how to characterize his mode of proceeding. l'Epinois has, however, done this; see Rev. des. quest. hist. (1881), xxix., 367 *et seq.* The brief is in the Secret Archives of the Vatican (Lib. brev. 9, f. 161); it is, with the exception of two printer's errata, correctly given by Raynaldus, and there is absolutely no ground for doubting its authenticity. Leonetti answered l'Epinois, but was signally defeated in this contest; see Rev. des quest. (1881), xxx., 526-548. All this has not deterred the Abbé Clément (Les Borgia, see p. 86 *et seq.*) from breaking a lance on behalf of Cardinal Rodrigo. As, however, he adduces no fresh evidence, I think it unnecessary to take any further notice of his work. The fact of Cardinal Rodrigo's sojourn at Siena in the summer of 1460 is confirmed by a *Letter from him to Fr. Sforza, dated ex Senis viii. Jul., 1460. State Archives, Milan, Aut. pont., Vol. iii.

† "Pius P. II. vicecancellario. Dilecto fili, etc. Accepimus literas tue circ^{is} et intelleximus excusationem quam affers facti

The hopes of Pius II. were not realized. Cardinal Rodrigo would not change his mode of life. In the year 1464 Pius II., with his mortal sickness upon him, undertook his celebrated expedition to Ancona to place himself at the head of the crusaders. Rodrigo accompanied him, but even at so serious a time this "essentially low-minded man"* could not bring himself to give up his evil pleasures.†

It cannot surprise us to find that among the better disposed Cardinals great opposition was made to the promotion of such a man. This was probably manifested even in the Secret Consistory of the 20th February, 1456. If the Cardinals then gave him their votes, it was in the hope that the old Pontiff would die before Rodrigo's publication. This hope, however, was soon disappointed. In September,

(MS. factum). Factum tuum, dilecte fili, non potest non culpabile esse, licet minus fortasse sit, quam fuerit nobis relatum. Hortamur, ut a talibus deinceps abstineas honorique tuo prudentius consulas. Ignoscimus tibi veniam a nobis petenti, nec si te non dilexissemus ut nostrum peculiarem filium, non ita amanter monuissemus; scriptum est enim: ego quos amo arguo et castigo. Quod si (MS. ni or ne) bene feceris et modeste vixeris, non deerit pater protectorque bonus tibi ac tuis vitamque avunculi tui predecessoris nostri Pio vivo non multum desiderare habebis." Dat., etc., xiiii. Jun., Lib. brev. 9, f. 163b-164. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* Guidantonio Vespucci and Piero Capponi speak of him in these words in a despatch of June 6, 1494; in Desjardins, i., 399.

† A *Despatch from Jacobus de Arretio to Lodovico Gonzaga, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 10, bears witness to the truth of this statement. In this document, which, unfortunately, is partly destroyed by damp, the following passage occurs: "Anchora aviso V. Ill. S. come lo vicecancelliere e amalato de morbo et questo e vero; ha la doglia nella urechia et sotto el braccio da quello canto. . . . El medico che primo lo vidde dice haverne picc[ola] speranza, maxime quia paulo ante non solus in lecto dormiverat."

1456, when all the Cardinals had left Rome on account of the insupportable heat and of a pestilential sickness, Calixtus III. actually proceeded to the publication (17th September).* A month later the Pope's nephews made their solemn entry into Rome; on the 17th November the red hat was conferred upon them, and on the 26th the ceremony of opening their mouths took place.†

Together with his nephews the Pope had raised to the

* See Pius II., Comment., 26, and Cugnoni, 182 (Gregorovius [vii., 3rd ed., 148] gives the 21st; Zurita [iv., 44b], the 22nd Sept., as the day of the publication, both these dates are wrong). The 17th September is proved to have been the real day by the following documents: (a) *Brief of Calixtus III. to Bologna, d.d. Romæ ap. S. Mariam maj., xvii. Sept., 1456, A° 2°: "Cum non ignoremus nobilitates vestras duobus nepotibus nostris, quos istic apud vos habemus, esse affectas tum pro vestra erga nos devocione et reverentia tum quia iidem istius nostre civitatis alumni eidemque plurimum affecti existunt, vobis nunciamus, quod hodie eosdem nepotes nostros, quos antea de venerab. fratrum nostrorum s. Romane ecclesie cardinalium consilio in cardinales assumpseramus, ut tales publicavimus." Original in the State Archives, Bologna, 2, lib. 3(b). *Brief to Cardinal Rodrigo of the same day. Copy in Cod. Z., 219, Sup., of the Ambrosian Library, Milan (c). *Brief to Fr. Sforza of the same day. Regest. in Cod. 1613, Fonds Ital. National Library, Paris (d). *Acta concist. Secret Archives of the Vatican. Rodrigo announced his elevation to the Duke of Milan on the 1st October, 1456 (*Letter ex Castrofrancho, original in the State Archives, Milan, Aut. pont., Vol. iii.); the Duke congratulated him from Milan on the 7th October, and on the 10th Cardinal Rodrigo replied (ex Castrofrancho) offering his services in Rome. Register of these *Letters in Cod. 1613, Fonds Ital. National Library, Paris.

† See *Acta consist. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, and a **Letter from Cardinal Rodrigo to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1456, Nov. 20. Original in the State Archives, Milan. Rodrigo and his cousin had left Bologna on the 18th October; see Ghirardacci, Storia di Bologna. Cod. 768, University Library, Bologna.

purple the Portuguese Infante, James, a young man noted for his modesty and purity of life. This Cardinal, who was in every way a contrast to Rodrigo Borgia, unhappily died on the 27th August, 1459, on his journey to Florence as legate. His monument, by Antonio Rossellino, is in the Church of San Miniato al Monte. The beautiful form of the young Cardinal, wearing on his countenance an expression of profound peace, rests on a bed of state standing in a niche raised on a lofty architectural pedestal. Two nude figures hold the ends of the pall. Above, on either side, two angels kneel on brackets fastened to the wall, holding a crown and a palm. In the vault over the niche is a medallion in relief of the Blessed Virgin, borne by two angels in the air.*

On the 17th December, 1456, Calixtus III. made another promotion of Cardinals, and on this occasion also the Sacred College offered opposition. "Never," wrote one of those nominated, "had Cardinals more difficulty in entering the Sacred College. The hinges (*cardines*) had become so rusty that they would not turn. The Pope had to use battering-rams and all kinds of engines to burst open the door."† Calixtus was again unsuccessful with some

* See Mai, Spicil., i., 203, 209. Ciaconius, ii., 990. The description of the monument is from Burckhardt, Cicerone, ii., ed. 4, 366, where, however, the Cardinal's name is wrongly given as John. According to Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 654) this is the finest of the tombs of the Renaissance period. From the *Acta consist. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, we learn that the Cardinal arrived in Rome on the 1st December, 1456; received the red hat on the 2nd, and had his mouth opened on the 10th. He, like the two nephews of the Pope, had been created on the 20th February, 1456, in Secret Consistory; see the *Decree in the Register, 459, p. 120.

† Voigt, Enea Sylvio, ii., 191. To the authorities here cited we may add Cugnoni, 138.

of the candidates; for instance, he had to give up the Bishop of Novara, on whose behalf the Duke of Milan had repeatedly interested himself.* Of the six actually nominated, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini was undoubtedly the most worthy and distinguished.† The others were Juan de Mella, Bishop of Zamora, a man noted for his stately manners and his knowledge of canon law;‡ Jacopo Tebaldo, Bishop of Montefeltre; Rinaldo de' Piscicelli, Archbishop of Naples;§ Giovanni da Castiglione, Bishop of Pavia;‖ and lastly, Richard Ollivier de Longueil,

* *Brief of Calixtus III. to Fr. Sforza, dated 1456, Dec. 23 (he made three unsuccessful efforts to carry the election of the Bishop of Novara). Original in the State Archives at Milan, where is also an *Instruction, dated Cremona, 1455, June 18, for the ambassadors going to Rome, who were charged to work for the elevation of the said Bishop.

† Voigt, ii., 192; he speaks (148 *et seq.*, 164 *et seq.*) of Æneas' ambition to attain the dignity (from 1452), and the rejoicing in Siena when he was at length nominated; see Banchi, Relaz., 430-431. The nomination did not take place on the 18th December (Voigt), or the 19th (Banchi), but on the 17th; see *Acta consist. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, and the *Brief which will be cited from the Colonna Archives. Cardinal Piccolomini was poor, and in consequence, like Cardinal Rodrigo, unbecomingly eager in the pursuit of benefices. See Voigt, ii., 145 *et seq.*

‡ Regarding this celebrated canonist, see Fuente, 461, 479.

§ Concerning his promotion, see Voigt, ii., 191. The date of Piscicelli's death here given is as incorrect as that in Ciaconius-Oldoinus, ii., 993. Piscicelli died 4th July, 1457. See *Acta consist. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‖ Voigt's supposition (ii., 192) that the Duke of Milan had used his influence on behalf of the Bishop of Pavia is confirmed by the *Brief of Calixtus III. of 23rd Dec., 1456, to which we have referred in note *. The Cardinal of Pavia came to Rome on the 25th February, 1457, and received the red hat on the 26th; on the 9th March his mouth was opened, and San Clemente was assigned to him as his titular church; see *Acta consist., Secret Archives

Bishop of Coutances, who, like d'Estouteville, belonged to a distinguished family in Normandy. Charles VII. had zealously exerted himself for the promotion of the last named prelate; and Calixtus hoped, as it proved, in vain, that by conferring on him the purple he would win the French monarch to the cause of the crusade.*

As time went on fresh favours were constantly heaped upon the Borgias. Young Cardinal Rodrigo was appointed legate in the March of Ancona in December, 1456, and went there on the 19th January in the following year.† Cardinal Luis was made legate of Bologna,‡ and both were richly endowed with benefices.§

The most important and lucrative office of the Papal Court was that of Vice-Chancellor; one of the ambassadors speaks of it as the highest dignity after that of the Pope. Since the death of Cardinal Condulmaro (30th October,

of the Vatican, and a *Letter from the said Cardinal to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1457, March 10. Cod. Z., 219, Sup., of the Ambrosian Library, Milan. The "Card. Papiens.," in a *Letter to Lodovico Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1457, April 2, speaks of the honours which attended his arrival in Rome. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* See in Appendix No. 44 the *Brief to Card. Alain. Colonna Archives.

† Regist. 445, f. 295: "Rodericus tit. S. Nicol. in carcere constituitur vicarius in temporal. generalis in prov. Marchie Anconit.," etc. (with the consent of the Cardinals), d.d. 1456, prid. Cal. Jan. A° 2°. For the day of his departure, see *Acta consist. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ Regist. 445, f. 239: "Ludovicus tit. SS. quatuor coronat. constituitur legatus Bononiæ," d.d. prid. Cal. Jan. [A° 2°]. *Ghirardacci, *loc. cit.* (see *supra*, p. 450, note *), speaks of the honourable reception of Card. Luis at Bologna (end of January, 1456). University Library, Bologna.

§ See in Appendix No. 49 the list from the *Registers in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

1453) no one had been appointed to fill this high position, and it was but natural that those Cardinals who held no great office at the Court should aspire to it. We are expressly informed that such was the case in regard to d'Estouteville*. Since the year 1455 he had been labouring to obtain it, but in 1457 it was bestowed on Rodrigo, who was also made Commander-in-Chief of the Papal troops in Italy in December of the same year.† Don Pedro Luis, his brother, a layman, and a year younger than himself, was loaded with offices and honours in a manner equally scandalous. In the spring of 1456 he was appointed Captain-General of the Church‡ and Commander of St. Angelo,§ and, in the autumn of the same year, Governor of Terni, Narni, Todi, Rieti, Orvieto, Spoleto, Foligno, Nocera, Assisi, Amelia, Città Castellana, and Nepi; soon afterwards the patrimony of St. Peter in Tuscany was added to these.‖

* See Despatches of Jacopo Calcaterra to Sforza, dat. Rome, 1455, Sept. 15, and 1457, August 30. State Archives, Milan. Pot. Est.

† *Regest. 466, f. 8-9. "Rodericus tit. S. Nichol. etc. constituitur vicecancellarius S.R.E.," d.d. 1457, Cal. Mai. A° 3°; 461, f. 95-96: "Rodericus etc. constituitur dux et generalis commissarius omnium gencium armigerar. eccl. in Italia," d.d. 1457, iii., Id. Dec. A° 3°. Secret Archives of the Vatican. Regarding the publication, see the *Original Letter of Card. Rodrigo to Lodovico de Gonzaga in Appendix No. 47, and the note upon it.

‡ Regest. 465, f. 153 (d.d. 1455 [st. fl], iv., Non. Feb. A° 1°). Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ I have not seen the document in which the appointment was made; but in the State Archives of Siena I found an *Original Letter of Don Pedro's, d.d. Romæ in pal. apost. xxii. April, 1456, in which he speaks of himself as "castellanus S. Angeli and S.R.E. capit. gen."

‖ *Regest. 465, f. 203b *et seq.*: "Petrus Ludovicus de Borga, gentium armigerar. capitaneus generalis Sed. Ap., constituitur

Such a career was unheard of. Cardinal Capranica, who, as Grand Penitentiary under Nicholas V., had enjoyed the esteem of all classes, made a courageous protest, and his opposition could not be overcome either by prayers or threats. His noble conduct drew upon him the hatred of the Borgias, who vainly sought to have him sent as legate to a distance from Rome. Finally they went so far as to try to put him in prison, but this the Pope would not permit.*

The Borgias kept up the closest intimacy with the Colonna family—in the summer of 1457 it was even said that Don Pedro Borgia was to marry a Colonna†—and accordingly their relations with the Orsini were unfriendly. In 1457, when the Pope sent Don Pedro against the Orsini to recover from them some fortresses which he considered to be the property of the Church, open war

gubernator civitat. Interamnen., Narnien., Tudertin., Reatin., Urbis veteris et nonnullar. aliar. civit.," d.d. 1456, xii. Cal. Sept. A° 2°; f. 205: "Petrus Ludov. etc. constituitur gubernator in civit. et territorio Spoletan. et in nonnullis castris et locis" (d.u.s.); f. 205b: "Petrus etc. constituitur Fulgin., Nuceriæ et nonnullar. aliar. civit., terrar. et locor" (d.u.s.), f. 208b: "Petrus etc. constituitur gubernator civitatum Assisii, Amerinæ, Castellanæ, Nepesinæ," etc., d.d. 1456, iv. Id. Sept. A° 2°; f. 236: "Petrus etc. constituitur gubernator patrimonii b. Petri in Tuscia," d.d. 1456 [st. fl.], v. Non. Febr. A° 2°.

* Catalanus, 113, 115.

† The earliest information I have found on this subject is in the *Despatch of the Abbot of St. Ambrogio, which is given in the Appendix No. 46, Ambrosian Library, Milan. The union is again spoken of in a letter from Otto de Caretto, dated Rome, 1457, Aug. 20. This ambassador wrote to Fr. Sforza in cipher on the 10th Sept., 1457: "Il parentado qual se doveva fare da Colonesi al capit° Borges pare sia rafredato," etc. Both *Letters are in the State Archives, Milan.

broke out. Cardinal Orsini now left Rome (July, 1457).* Scarampo, Carvajal, and Nicholas of Cusa were absent; and as d'Estouteville, Barbo, and Piccolomini held to the Borgias, they had the preponderance in the Sacred College. It is, moreover, not improbable that most of the Cardinals had assented to the appointment of Don Pedro Luis as Prefect of the City, which took place on the death of the City Prefect, Gian Antonio Orsini, on the 19th August, 1457.† On the evening of the same day the Conservators and the principal citizens of Rome came to the Papal Palace to thank Calixtus for the selection he had made. The Pope took the opportunity of assuring them that Don Pedro was, in feeling and manners, an Italian, and that it was his desire to live and die a Roman citizen. One of the Conservators went so far as to observe that he hoped soon to see the new City Prefect King of Rome; all united in requesting the Pope to make over to Don Pedro the fortresses which had always constituted the Prefect's fief. Don Pedro himself, in receiving the deputations which came to congratulate him, expressed his inten-

* See Nic. della Tuccia, 253; Banchi, Relaz., 435, and a *Despatch of Nicodemus, dated Florence, 1457, July 17. State Archives, Milan.

† *Regest. 465, f. 288-289: "Petrus Ludovicus de Borgia. recipitur in praefect. alme urbis," d.d. 1457 (s.d.) A° 3° ("ven' fratr. nostror. S.R.E. cardinalium consilio"): *ibid.*, f. 221b: "Joannes Anton de Ursinis constituitur et creatur præfectus alme urbis Romae, d.d. 1456 (s.d.). Secret Archives of the Vatican. The satirical *Despatch of Leonardo de' Benvoglienti to Siena, dated Rome, 1457, Oct. 5, refers to this elevation of Don Pedro's and to Rodrigo's appointment as Vice-Chancellor. Copy in Cod. A., iii., 16, of the Library at Siena. Fr. Sforza congratulated the Pope on Don Pedro's nomination in a *Letter dated Milan, 1457, Aug. 31. The Draft is in the State Archives, Milan.

tion of becoming an Italian and his wish to live in Italy.*

These empty speeches were made because everyone knew how dearly the Pope loved his nephews.† In reality there was no love lost between the new Prefect and the Italians. The manners of almost all the Pope's nephews were over-bearing and insolent towards the Romans, who retaliated by bitterly hating the foreigners.‡ Their resentment was aggravated when the good fortune of the Borgias attracted a host of relations and other Spaniards to Rome, who brawled in the streets and overran the provinces.§ Adventurers of all kinds gathered round the wild and handsome Don Pedro Luis;‖ the general name of "Catalans" was given to all these strangers, among whom were Neapolitans as well as Spaniards, and, similarly, all the Pope's nephews were called "Borgia," whatever

* *Despatch of Otto de Carretto, dated Rome, 1457, Aug. 20. From this document, which is preserved in the State Archives at Milan, it appears that the appointment of Don Pedro was announced in the Consistory on the 19th August. The fortresses in question were delivered up to him on the 31st July, 1458; see Borgia, Benev., iii., 386.

† In October, 1457, when Don Pedro fell ill, Calixtus III. was beside himself with grief. *Despatch of L. de' Benvoglienti to Siena, dated Rome, 1457, Oct. 22, Cod. A. iii., 16, Siena Library. The sickness of Don Pedro lasted until the January following; see *Letter of Ant. Catabenus, dated Rome, 1458, Jan. 18. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ See especially the dismal picture drawn by Roberto Martelli after his return to Rome in a *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1457, July 17th. State Archives, Milan.

§ Voigt, ii., 193.

‖ See Muratori, iii., 2, 1035; Niccola della Tuccia, 65, 151, and Cron. Rom., 25.

might be their patronymic; Calixtus, indeed, conferred on most of them the honour of bearing his family name.*

From the very beginning of his pontificate the Pope shewed a marked preference for his numerous fellow-countrymen equally with his nearer and more distant relations. Only a few days after his election we find evidence of this.† The feeling against the "Catalans" was already so strong that many Germans and Frenchmen voluntarily resigned their positions at the Papal Court.‡ The posts thus vacated were filled by Spaniards, who soon formed the largest portion of the Pope's circle; they were also to be found in the Papal Chapel§ and among the artists attached to the court. No large orders, however, were given to

* Voigt, iii., 117 *et seq.* In the *Register of the Secret Archives of the Vatican I find the following Borgias (two of whom were hitherto unknown) mentioned as recipients of benefices and like favours:—1. "Alfonsus de Borgia can. Vicen." Regist. 447, f. 150b, 300; 461, f. 118 (here the name is given "de Boria.") 2. "Michael de Borga." Regist. 448, f. 77 (see *supra*, p. 439.) 3. "Joh. de Borga cler. Valentin. dioc.;" becomes Canonicus "eccl. Gerunden." Regist. 447, f. 88; see 450, f. 183. Probably this Johannes de Borgia is the one repeatedly mentioned in the Bulletar. Calisti de a° 2° (State Archives, Rome) as "castellanus arcis Hostie" (f. 4b, 11b, 18b, 25b, 32b, 41, 47, 52, 58, 64b, 70, 76b, 83b, 96, 103b, 107, 109, 114b.)

† *Letter of Lionardo Vernacci to Piero de Cosimo de' Medici, dated Rome, 1455, April 10. Cart. innanzi il princip. F. xvii., No. 131. State Archives, Florence.

‡ "Molti scrittori apostolici todeschi e franzesi sono partiti et dicono non voler esser sotto Catelani." *Despatch of the Venetian ambassador, Fr. Contarini, dated Siena, 1455, April 25. Cod. It., vii.-mcxcvi., St. Mark's Library, Venice.

§ See *Div. Calisti, iii., 1455-1456, Sec. Cam., f. 108, etc. *Bulletar. Calisti de A° 2°, f. 17b, etc. State Archives, Rome.

these latter, for, where he could, Calixtus economized for the sake of the Turkish war.*

The power of the Borgias and Catalans became almost intolerable after the important fortress of St. Angelo had been given up to them. This was done on the 15th March, 1456, at a late hour in the evening and after the Pope had threatened the Castellan with the severest penalties. Great excitement prevailed in the city, and it was thought that nothing short of the summoning of a general council could avail to restore tranquillity.†

* Müntz, i., 196, 207; ii., 320. A list of the Spanish officials whom Calixtus III. gathered around him is given by Marini, ii., 146. Papal favours to the churches of Valencia and Xativa are mentioned by Villanueva, i., 9, 18-20, 51, 181-182; ii., 230 *et seq.*, 253 *et seq.* (the dates accord with the *Regest. 461, f. 305, 462, f. 8).

† All this information is given in the *"Novitates curiae Romanae" of March or April, 1456, MS. in Vol. v. of the Reichstagsacten, Ansbacher Serie, f. 61b; formerly in the Royal Archives at Munich, and now in the Kreis Archiv at Bamberg. This document, which has already been made use of by Voigt (iii., 118 *et seq.*) is so faded by time that some passages cannot be deciphered with any certainty; the following is an extract: *"Castrum S. Angeli, quod datum fuit a papa et collegio cardinalium episcopo Lusinensi" [must be Lausannen.; see *Regest 465, f. 16: "Georgius episc. Lausannen. constituitur castellanus castri Crescentii alias dicti S. Angeli de urbe," dated 1455, April 21; this notice from the Secret Archives of the Vatican shows Voigt's supposition to be incorrect, *loc. cit.*]; "a quo papa sepe peciit, castrum ille autem dicit sibi decustodiendum assignatum tam per papam quam per collegium, absque cuius auctoritate et scientia non deceret sibi dimittere castrum, tandem dominica Judica [March 14] hora tarda et suspecta videlicet post xxiiii. horam diei papa misit pro dicto L[a]usan [ne]nsi, cui cum comparuisset coram eo mandat sub excommunicationis, privationis et irregularitatis penis, ut ad statum sibi castrum ad manus suas resignaret; qui metu penarum castrum resignavit et liberum

As the military and police were in the hands of the Catalans they had unlimited power, and administered justice as they chose. "Every day," says a chronicler, "there were assassinations and encounters in the streets; nothing but Catalans could be seen."* The aged and sickly Pope had, we are expressly informed, no idea of what was going on.† His attention was constantly engrossed by the war against the Turks; and he thought that he might safely leave the affairs of Rome to the care of his beloved nephews.‡

The confusion in Rome was yet further increased by repeated visitations of pestilential epidemics. In the beginning of June, 1458, the plague raged so violently that everyone who could do so sought safety in flight. Most of the Cardinals left the city, amongst them the Portuguese Cardinal, the Infant James, Giovanni da Castiglione, Filippo Calandrini, and Piccolomini.§ The last-named betook himself to the Baths of Viterbo, to continue his former life of peaceful leisure.‖ The aged Pontiff, however, remained in Rome, and his attention was fully occupied by the illness

promisit dimittere illi quem deputaret; tunc et quum res suas deportasset et ita feria secunda post Judica [March 15] dimisit castrum, quod commendatum est cuidam Cathalano. Res hec multos terret," etc.

* Cronache, Rom., 25; Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 150.

† Raph. Volaterr., xxii., f. 234.

‡ "Love for the Borgias," says Nicodemus, "makes the Pope blind." *Despatch to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1458, July 11. Cod. 1588, f. 93 *et seq.*, Fonds ital. National Library, Paris.

§ *Despatches of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, June 3 and August 1. State Archives, Milan.

‖ Voigt, ii., 331; iii., 1; Bayer, 35. In the State Archives at Siena I saw two *Letters from Card. Piccolomini, dated "ex balneis Viterb.," 1458, June 11 and 18. Concistoro, Lettere ad an.

of his bitterest opponent, Alfonso of Naples, which terminated fatally on the 27th June.*

On the same day the King's illegitimate son, Don Ferrante, to whom he had bequeathed Naples, rode with royal pomp through the city, while the people cried "Long live King Ferdinand!"† But this was not sufficient to overcome the opposition to his accession which arose on all sides. The aged René of Anjou-Provence, who bore the title of King of Naples, and his son John, who styled himself Duke of Calabria, accepted the proposals of the former and recent antagonists of the Aragonese, all the more readily because Calixtus III., the lord paramount, was also hostile to that party.‡

Almost as soon as the Pope had heard what must to him have been the welcome tidings of Alfonso's death, he sent to the Neapolitan ambassador's house to have him arrested and taken to St. Angelo.§ But the ambassador, who had

* The date of Alfonso's death is variously stated; see Cipolla, 487. The above, however, may be considered certain. See the *Despatch of Antonio de Trezzo to Fr. Sforza, dated Naples, 1438, June 27. Cod. 1588, f. 89, Fonds. ital. National Library, Paris. The Sienese Despatch in Banchi, Relaz., 443; a *Letter of Angelus Acciaiolus to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1458, July 2 ("Qui e per molte vie ch'il Re mori martedi a hore tre di nocte"), and a *Despatch from Nicodemus, dated Siena, 1458, July 1. State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen.

† Banchi, Relaz., 443. See the above-mentioned *Despatch of Antonio da Trezzo in the National Library, Paris.

‡ Reumont, Kl. Schriften, 94, and Carafa da Maddaloni (Berlin, 1851), i., 14.

§ This, as well as the whole of the following narration, is taken from the *Letter of Antonio da Pistoja of July 4th, 1458, given in Appendix No. 52. The statements of this ambassador are confirmed by a *Despatch from Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1458, July 15. Cod. 1588, f. 94, Fonds ital. National Library, Paris.

been warned of the Pope's intentions, and had received early intelligence of the death of his King, had fled. The property, which he left behind him, was seized. On the following day Calixtus held a Consistory, in which he conferred on Cardinal Rodrigo the Bishopric of Valencia, with its revenue of eighteen thousand ducats, and on his Datary* the Bishopric of Gerona. The same morning Cardinal Luis Juan and other relations of the Pope received various benefices, the right of appointment to which, in common with the above-named Bishoprics, had been in dispute between Calixtus and Alfonso. After dinner the Pope had an interview with Cardinals d'Estouteville and Alain, lasting nearly till evening, in which he declared his determination of making every effort to recover Naples for the Church from Don Ferrante, who had no right to it. The Pope added, were this to take place, and it were proved to belong to King René, he would give it to him, otherwise he would grant it as a fief to whomsoever he deemed fit. It was surmised that he intended to bestow it on Don Pedro. The ambassador, from whom we learn this, says that the Pope looked on Don Pedro as a second Cæsar, and the reports of others are to the same effect.† Many contemporaries even assert that after the conquest of Constantinople Don Pedro was to have been made its Emperor

* Cosimo de Monserrato; see Mai, Spicil., i., 283-286. Cosimo is identical with the Catalan mentioned by Voigt (iii., 426) and Palacky (iv., 1, 410) as aspiring to the Archbishopric of Prague. (Frind [iv., 43] turns Catalan into a family name!)

† In a *Despatch to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1458, July 4 (State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen.) Nicodemus says the Pope will make "el suo Cesare novello M. Borges" Governor of Naples. See the *Despatch of J. Calcaterra, dated Castel Giubileo, 1456, August 24, *ibid.*

or King of Cyprus.* There is more intrinsic probability, however, in the statement concerning Naples, and it is certain that although Ferrante made every possible effort to bring about a reconciliation, the Pope resolutely refused to acknowledge his right of succession.† On the 14th July a Bull was published in Rome, by which Calixtus claimed the kingdom of Sicily on this side of the Faro as a lapsed fief. At the same time its subjects were forbidden to swear fealty to any one of the pretenders to the Crown; such as had taken an oath were loosed from their obligations, and the claimants were invited to come to Rome to establish their rights.‡ Provision was immediately made for the publication of this document throughout the king-

* Besides the passages collected by Voigt (iii., 119, note), see also Niccola della Tuccia, 70, and a *Despatch from Antonio da Trezzo to Fr. Sforza, dated Venosa, 1458, February 14: "Credo che per la via di Roma la S. V., sia avisata come el papa ha creato Mess. Borges suo nepote imperatore de Constantinopoli del ch'el Re ne ha avuto aviso certo e se ne e riso," etc. State Archives, Milan, Pot. Est., Napoli II.

† See in particular the ample *Despatches of Nicodemus, dated Siena, 1458, July 1; of Otto de Carretto, dated Rome, 1458, July 12 and 14; and of Antonio da Pistoja, dated Rome, 1458, July 12. The last says: *"El papa sta pure in oppinione di volere el Reame in le mane et per niente monstra voler consentire che Don Fernando sia Re. Dio voglia ch' el papalista non si verifichi, cioe che questo papa se habia a la fine a trovare nudo, come e descripto." All these despatches to Fr. Sforza are in the State Archives at Milan.

‡ The Bull, dated 1458, July 12, in Regest., 453, f. 138; (in Raynaldus [ad an. 1458, N. 32] and Lünig [ii., 1255 *et seq.*] the conclusion is wanting). The day of its publication in Rome appears in a *Letter from Antonio de Strozzi to Lodovico Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1458, July 14 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and a **Despatch from Antonio de Pistoja to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, July 15, from which we also learn that the document was originally sharper in tone. I found this despatch in Cod. Z., 219, Sup. Ambrosian Library, Milan.

dom of Naples,* and it was moreover reported that the Pope had required from Don Ferrante, under pain of the most severe punishments, the payment of the sixty thousand ducats which Alfonso had bequeathed for the crusade.†

Great excitement was caused in both Naples and Rome by this action on the part of the Pope. On the publication of the Bull the price of corn at once rose in Rome. One of the Conservators, moreover, is reported to have expressed himself to the effect that in the event of the Pope making war upon Naples, the Romans would be compelled to choose the lesser evil.‡ The threat did not deter Calixtus from his purpose, and, in order to give greater effect to his Bull, he commanded Don Pedro to levy troops for a hostile demonstration against Naples.§

Contemporary despatches from ambassadors show how strong was the Pope's feeling against Don Ferrante. Calixtus had been greatly incensed by his letter announcing to the Pope and the Cardinals the death of his father, in which he already styled himself King. In a conversation with the Milanese ambassador, he called Ferrante a little bastard, whose father was unknown. "This boy who is

* *Despatch of Antonio de Pistoja to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, July 24. State Archives, Milan.

† **Despatch of Antonio de Strozzi (see *supra*, p. 469, note ‡) of July 14, 1458. Gonzaga Archives, Rome.

‡ See the **Despatch which we have already cited from Antonio de Pistoja of the 15th July, 1458 (Ambrosian Library), and the **Letter of Antonio de Strozzi of July 14th, 1458. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ See Banchi, Relaz., 444 ; Niccola della Tuccia, 68 ; *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Siena, 1458, July 1 (State Archives, Milan), and the *Letter of the Milanese ambassador of 24th July, 1458, which we shall hereafter cite. Ambrosian Library.

nothing," he said, "calls himself King without our permission. Naples belongs to the Church, it is the possession of St. Peter. Alfonso would not assume this title until he had the consent of the Holy See, in this following our counsel. You," continued the Pope, "being from Lombardy,* where fiefs are more common than elsewhere, know that, admitting him to be the legitimate successor of Alfonso, he must have our confirmation before he can be called King. Moreover, Ferrante wrongfully holds possession of Terracina, Benevento, and other places which belong to the Church. Many have therefore thought that we should have proceeded against him with more severity, and altogether denied his right of succession. This we have not wished to do, but for the defence of the rights of the Church we have issued this just and holy Bull, which will stand not only on earth but also in heaven. In it we have reserved his rights as well as those of the other claimants, for everyone shall have his due. If your Duke, whom we greatly love, leaves us a free hand, we shall conquer and exalt him as we have always wished to do; the Duke must attach no importance to a child who is nothing, and whom no one regards; we have been told that Ferrante, when he heard the words of our Bull, burst into tears; his subjects do not wish to be excommunicated, and have accordingly determined to send ambassadors to us; they will be obedient to the Church. If Don Ferrante will give up his usurped title and humbly place himself in our hands, we will treat him as one of our own nephews."†

* In reference to this expression, see *supra*, p. 428, note †.

† **Letters of Otto de Carretto and Gio. de Caymis to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, July 24. Cod. Z. 219, Sup. Ambrosian Library, Milan. Ferrante's letter to Calixtus III., dated July 1st. 1458, is published by Zurita, iv., 52b. I found in a cipher *Despatch from the Bishop of Modena and Otto de Carretto, dated

Ferrante was by no means disposed to do anything of the kind. He summoned a Parliament at Capua, and called on his barons for assistance against the unjust pretensions of the Pope. It was determined that ambassadors should be sent to Rome to appeal against the Bull of July 12th.* The messengers who brought the Bull into the kingdom were, by order of Ferrante, seized and soundly beaten.† It was a great advantage to him that the most powerful of Italian princes, Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan, declared himself against the Pope and acknowledged Ferrante as King. Cosmo de' Medici united with Sforza in supporting him against Papal menaces and French pretensions.‡

Under these circumstances it would have been hard to foretell the complications to which the Neapolitan question might have given rise had not the death of Calixtus III. completely altered the aspect of affairs.

The Pope had been seriously ill in the spring, but had recovered and risen up again with characteristic energy.§

Rome, 1458, June 8, the first certain account of the endeavours of Calixtus III. to win over the Duke of Milan to his Neapolitan scheme. Cod. cit. of the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

* See the detailed *Report of the Milanese ambassadors to their Duke, dated Capua, 1458, July 31st, in Cod. 1588, f. 107 *et seq.* Fonds Ital. National Library, Paris.

† *Despatch of Antonio de Pistoja to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, July 31: "Credo la S.V. hara intexo che quel maziero [sergente d'arme] che porto le bolle nel reame publicate qui contra el Re e ritornato a Roma a piedi senza denari e senza havere potuto presentare le bolle ne anco reportarli in dreto, ha solamente reportate certe bastonate." State Archives, Milan, Pot. Est.

‡ Simonetta, 685-686; Comment. Pii II., in Meuschen, 411; see Cugnoni, 184; also Buser, 90.

§ *Letters of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, Jan. 4 and 8. State Archives, Milan, and *Despatch of Antonio Catabene to Lodovico Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1458, April 18. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

From the beginning of July, however, there had been a general failure of strength, and about the middle of the month his condition had become so much worse that all the business of government had to be suspended. On the 21st a violent and most painful attack of gout supervened, and as he was also suffering from fever, which may have been due to agitation regarding the Neapolitan question, the physicians gave but little hopes of his recovery.*

On the 30th July a report of the Pope's death was current in Rome, and immediately the hatred of the Romans against the "Catalans" broke forth; the foreigners were ill-treated in the public streets by the populace, and a young Catalan was slain. The state of things was so alarming that the Florentine merchants and the wealthy prelates and courtiers removed their possessions to places of safety.†

Meanwhile the Pope had again rallied a little; on the 1st and 2nd of August he was decidedly better, but on the 3rd a burning fever took away all hope of amendment.‡

* See Niccola della Tuccia, 68, and *Letters from Antonio da Pistoja to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, July 24 and 26. State Archives, Milan. Antonio Catabene, writing on the 28th July to Lodovico Gonzaga, informs him that the Pope has been ill for about eight days: *"de 4 infermitate, de febre, de fianchi, de renella e non digerisse alcuna cosa, cosi come intra il cibo cosi ussisse." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† *Despatch of Antonio da Pistoja to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, July 31. State Archives, Milan, Pot. Est. The ambassador saw the Catalan struck down with the cry: "Death to thee, Catalan!"

‡ *Letter from Otto de Carretto, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 1: "Lo S^mo N.S. papa he stato e he in gravissima infermita in modo che gia tre volte he stato tenuto per morto et sextima per ogniuno non campera molti di. Daheri in qua he alquanto megliorato, ma non cosa che daghi speranza de molta vita." On the 3rd August this ambassador says: *"Non e da sperare de la salute sua." Both letters are in the State Archives, Milan, the former in the Series Pot. Est. and the latter in the Cart. gen.

Even now the marvellous energy of the aged man made it hard for him to believe that he was so near his end. When the plain-spoken Cardinal Antonio de la Cerda told him that, as the physicians had given him up, it was now time to think of his soul and to prepare to die as beseems a Pope, Calixtus replied that it was not yet certain that he was to die this time. On the 1st August, however, he made up his mind to receive the Sacraments,* and on the 4th he was anointed.†

The affairs of government occupied his attention while he lay on his death-bed; on the 26th of July he held a Consistory,‡ and on the 31st he gave proof of the undying strength of his affection for his relations by an act of great importance.

On the death of King Alfonso, Terracina and Benevento had reverted to the Church, and on the above-named day the Pope granted the Vicariate of these two cities to his beloved Don Pedro.§ If we may rely on the report of the Milanese ambassador, the Cardinals consented from fear, lest opposition on their part might have involved imprisonment in St. Angelo. On the 1st August, Calixtus conferred the Archbishopric of Naples on Cardinal Tebaldi, the brother of his physician. At the same time it was understood that he intended to nominate no less than five new Cardinals, of whom two were to be "Catalans" and two Romans. A violent opposition arose on the part of the Sacred College, and Cardinals d'Estouteville, Orsini, Barbo,

* **Report of Antonio da Pistoja of the 2nd Aug., 1458, Ambrosian Library.

† *Despatch of Otto de Carretto of 5th Aug., 1458. Ambrosian Library. Appendix No. 53.

‡ *Despatch of Antonio da Pistoja to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, July 26. State Archives, Milan.

§ Borgia, Benevento, iii., 386-390.

and de Mella met that evening in Cardinal Alain's Palace to take counsel. "It appears," writes one of the ambassadors, "that they have determined not to go to the Pope's Palace, and above all not to cross the Tiber until St. Angelo is given over to the Sacred College. Moreover, they have resolved not to consent to the nomination of new Cardinals."*

The excitement was not confined to the great Princes of the Church. The tidings of the mortal sickness of the Pope had deeply moved not only Rome, but also the Pontifical States,† and the general confusion was aggravated by the arrival (August 2nd) of Don Ferrante's ambassadors, who affixed to the doors of St. Peter's an appeal to the new Pope or to a Council, and declared that if the Cardinals would not listen to them they would seek the alliance of the Romans.‡

With a view of maintaining order, the Sacred College had, before the end of July, appointed a Commission consisting of four of its members—Cardinals Bessarion, d'Estouteville, Alain, and Barbo. The Commission met daily, and one of its first acts was the occupation of the Capitol by a force of two hundred men under the Arch-

* **Report of Antonio da Pistoja of 2nd Aug., 1458. Ambrosian Library. See the *Despatches of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 1 and 5 (Appendix No. 53). In the Despatch of Aug. 1st he says, regarding the Cardinals: *"Il car^le Orsino ne Colonna non vanno a palazo da otto di in qua et questo per dubio che essendo essi cum li altri tutti cardinali in palazo non fuseno detenuti per Borges," etc. State Archives, Milan.

† *"Tuta questa terra e in comotione," writes Antonio Catabene on the 28th July, 1458. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ *Letters of Antonio de Strozzi to Lodovico Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1458 [Aug.] 4. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

bishop of Ragusa.* The Cardinals further made every effort to come to an understanding with Don Pedro Borgia. This was accomplished more easily than had been expected. Don Pedro, on whom his brother Rodrigo exercised a restraining influence,† had sense enough to perceive that his longer residence in Rome would be attended with danger; he therefore gave up to the College of Cardinals all the fortresses, including St. Angelo, and in return received in coin the sum of two-and-twenty thousand ducats which Calixtus III. had left him by will. His troops were at once required to take an oath of fealty to the Sacred College in the person of the Vice-Camerlengo; the dying Pope being left in ignorance of these transactions. The Cardinals had already taken into their keeping the treasury of the Church, which at the time contained a hundred and twenty thousand ducats.‡

The excessive bitterness of the Orsini family against Don Pedro can easily be accounted for. It was an open secret that they would spare no efforts to bring about his

* *Despatch of Antonio da Pistoja to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, July 31. State Archives, Milan, Pot. Est., and *Letter of Antonio Catabene to Lodovico Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 1. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† This interesting fact is evident from the above-mentioned *Letter of Antonio Catabene of 1st Aug., 1458. In regard to Don Pedro, he observes: "che intendeva fare molte cose se non fusse stato il vicecancelliere suo fratello che non ge a voluto consentire." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ See in Appendix No. 53, Otto de Carretto's *Letter of the 5th Aug., 1458, from the original in the Ambrosian Library. This ambassador writes concerning the treasure of the Church, on Aug. 1, 1458: "Il cardinal Yliardense [=Antonio de la Cerda] he deputato a star al palazo a la guardia de molti denari sigilati a nome del colegio de consensu pape in una cassa in la camera desso papa; pur non se move ditta cassa de mano de chi era prima." State Archives, Milan, Pot. Est.

downfall, and his way had been barred by land and by sea. Moreover, the violence of the popular fury against the "Catalans" had now in many places increased. In Rome the hated foreigners were cut to pieces whenever they fell into the hands of their enemies.* Under these circumstances Don Pedro felt that he was not safe, and he knew that his danger was all the greater because most of his troops were Italians, and he had not treated them very well; by the end of July it was thought that he would flee to Spoleto, and there await the election of a new Pope.†

Don Pedro's flight actually took place early in the morning of the 6th of August. He was assisted by Cardinal Pietro Barbo, who was a friend of the Borgias, and was anxious to prevent bloodshed. In order to avoid the snares of the Orsini, Don Pedro proceeded with the greatest circumspection. He mounted his horse at three in the morning, accompanied by his brother Rodrigo in disguise, and by Cardinal Pietro Barbo, who brought with him three hundred horse and two hundred foot. They first passed through the Porta del Castello di St. Angelo, and turned towards Ponte Molle. They then came back through the Porta del Popolo into the city, and hurried on, choosing the least inhabited streets to the Porta di San Paolo. At this gate the two Cardinals parted from him, after commanding the soldiers to escort him to Ostia. But Don Pedro was already detested to such a degree that, although the order was given in the name of the Sacred College, nearly all the soldiers refused to accompany him any

* See the *Letter of Otto de Carretto of 5th Aug., 1458 Appendix No. 53.

† *Despatch of Antonio da Pistoja to Fr. Sforza, of the 31st July, 1458. State Archives, Milan, Pot. Est.

further.* "Not one even of the grooms," says an ambassador, "would remain with him."† Fresh difficulties met the forsaken fugitive at Ostia, where he had ordered a galley with money and other valuables to await him. In vain did he look for this vessel, which had disappeared long before his arrival, and he was accordingly compelled to escape in a boat to Civita Vecchia.‡

Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia shewed more courage. He had retired to Tivoli in June on account of the unhealthy state of Rome, but returned during the night, between the 25th and 26th July, on hearing of the dangerous illness of the Pope.§ In the general confusion his servants forsook him, so that his splendid palace was left to be plundered by the populace. Rodrigo's return to the city, after his brother's flight, was a brave action. The chronicler of Viterbo says

* The narrative of Don Pedro's flight is from a **Letter of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 6. Cod. Z., 219, Sup., of the Ambrosian Library, Milan. See Muratori, iii., 2, 1003.

† **Despatch of Antonio da Pistoja to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 6. Ambrosian Library.

‡ *Account given by Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, on the 12th Aug., 1458. State Archives, Milan. See the *Letter of Giov. Fr. de Balneo to his brother, Conte di Modigliana, dated Todi, 1458, Aug. 24. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Don Pedro did not long survive his downfall, for he died on the 26th September in the Castle of Civita Vecchia. Niccola della Tuccia, 257.

§ *"Monsignor Vicecancellero che era fuzito el mal aere a Tiboli e tornato questa nocte a Roma a 7 hore. Misser Borges non raxona piu di partire," writes Antonio da Pistoja to Fr. Sforza on the 26th July, 1458, from Rome. State Archives, Milan. Rodrigo's brother Luis Juan did not leave Rome till August 4th (Cronica di Bologna, 726), and arrived in Rome on the 11th; see *Acta consist. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

that the Cardinal went to St. Peter's to pray for the forsaken and dying Pope.*

For fully a fortnight the aged Pontiff hung between life and death, until at last, on the evening of the 6th of August, the Feast of the Transfiguration, which he himself had instituted, God released him from his sufferings.†

Except for his nepotism, Calixtus III. deserves high praise, more especially for the energy, constancy and purpose which he displayed in dealing with the burning question of the day—the protection of Western civilization from the Turkish power. In this matter he gave a grand example to Christendom, and it is to be observed

* Niccola della Tuccia, 256.

† *Despatch of Antonio da Pistoja of Aug. 6th, 1458, Appendix No. 54, from the original in the Ambrosian Library. The shameful manner in which the Pope was forsaken by his people is mentioned by Niccola della Tuccia, 256, and others. Cardinal Rodrigo was the only exception. He also erected a splendid marble tomb for his departed uncle in the Circular Chapel of St. Andrew, adjoining St. Peter's; fragments of this tomb are still to be seen in the grotto of the Vatican. See Torrigio, Sacre grotte, 94 *et seq.*; Cancellieri, Secret., 1124 *et seq.* and other places (see Index); Müntz, i., 212; Du Chesne, ii., 333. In the course of works at St. Peter's the tomb was emptied (1586) and the bones removed to another part of the church, where they were left until 1605. Bibl. Hisp., ii., 274. Finally, in 1610, the mortal remains of Calixtus III. and Alexander VI. were transferred to Santa Maria in Monserrato, the Spanish National Church, where a modern monument with the medallions of both Popes is to be seen in the first side chapel on the right. A figure of the old monument is given by Ciaconius, ii., 987. The "*Discursus de Calixti III. pape corpore" in Cod. H., 71, f. 343, of the Vallicellana Library, contains nothing new. The inventory, published by Müntz (i., 213-218), of the books found in the study of Calixtus III. (almost all of them ecclesiastical or legal works) is interesting and enables us to form an idea of the bent of his mind.

that in the midst of the military and political interest which claimed so large a share of his time and attention, he did not neglect the internal affairs of the Church, and vigorously opposed heresies.*

The tidings of the Pope's death caused the greatest excitement in Rome. The Orsini and the other enemies of the Borgia family rejoiced. Most of the "Catalans" had already taken flight, and those who still remained in the city sought to conceal themselves in out-of-the-way places, for the populace were attacking the houses of all the Spaniards and of any Romans who belonged to the Borgia party. Cardinal Barbo was included in the hatred borne to the family of the late Pope, and the assistance which he had afforded to Don Pedro in his flight was not forgiven.†

The bitter feeling against the evil doings of the Spanish strangers led to bloodshed in many parts of the States of the Church. Disturbances had occurred in Viterbo as early as August 1st.‡ The Castellan of Castelnuovo was slain by Stefano Colonna, and a like fate befell the Catalan Castellan of Nepi.§ At Cività Castellana, Fabriano, Ascoli, and other places, the people rose with the cry, "Long live the Church!" The Orsini, with the consent of the College of Cardinals, invested San Gregorio, which Don

* See Bernino, ii., 172 *et seq.*, 177; Bull. ord. praedic., iii., 359 *et seq.*, 368 *et seq.*, and Bzovius, xvii., 144, 226 *et seq.* Also Freib. Kirchenlexikon, ii., 2nd ed. 1709 *et seq.*

† See Niccola della Tuccia, 256; **Letter of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza of 6th August, 1458 (Ambrosian Library, *loc. cit.*); and the *Despatch of Antonio da Pistoja of 6th August, 1458, in Appendix No. 54. *"Questi Cathelani sono tuti in fuga," wrote. Antonio Catabene on the 7th August, 1458, to Lodovico Gonzaga. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ Niccola della Tuccia, 69.

§ **Despatch of Antonio da Pistoja to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 6. Ambrosian Library.

Pedro had formerly wrested from them.* Jacopo Piccinino again appeared to see what he could fish out of the troubled waters. Almost as soon as he heard of the Pope's dangerous illness he concluded a truce with Malatesta, and returned to the States of the Church. On the 15th August he appeared before Assisi, and the Catalan Castellan gave it up to him for a sum of money. Piccinino also occupied Gualdo, Nocera, Bevagna, and other places, and pitched his camp at Foligno. It was believed that there was an understanding between him and the King of Naples, who thus sought to extort a recognition of his own claims, to frighten the Cardinals, and to prevent the election of a French Pope.†

Even in the last week of July negotiations regarding the Papal election had begun among the Cardinals,‡ and the Italian Cabinets had also been busy. The questions connected with the succession to the chair of St. Peter were, indeed, of a most important character. Was the new Pope to be an Italian, a Spaniard, or a Frenchman, a friend of the Orsini or of the Colonna party? Would he favour

* **Despatch of Antonio Catabene of the 19th August, 1458. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See Niccola della Tuccia, 257.

† *"Ello non fa guerra veruna al paese . . . solamente cercha con piacevoleze senza bombarde, senza combatere havere qualche terra se la può havere, et tutte li terre de la chiesia onde el vada gli danno vituarie. Per ogniuno se crede che la Maesta del Re sia stata casone de la venuta sua, prima per metere paura al colegio de li cardinali et oviare che non se facesse veruno papa franzoso, deinde se presume che lo habia fatto fare per havere le bolle del Reame," etc. *Letter from Giovanni Francesco de Balneo to his brother, dated Todi, 1458, Aug. 24. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also Niccola della Tuccia, 257, and Cristofani, 317 *et seq.*

‡ "Per li cardinali si comincia a fare de le pratiche circha el papato." *Despatch of Antonio da Pistoja to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, July 26. State Archives, Milan.

the French or the Aragonese dynasty in Naples? Would he attack the Turks? Would he be a man of peace or a man of war?*

It would appear that the Italian Cardinals, mindful of the previous Conclave which had resulted in the election of a foreigner, on this occasion at once proposed one of their own number, against whom no party could raise any serious objection. This was Cardinal Capranica, in favour of whose election, as an ambassador expressly declares, Italian and non-Italian Cardinals, Orsini and Colonna, were unanimous.†

The powerful Duke of Milan used his influence on behalf of Capranica. Writing on August 2nd to his ambassadors in Rome he says, "We wish you on this occasion to use all your zeal and all your skill, and leave nothing undone, of course, with due care for what is becoming, for the fulfilment of our desires. We exclude every other."‡ On the following day Simonetta, the Duke's confidant, repeated the command, and pointed out that Capranica was not only the most worthy member of the Sacred College, but also the individual best fitted to carry out ecclesiastical reforms.§

* Voigt, iii., 3.

† See the *Letter, partly in cipher, from Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, July 26 (State Archives, Milan), and the *Despatch of the same ambassador of 14th August, 1458, which is given in Appendix No. 56. Ambrosian Library.

‡ *Instructions in cipher from Fr. Sforza to Otto de Carretto, dated Milan, 1458, Aug. 2, and concluding with these words: "Questa instructione non monstrarete ad persona alcuna, sed sit solum apud vos." Draft in the Ambrosian Library, Milan. See the *Despatch of Otto de Carretto, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 12, preserved in the same Library, and Petrucelli, i., 273 *et seq.*

§ *Cecco Simonetta to Otto de Carretto, dated Milan, 1458, Aug. 3. Cod. 1588, f. 113, Fonds Ital. National Library, Paris.

The King of Naples also was induced to favour his election.*

The explanation of this marvellous unanimity is to be found in the moral purity and the rare qualities of this great man.

Domenico Capranica was born in the Jubilee year of 1400, in the little town near Palestrina, which bore his name.† Although of modest fortune, his family was intimate with that of the Colonna. Domenico, who from his earliest youth showed a great love of learning, went at fifteen years of age to the University of Padua to study civil and canon law. Here Nicholas of Cusa was his fellow-disciple, and together they sat at the feet of Cesarini. The relations between Capranica and his master were of the happiest and most friendly description, and became yet more intimate when they were both on the same day raised to the purple. Capranica pursued his legal studies in Bologna with extraordinary zeal. Sleep, of which he allowed himself but a scanty measure, often surprised him over his books. His attention to jurisprudence did not

* Petrucelli, i., 274, and *Despatch of the Neapolitan ambassador, Antonio da Trezzo, to Fr. Sforza, dated Teano, 1458, Aug. 19. (Capranica's name is in cipher.) State Archives, Milan, Pot. Est.

† Besides the very rare monograph of Catalanus I have in the following sketch made use of the biographies of Capranica by Battista Poggio (Baluze, Miscell., iii., Paris. 1680), and Vespasiano da Bisticci (Mai, Spicil., i., 185-191), as well as of the *"Oratio funebris prima die exequiarum domini card. Firmani edita per Nicolaum praesulem Ortanum olim Catanzanum (see *supra*, p. 208, note *.) creato Pio pont. II., nondum coronato Rome in Minerva spectante universali curia et populo Rom. sub a° dom., 1458." Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 13-32b (for the sake of brevity I shall in future cite merely "Cod."). With regard to Capranica's family see also Adinolfi, i., 45, 121, and *Cod. Vatic., 7971, Vatican Library.

lead him to neglect polite literature, and even at this early period a brilliant future was predicted for the gifted youth, who outstripped all his companions, and was the favourite of his teachers. His modesty was such that he used to blush when an older person addressed a question to him.* Never, during his student life, did he take part in any public merry-makings or banquets, and we cannot be surprised to learn that he received the doctor's cap when only one-and-twenty. Martin V. was at this time living in Mantua, and was a friend of the Capranica family; Domenico accordingly at a very early age became a clerk of the Apostolic Chamber. In his new position he diligently continued his studies; St. Augustine, St. Jerome, Cassian, and Seneca are said to have been his favourite authors.†

The more Pope Martin V. saw of the young official, the more persuaded did he become of his remarkable learning and of his rare virtues. In consequence he raised him to the purple when only three and thirty, but deferred the publication of his promotion to a later period for fear of the jealousy which it might arouse.‡

After Capranica had admirably accomplished several difficult missions entrusted to him by the Pope, and had also distinguished himself as leader of the Papal troops, Martin V. made him Governor of Perugia, where his justice, moderation, and disinterestedness won the affection of the people, and led them to look upon him as a father.§

* *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 15.

† *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 16. Baluze, iii., 288. Regarding the "clerici Camerae Apost.," see Moroni, vii., 6 *et seq.*; xi., 182 *et seq.*; and Bangen, 350 *et seq.*, 357 *et seq.*

‡ See Vol. i., p. 261.

§ *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 17. See Catalanus, 18-19. The *Register of Capranica as "Capitaneus generalis Perusii," 1430, 1431 is still preserved in the Secret Archives of the Vatican; see von Ottenthal in Mittheil., vi., 617.

Martin V.'s last creation of Cardinals took place in the beginning of November, 1430, and on this occasion Ram, Prospero Colonna, Cesarini and Capranica were published. His friends received the tidings of his elevation with the greatest joy, and many of the Cardinals, including Albergati and the great Cesarini, congratulated him in the most cordial terms. "I pray the Giver of all good things," wrote the latter, "daily to increase in you the virtues by which you have merited the purple. May God grant to us both that as we have received this dignity upon earth at the same time we may also together be partakers of the glory of heaven."*

Capranica purposed soon after his publication to go to Rome in order to express his gratitude to the Pope, and to receive his hat and ring. The unsettled state of Perugia, however, caused him to defer his journey, and in the interval Martin V. died. After the death of his patron our Cardinal at once repaired thither with the view of taking part in the coming election. Anxious to avoid hurting the feelings of any member of the Sacred College, he halted at San Lorenzo fuori le mura, and sent three messengers to ask that he might be admitted to the Conclave. Meanwhile his enemies had been actively at work; his connection with the Colonna family and the circumstance that he had filled a position in the treasury were brought up in an invidious manner. No one, however, ventured to take any open measures against him. After a long delay he was informed that the existing state of affairs in Perugia made it seem most desirable that he should return there. Capranica perfectly understood the design of his enemies, but not wishing to occasion any confusion in the Conclave he acceded to the desire of the Cardinals. Before his departure he caused an act to be drawn up in which he

* Catalanus, 174-175. See Vol. i., p. 264.

complained of their delay, and declared that he would for the sake of peace yield to their wishes, but that he maintained his rights; against any attack on his position as Cardinal he appealed to the Council.*

The election of Eugenius IV. immediately took place. Capranica hastened to send messengers to congratulate the new Pope on his elevation, and respectfully to ask permission to appear with the red hat. But his enemies had already succeeded in completely prejudicing the mind of Eugenius against him. The Orsini, who bitterly hated the Colonna and their adherents, had been particularly active. They had caused Capranica's palace in Rome to be plundered, and his precious library had been dispersed. Soon after these tidings had reached him he heard that officers were on their way from Rome to arrest him. He therefore fled to the Convent of San Silvestro, on the Soracte, and waited there in hopes that the Pope would in time be better advised. These hopes were vain, as also were the efforts made by a few of the Cardinals on his behalf. A commission appointed by Eugenius gave judgment against him, and the dignity of Cardinal was denied him.†

Under these circumstances Capranica determined to seek protection from the Council then sitting at Basle. He appealed to this assembly, and set out to present himself before it. In Siena he took into his service Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini and Pietro da Noceto, who was afterwards the confidant of Nicholas V. After a difficult and dangerous journey they arrived at Basle in the spring of 1432. In the meantime Eugenius, further irritated by calumnious reports, had deprived him of the posts which he held, and had even

* Catalanus, 179 *et seq.*

† Catalanus, 31 *et seq.* Regarding the injustice of the proceedings of Eugenius IV., see Vol. i., p. 265.

confiscated his patrimony. The Cardinal was thus reduced to such poverty that he was compelled to dismiss his retainers, and amongst them Piccolomini and Noceto.

The Council, whose general esteem Capranica soon gained, pronounced in his favour. With admirable moderation, however, while claiming the purple as his right, he distinguished between persons and offices. During the whole of his sojourn at Basle he was never betrayed by his controversy with the Pope into any anti-Roman step, nor did he ever suffer a harsh word against Eugenius or the Court of Rome to pass his lips.* When an opportunity offered of coming to an understanding with the Pope he gladly embraced it. When at last a satisfactory arrangement had been arrived at, he went to Florence and was cordially received by Eugenius (1435). His relations with the Pope soon assumed an intimate character, which was only for a short time disturbed by his courageous protest against the admission of Vitelleschi to the Sacred College.† Important and honourable missions were entrusted to him, and he took part in the zealous Pontiff's monastic reforms, as well as in the negotiations for Union with the Greeks.‡ He, together with Cesarini, induced the Pope to make Bessarion a Cardinal. The reconciliation of Germany with the Church, which was the last joy of Eugenius IV. on earth, was a congenial task to his gentle and kindly nature, and his zeal and discretion largely contributed to it. The place which the Cardinal held in the estimation of the

* *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 18. Baluze, iii., 274. See Catalanus, 58 *et seq.*, 235, 237. Voigt (i., 58) also observes that Capranica never was an opponent of the Roman See.

† See Vol. i., p. 298, note ‡.

‡ Catalanus, 67 *et seq.*, 70 *et seq.*, 77 *et seq.* Capranica's second mission to Perugia, and his exertions for the reformation of morals in that district, are mentioned by Graziani, 562, 564 *et seq.*, 576.

Romans is evident from the fact that on the death of Eugenius it was generally expected that he would be the next wearer of the tiara, although he was at the time only forty-seven years of age.* The reasons which prevented his election on this occasion are unknown.

Capranica, or the Cardinal of Fermo, as he was styled from his Archiepiscopal See, was valued by the new Pope even more highly than he had been by Eugenius. He accompanied Nicholas V. on his various journeys, and in the year 1449 was appointed by him to the important office of Grand Penitentiary, the duties of which he discharged in the most admirable manner.† Various difficult legations were, as we have already said, confided to him, and while fulfilling these he also gave proof of his genuine devotion to the Church by promoting the cause of reform wherever it was possible to do so.‡

In the Conclave after the death of Nicholas V. there seemed again a likelihood that Capranica§ would be chosen. During the Pontificate of Nicholas V. he had already been actively interested in the Turkish question, and under Calixtus III. he redoubled his efforts for the

* See the *Despatch of Marolino Barbavaria. See *supra*, p. 7, note *. National Library, Paris.

† Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 19b-20. On the back cover of Cod. 327 of the University Library at Bonn I found a *Marriage dispensation granted by Capranica as Grand Penitentiary ("Ven. in Christo patri Dei gratia episc. Lucan. vel eius in spiritualibus vicario Dominicus miseratione divino tit. s. crucis in Jerusalem presb. card.") "Dat. Rome apud S. Petrum sub sigillo officii penitentiarie Id. Febr. Pont. dom. Nicolai pape V. A° 7°."

‡ See Catalanus, 90, 100. Very wholesome measures of reform were adopted by Capranica in Fermo (see *ibid.*, 88). For his share in the discovery of Stefano Porcaro's conspiracy, see *supra*, p. 227, note *.

§ See *supra*, p. 322.

protection of Christendom. The plague, which raged in Rome in the year 1456, drove almost all the Cardinals away, but he remained with the Pope. He fearlessly traversed the infected streets, strewn with the unburied corpses of its victims, as he went to confer with Nicholas on the affairs of the Church.* He displayed equal courage of another sort in personally and freely remonstrating with Calixtus when favours were heaped upon his unworthy relations. As we have already related, he steadfastly refused to acquiesce in Don Pedro's appointment as Duke of Spoleto.† The enmity which he thus incurred induced him to withdraw more and more from public life, and he employed his time of retirement in pious exercises, as if foreseeing his approaching end.

In the last days of July, 1458, just at the time when negotiations regarding his election as Pope were going on, Capranica was attacked by a slight indisposition, which soon grew into a mortal sickness. His first care was to receive the Holy Sacraments, and to seek pardon from the Cardinals for any offence he might have given them.‡ Years before he had composed a little book, which we may

* *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 22.

† See *supra*, p. 461. Regarding the Cardinal's courageous frankness, see Baluze, iii., 289-290; Catalanus, 124-125; Haberl, Bausteine für Musikgesch (Leipzig, 1885), i., 23; and *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 22.

‡ *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 30. See Catalanus, 116 *et seq.* Otto de Carretto, writing to Fr. Sforza, on the 1st August, 1458, speaks of Capranica's illness in the following terms: *"Il card. de Fermo sono gia iv o cinque di he stato infermo de fluxo de corpo, hora he megliorato." State Archives, Milan, Pot. Est. See also the *Despatches of Antonio da Pistoja of the 2nd August, and of Otto de Carretto of the 3rd August, 1458 ('Capranica very ill'). State Archives, Milan.

really call a golden volume, on "the art of dying,"* and all his thoughts were now directed entirely to eternity. He consoled the friends who stood mourning around his bed by reminding them that the death of those only is to be lamented who have never thought of dying until they saw that they could live no longer.†

The ideal of what a Cardinal should be is certainly a very high one. Capranica may be said to have realized it. All his contemporaries are unanimous in testifying that this great man united learning and piety in an uncommon degree.‡ His life was that of a Saint. His nightly repose was limited to four hours. Immediately on rising he recited the Hours, he then said or heard Mass, generally first going to Confession. Before granting audiences he devoted several hours to the study of the Fathers, among whom he had a special love for St. Jerome and St. Augustine. No women were allowed to enter his apartments, neither religious women nor his nearest relations—not even his sister and sister-in-law were excepted from this rule.§

The Cardinal of Fermo had built himself a palace suitable to his dignity in the vicinity of Santa Maria in Aquiro in Rome,‖ but luxury found no place within its walls. His manner of life was remarkable for its simplicity; his dinner consisted of one dish. He hated court ceremonies, and in

* Catalanus, 94, 147 *et seq.*, treats at length of this work and its different editions. See also Lamius, Cat. Bibl. Riccard., 48.

† Catalanus, 117.

‡ See besides the pieces cited in Vol. i., p. 265, note *, Pius II., Comment., 29; St. Antoninus, Chronicon, xxii., c. xvi., § 1; Graziani, 576; *Cod. Vatic., 5815 (whose statements are in most cases confirmed by the other documents); and the *ambassador's despatches given at the end of the present volume.

§ *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 23b; see f. 16, 24, 30; Baluze, iii., 286 *et seq.*, 288.

‖ See Adinolfi, ii., 386 *et seq.*

intercourse with others he was simple, short, and precise. His ecclesiastical household was composed exclusively of men of worth; various nationalities found place in it.* To those around him he was rather a careful father than a master. If he perceived a fault in one of his retainers he at once endeavoured to correct it. He could be vehement and severe in dealing with the vicious and idle, and was unsparing in his reproofs to prelates who forsook their churches and busied themselves at court.† Capranica was sterner towards himself than towards others. It is told of him that never, even in joke, did he permit himself to utter a falsehood.‡ He repeatedly asked his friends frankly to point out his faults to him. When his dead body was unclothed it was found that even in his last illness he had worn an instrument of penance.§ His liberality was so unbounded that he was often in pecuniary difficulties. He frequently disposed of silver vessels and gave the proceeds, in secret, to the poor, who were required to promise that they would never let anyone know of his bounty.‖ He bequeathed all his property to ecclesiastical uses. "The

* Mai, i., 185, 186, 187. Baluze, iii., 295.

† See *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 29; strong expressions such as are here recorded, used by Capranica in righteous zeal, do not justify Piccolomini in representing him as choleric (Pius II., Comment., 29). Piccolomini, moreover, is not to be regarded as an altogether unprejudiced witness, for in 1458 Capranica was his rival in the Papal election; see Gregorovius, vii., 3rd ed., 158. In reference to the morose disposition for which others have blamed Capranica, Nicolaus Palmerius observes: *"Maluit morosus ac inhumanus videri, quam longius progredi, quam honestum aut ratio pateretur." Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 27b.

‡ Baluze, iii., 289.

§ St. Antoninus (*loc. cit.*), and *Cronaca Veneziana detta del Magno in Cod. 6216, f. 23. Court Library, Vienna.

‖ *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 26-27. See Baluze, iii., 288, 294.

Church," he would say, "gave it to me; I give it back, for I was not its master but its steward. I should, indeed, have reaped but little profit from the nights spent in studying ecclesiastical decisions if I were to leave the goods of the Church, which belong to the poor, to my own relations."*

In Rome and in the States of the Church, Capranica zealously strove to settle the numerous feuds which existed.† If anyone would not be reconciled he used to take him into his room, and having bound him to secrecy, fall on his knees and implore him to make peace with his enemy.‡

He was a great lover of learning; his own attainments, especially in theology and in canon law, were considerable, and he counted among his friends both ecclesiastical and humanistic scholars. His valuable library was open to all students.§ He was also the founder of the first of the numerous colleges in Rome. In this institution, which still exists and bears his name, thirty-one poor scholars were to be received, of whom sixteen were to study theology and the liberal arts, and the remainder canon law. As his means were not sufficient to enable him to erect a building for this college, he received the students into his own palace.‖ The constitutions, which he drew up himself, are

* *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 29-30. Regarding the Cardinal's liberality in promoting the building of churches, see *ibid.*, f. 28, and Catalanus, 128.

† See on this subject a *Despatch of Jacopo Calcaterra to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1455, Oct. 9. State Archives, Milan.

‡ Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 21.

§ Catalanus, 132 *et seq.*, 135 *et seq.* Papencordt, 511. Jacopo Ammanati, afterwards a cardinal, like Piccolomini, entered on his career under Capranica's guidance; see *supra*, p. 92.

‖ After the death of Capranica, his brother, Cardinal Angelo, erected a building near the palace, to which the students were transferred in 1460, and this is the present site of the Capranica

in their way a model.* Capranica was also an author. We have already spoken of his "Art of dying;" he also collected the Acts of the Council of Basle, wrote a work on the Turkish war, dedicated to Calixtus III., and for his nephews a set of Rules of Life, in which his beautiful character is reflected.†

College (Denifle, Universitäten, i., 317; where may be found details regarding the foundation). "This palace of Capranica's is," according to Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 617), "the oldest monument of Roman early Renaissance, and furnishes a good example of the transition from the Gothic to the modern Italian style."

* "Constitutiones collegii Cap.," MS. copies of which are frequently met with (*e.g.*, *Cod. Vatic., 7832; *Cod. Sessor., xciii., now No. 212 of the Victor Emmanuel Library, Rome), was twice printed in Rome (1705 and 1879), but neither edition is now to be had. The rich MS. Collection (see Cod. Vatic., 3958 and 8184) of the college has been in great part dispersed (see Archiv, N. F., ii., 364, also Blume, Iter, iii., 145 *et seq.*); Moroni (xiv., 152) says that some Codices found their way into the Vatican Library, yet, according to information kindly given me by the Rev. Mr. Schwarz (of the Campo Santo, Rome) some MSS. still remain in the library of the College.

† Catalanus, 143-155, 244 *et seq.* The Bolognese MS. of the "Constitutiones synodi Firmanæ" is now preserved in the University Library, Bologna (Cod. 2631). The admirable *Rules of Life for Capranica's nephews are in Plut., lxxxx., Cod. lv., f. 73-85 of the Laurentian Library, Florence. Bandinius (iii., 637) gives the preface. The following are the heads of this work:—1. De superbia et remediis contra eam (f. 74); 2. De invidia et de remediis, etc. (f. 75b); 3. De ira, etc. (f. 76); 4. De acedia, etc. (f. 77); 5. De avaritia, etc. (f. 77b); 6. De gula, etc. (f. 78b); 7. De luxuria, etc. (f. 79b). Regarding the further contents, see Catalanus, *loc. cit.*, and regarding the work dedicated to Calixtus III., see *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 28b. The assertion repeated by Voigt (ii., 2nd ed., 400) that Capranica also composed poems has already been disproved by Catalanus (151).

When in the second week of August the physicians declared Capranica to be out of danger, the joy with which the announcement was received by all friends of learning and all well-disposed persons may be imagined. But a violent attack of fever came on in the night between the the 13th and 14th, and by the afternoon of the latter day he was dead. A short time before he breathed his last he received the Holy Sacraments with such recollection and piety that he seemed to those who stood by like an angel from Paradise.* The last words which the dying man addressed to his friends were to beg the alms of their prayers, and to exhort them to continue to labour indefatigably for the welfare of the Church which he had loved so ardently in life.†

"Two hours before his death," writes Otto de Carretto, the Duke of Milan's ambassador, "the Cardinal gave me his hand and said, 'God be with you; it grieves me to the heart that I have not been able before my departure to show to your lord and yourself the gratitude you deserve from me; but God will repay you.' I," continues the ambassador, "had no power to answer him. And so, my illustrious Duke, the wisest, the most perfect, the most learned and the holiest prelate whom the Church in our days has possessed is gone from us. His whole life was devoted to the exaltation of the Roman Church. He was the pillar of Italian peace and a mirror of piety and all sanctity. We all confidently expected soon to be able to honour him as Pope, for parties in general were agreed regarding his elevation. And now we must sorrowfully assist at his obsequies. Such is the world! So is every hope disappointed!" With these words, written an hour

* See the *Despatch from the Ambrosian Library to be hereafter cited, and *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 30.

† Baluze, iii., 299. Catalanus, 118.

after Capranica's death,* the ambassador closes the despatch from whose faded lines the warm heart of the writer still speaks to our souls.

The remains of the great man found a fitting resting-place near the grave of St. Catherine of Siena in Santa Maria sopra Minerva.† He was lamented by all. "Nothing but mourning and sighing is heard," wrote the ambassador of the Marquess Lodovico de Gonzaga on the 19th August, in reference to this calamity.‡

The Romans had, indeed, good cause for grief. Of all the cardinals of the Renaissance Age none but Albergati, Cesarini, and Carvajal can compare with Capranica. His sudden death was, in the existing state of affairs, the heaviest imaginable loss to the Church.

Two days later the Conclave began, and from it issued, as Pope, a cardinal distinguished alike as a statesman and an author, who had once been secretary to the Cardinal of Fermo.

* See in Appendix No. 56 this beautiful *Letter, which I found in the Ambrosian Library, Milan.

† His monument, a fine work of the time of Paul II., is to be seen in the Capella del Rosario in that church. See Beschreibung Roms, iii., 3, 510. Burckhardt (Cicerone, ii., 4th ed., 142) calls the cardinal "Capraneo," and, like Gsell-Fels (438), gives the year of his death as 1469! His monument is found in Tosi, pl. 76. The epitaph, which makes honourable mention of Capranica's twelve legations, is given by Ughelli, ii., 716; Catalanus, 119; Ciaconius, ii., 840-841; in the Descriz. di Roma (Roma, 1739), 444, and in Forcella, i., 418. According to *Cod. Vatic., 5815, f. 28, Capranica himself built this tomb. The *Cronica di Forli of Giovanni de Pedrino speaks of his obsequies. Cod. 234, f. 259b of the private library of Prince B. Boncompagni in Rome.

‡ **Despatch of Antonio Catabene of 19th Aug., 1458 Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See St. Antoninus, Chron., *loc. cit.* The general mourning for Capranica's death is also mentioned in the *Cronaca Veneziana detta del Magno, in Cod. 6216, f. 23, of the Court Library, Vienna.

APPENDIX.

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS AND EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES.

1. *Pope Nicholas V. to Cardinal Bessarion.**

1450, Febr. 27, Rome.

"Venerab. fratri Bissarioni, episcopo Tusculan., in civitate nostra Bononiensi et exarchatu Ravennat. ac civitatibus, diocesibus terris . . . in provincia nostra Romandiole situatis . . . ad nos et Romanam ecclesiam nulla medio spectantibus . . . pro nobis et eadem ecclesia Romana in temporalibus apost. sedis vicario generali salutem."

Inasmuch as the Popes in order fully to accomplish the pastoral duties give over a portion of their cares of Government to virtuous persons, and he (Nicholas V.) watches with special solicitude over the welfare of Bologna, etc.—"Et considerantes, quod tu quidem potens opere pariter et sermone, quem expertum in arduis, eximia probitate et fidelitate preclaraque industria et claritate generis atque sciencie prepollentem et altitudine consilii, morum elegantia et aliis grandium virtutum titulis gratum, ut per longam et continuam familiarem experienciam et alias novimus et dominus multifariam insignivit et in cuius affectibus prout indubitanter tenemus geritur sedare fluctuantes turbines, iusticie terminos colere, humiliare superbos et inobedientes compescere ac errantes ad viam reducere veritatis quod nos abstentes [*sic.!*] repugnante natura non possumus assistente

* See *supra*, p. 69.

tibi divina gratia civitatem Bononiensem, etc., solerter, diligenter et fideliter scies et poteris regere et gubernare, matura super hoc cum venerab. fratribus nostris S.R.E. cardinalibus deliberatione prehabita te in civitate Bononiensi, exarchatu Raven. ac provincia Romandiole . . . pro nobis et eadem ecclesia cum plene ac libere legationis a latere officio vicarium in temporalibus et spiritualibus usque ad apost. sedis beneplacitum constituimus." *(Here follow lengthy legal formulas defining his powers.)* Datum Rome ap. S. Petrum an. MCCCCXLIX° tercio kal. mart., pontificatus nostri anno tercio.

De Curia.

JO. DE STECATIS.

Lib. ii., Offic. f. 75b-78b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

2. *Pope Nicholas V. to the Knights of S. John in Rhodes.**

1450, Nov. 6, Rom.

Nicolaus, etc. Dilectis filiis magistro et fratribus hospitalis s^ti^ Johannis Jerusal. salutem, etc. *Inasmuch as the Saracens were fearfully oppressing the Island of Rhodes, with a great fleet*—illa vobis libenter concedimus, per que Christi fideles . . . ad impendendum vobis . . . presidia fortius animentur ac reddantur divine gratie aptiores. Hinc est quod nos . . . (ut) dicti fideles ad prestandum vobis in premissis ac aliis vestris necessitatibus caritativa subsidia promptiores reddantur, ut una et plures ac tot, quot vobis ad id expedire videbitur, ecclesiastice seculares aut vestri seu alterius cuiuscunque ordinis regulares per vos deputande et ab eis substituende pro tempore persone auctoritate apostolica concedere valeant universis et singulis Christifidelibus a civitate Racusin inclusive ultra versus orientales partes dumtaxat ubilibet commorantibus, quod illi ex eis qui infra annum a festo incarnationis dominice proxime futuro ipsis

* See *supra*, p. 247, and Kayser, 217, note 3.

deputandis vel substituendis terciam partem oblacionum et expensarum, quas . . . si ad urbem venissent, in veniendo, stando, offerendo et ad propria remeando fecissent, pro decencia personarum suarum iuxta eorum consciencias . . . dederint et . . . vere penitentes et confessi 15 continuis vel interpollatis diebus saltem semel in die quatuor ex principalioribus ecclesiis in ipsorum civitatibus seu diocesibus consistentibus visitaverint, plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum remissionem perinde consequantur ac si ad urbem anno praesenti personaliter accessissent. . . . Datum Rome ap. s. Mariam majorem anno 1450, viii., id. Novemb. anno quarto.

A. DE RACANETO.

Nicol. V., Secret. T. ix., Reg. 393, f. 88b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

3. *Three Bulls of Pope Nicholas V. on behalf of the Knights of S. John at Rhodes.**

1450, Nov. 6, Rome.

(a.) Nicolaus, etc. Ad futuram rei memoriam.† *He had heard of the heavy burdens*—que dil. filios magistrum et fratres hospitalis pro ipsius hospitalis et insule Rhodi conservatione modernis praesertim temporibus . . . subire oportuit. . . . Cum itaque, sicut nonnullorum verifica relatione percepimus, quod . . . ad solvenda onera predicta et usuras quam plurimas . . . eidem hospitali nullatenus sufficiebant facultates . . . nos . . . motu proprio . . . medietatem omnium fructuum, reddituum et proventuum ecclesiasticorum, prioratuum, castellaniarum, preceptoriarum, banchiarum, beneficiorum, membrorum, locorum et bonorum dicti hospitalis per universum orbem ubilibet consistentium anni praesentis ab omnibus et singulis prioribus, castellanis, preceptoribus ceterisque, eiusdem hospitalis et aliis illa solvere debentibus personis cuiuscunque . . . gradus, ordinis et conditionis existant, quibus . . . nulla

* See *supra*, p. 247. † Incip. "Graves labores."

privilegia . . . concessa, quoad hoc volumus nullatenus suffragari . . . integraliter solvendam, exigendam et per personas ad id a magistro et fratribus predictis deputandas . . . colligendam . . . auctoritate apostolica . . . tenore presentium imponimus. . . . Dat. Rome, ap. s. Mariam majorem anno, 1450, viii. id. Novemb., anno quarto.

(b.) Ad futuram rei memoriam.* . . . Nos motu proprio praesentis perpetuo valiture constitutionis edicto auctoritate apostolica statuimus . . . quod ex nunc in antea perpetuis futuris temporibus omnes et singuli priores prioratuum dicti hospitalis . . . per universum orbem ubilibet consistencium quilibet videlicet eorum infra sexaginta dierum spacium a die qua presencium notitiam . . . habuerint computandum sub excommunicationis pena . . . quatuor ex principalioribus preceptoribus sui prioratus iura ab eis debita bene solventibus eligere debeant, quodque dicti priores et prioratuum huiusmodi receptores ac sic electi preceptores, quilibet videlicet prior cum receptore et quatuor electis suis huiusmodi omnia et singula iura, census, redditus et emolimenta, que . . . debita præfato thesauro annis singulis integre realiter . . . solvere teneantur. . . . Datum Rome (ut supra).

A. DE RACANETO.

(c.) Ad futuram rei memoriam.† . . . Nos igitur . . . auctoritate apostolica et ex certa scientia praedictas et omnia alia et singula concessiones, privilegia et indulta . . . *(granted by us and the Holy See, or by anyone to the prejudice of the* "thesauri hospitalis Rhodi," *especially those in Portugal)* tenore presentium revocamus, cassamus et annullamus nulliusque roboris vel momento fore decernimus. . . . Datum Rome (ut supra).

A. TRAPEZUNTIUS.

Reg. 393, f. 99b., 100b., 101b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* Incip. "Apostolice nobis." † Incip. "Dum solicite."

4. *Vincenzo Amidano to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1450, Dez. 21, Rom.

. . . Perche la I.S.V. forse havera sentito uno caso stupendo e miserabile ch'e occorso qui e stara ambigua se sia da credere o non, la certifico come sabato passato de sera per la multitudine inumerabile che era venuta ad questo iubileo, sul calcare del ponte de castello s. Angelo fra le apoteche che sono in capo del dicto ponte, se affocaro e moriro in uno attimo di tempo cercha persone ducento et alcuni cavalli, muli e somari e molti ne cascaro in lo fiumo del Tevere oltra questi de li quali la piu parte anegoe: e fra questi sono stati persone de ogni sexo e di ogni qualitade secundo se ritrovorno in quella calca che e uno accidente inaudito et incredibile ad chi non l'ha veduto. Ad la I.S.V. continuo me recomando. Rome, 21 Dicemb., 1450.

VICENTIUS.

Original in the State Archives at Milan. Carteggio generale.

5. *Giovanni Inghirami to Giovanni de' Medici.*†

1450, Dez. 27, Florenz.

Al nome di dio a di xxvii. di dicembre, 1450.

Scrissiti l'ultima a di 24 detto per mano del capitano de fanti e per essa fe risposta a due tuo lettere e la chagione di questa si e per avisarti dun chaxo terribilisimo advenuto a Roma per lo gubileo e questo si e che il sabato che fumo a di 19 di questo sendo andata tutta la prebe ‡ del gubileo a san Piero per vedere il sudario e avere la benedizione che fu tanto numero di gente quanto anchora vi sia stato esendo si mostro il sudario molto tardi ch'era circha a ore 23 e

* See *supra*, p. 97. Vicenzo Amidano often appears in Osio.

† See *supra*, pp. 97 and 99.

‡ Plebe.

parendo fusse tropo tardi a dare la benedizione il papa fe licenziare che non si dava quella sera: il perche caschuno dette volta in dretro ed essendo giunto gia al ponte la furia de la gente che si tornava a chasa scontrorono certi chavalli e muli che erano in sul ponte e fu tanta la furia de la gente che non potendo tornare a dretro quelli erano a chavallo furono spinti e chadono de questo su a piede del ponte da lato de banchi e fu tanta la moltitudine che chade luno adosso a laltro che de suto una crudele chosa a vedere quelli vi morirono e questo vene a essere circha a lavemaria ed era tanto che pignava di mano in mano che fino a san Piero era piena la via e non si poteva rimediare a farsi in dretro, pero che quelli di dretro non sapevano el caso era dinanzi, pure ebe tanto acorgimento el castelano * che calo la saracinischa in modo che piu non ne pote pasare, ma questa furia di quelli erano amontati era durata piu dun ora in modo tale che Piero e Ruberto scrive che a ore 3 di notte in santo Celso fu presentati corpi 176 morti† tra done e huomini e il forte done; che mai dichono si vide tanta schurita in tanto spaventevole chaxo e per chi e venuto che parti da poi [*sic*]; dichono in Teviro ne chaschasi piu dal tanti, si di quelli si mettevano sulle sponde per non morire e di quelli che si gittavano ‡ e fa conto che quelli si trovorono nella stretta che non morirono erano tutti istracati i pani da dosso e che in farsetto e chi in chamica e chi ignudo e quasi tutte le done schapiglate in modo tale che non mancho era da incerchare de champati che de morti, pero che caschuno avea perduta la compagnia sua ed era vi grida andavano a laria perche chi non ritrovava il compagno suo credeva fussi morto e fino a ore 6 di notte era pieno la chiesa di santo Celso a rinvenire se di sua vera

* See Cronache Rom., 19.

† Regarding the number of dead, see *supra*, p. 98.

‡ A little blank; perhaps "giù" should be supplied.

morti, e chi vi trovava padre, chi madre chi fratelli chi fioliuli ecc. chon quelle grida che intronavano Roma e per piata piu che 60 scrive Ruberto e Piero nalogiorno e done e huomini conchiudendo e vera chi se trovato al rotte de Turchi che non sono sute di tanto teribile spavento che se non si serava la parte del ponte parechi migliaia ve ne moriva. Piaccia a dio aver ricevuto quelle anime che ragionevolmente debono esere ite bene quasi tute. Questi morti o la piu parte erano Taliani e il forte di canpagna, ma non si sente vi sia persona di tropo nome* avisandoti che Piero e Pier Francesco e Ruberto e Fruosino erano tornati di mancho di $^1/_x$ dora pero chome fu mostro il sudario dettono volta a dretro che se avesino aspettato cho gli altri non pasava sanza gran pericholo di loro chome degli altri . . .

GIOVANNI INGHIRAMI in Firenze.

[In verso.]

Spectab. viro Giovanni de Medici a Volterra.

Origin. in the State Archives at Florence. C. Strozz, 338, f. 82.

6. *Pope Nicholas V. to Cardinal Cusa.*†

1450, Dez. 29, Rom.

Nicolaus Cusanus had been sent to Germany as "legatus de latere"—"pro reformatione ecclesiarum, monasteriorum et aliorum locorum ecclesiasticorum et personarum in illis degentium"—*with the commission* "pacem inter omnes dissidentes (*in Germany*) tractandi et componendi, treugas

* The Istoria Bresc, 867, on the contrary, says: "Vi morirono de' vescovi con le lor mule, de' cavalieri, gentiluomini," etc. The Giornali Napolit. (1131) name as among the dead "Messer Antonello Sanframonde, Barone de lo Contado di Molise et Abbate Filippo Figliomarino, che haveva più di 1000 ducati de entrata." According to the Cronica di Bologna (696), most of the sufferers were Romans and Lombards.

† See *supra*, p. 106, and Raynaldus ad an. 1450, N. 12.

insuper ad tempus de quo tibi videbitur indicendi necnon ecclesias singulas tam metropolitanas quam cathedrales, monasteria, prioratus, preposituras, dignitates, ecclesiastica beneficia quecunque et hospitalia earumdem partium tam secularia quam regularia, exempta et non exempta quecuncque ac personas in illis degentes auctoritate apostolica tam in capite exceptis archiepiscopis et episcopis, quam in membris visitandi, reformandi, corrigendi, emendandi et puniendi, extirpandi hereses ac hereticos puniendi . . . necnon in eisdem statuta et ordinationes de novo condendi et illa observari mandandi et faciendi, provincilia et synodalia concilia indicendi, celebrandi et tenendi," etc. Dat. 1450, iv. kal. ianuar., anno quarto.

Reg. 391, f. 17. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

7. *Pope Nicholas V. and Cyprus.**

(1451.)

(a.) "Nicolaus, etc. Carissimis in Christo filiis Romano, Ungarie, Polonie, Boemie, Suecie, Dacie, Dalmatie et Norvegie regibus illustribus ac universis et singulis venerabilibus fratribus archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus et dil. filiis nobilibus viris ducibus, principibus, magistris, marchionibus, comitibus, capitaneis . . . baronibus, militibus . . . et ceteris cuiuscumque sexus Christifidelibus ecclesiasticis et secularibus—*in Germany and other parts of the world*—salutem etc. Ut de talento . . . Hodie siquidem in carissimi in Christo filii nostri Johannis regis Cipri illustris et ipsius regni Cipri incolarum et habitatorum fidelium . . . favorem literas concessimus tenoris subsequentis:

"Nicolaus, etc. Ad futuram rei memoriam. Salutifere catholice fidei . . . Pensantes qualiter Theucri . . . christianorum terras et praesertim modernis temporibus . . . Johannis regis Cipri regnum hostiliter . . . invadere . . .

* See *supra*, p. 247.

non desinunt quodque, nisi . . . viriliter resistatur, possent verisimiliter brevi temporis spatio non modo regnum ipsum occupare, sed illud eiusque fideles ad totalem ruinam ac miserabilem presertim animarum desolationem perducere," *he justly claims assistance,* "et ut ad id fideles eo fervencius animentur . . . spiritualia eis munera que terrena antecellent elargimur. . . . Hinc est quod nos . . . universos et singulos . . . catholicos reges et . . . reginas, etc. *(as above)* obsecramus in domino . . . et per aspersionem sanguinis domini nostri Jesu Christi exhortamur, eisque in remissionem regni huiusmodi præfato regi grata imponant subsidia caritatis, nos . . . ipsis omnibus et singulis . . . qui de facultatibus suis magis et minus prout ipsorum fidelium conscientiis videbitur, perdictum Johannem deputandis nuntiis vel procuratoribus seu aliis ab eis substituendis pie erogaverint, auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium indulgemus, quod singuli confessores . . . pro commissis hactenus etiam sedi apostolicæ reservatis excessibus . . . atque delictis . . . debitam absolutionem impendere . . . et censuris (omnibus) absolvere . . . semel in vita et semel in mortis articulo . . . valeant . . . Praeterea universis et singulis archiepiscopis, etc. . . . mandamus, quatemus . . . praesentes litteras . . . ubilibet . . . publicent. Volumus autem quod omnia . . . in prosecutione praemissorum expensa praefato Johanni regi integre et fideliter assignentur, per ipsum in regni sui defensione . . . convertenda per triennium a prima die maii anni 1452 proxime futuri incipiendum . . . Dat. Rome ap. S. Petrum 1451 prid. id. aug., pontif. anno quinto."

"Cum igitur expediat ut cathlolicorum regum . . . zelus . . . accendatur contra feritatem hostium praedictorum . . . vos omnes et singulos praesertim regias serenitates attentius rogamus . . . quatenus . . . subsidia liberaliter erogetis et ad illa eroganda alios Christifideles et praesertim vobis subditos instancius . . . inducere studeatis. . . . Dat. Rome

. . . prid. id. aug., 1451, pontif. anno quinto. (Gratis de mandato d.n. pape.)"

Nicol. V., Secret., T. xii. Reg. 396, f. 167b-169. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

(b.) This is followed by *"similis indulgentia in favorem regis Cipri"* to the King of Sicily, and to all Patriarchs, Archbishops, etc., Princes, etc., of Italy. Dat. ut supr. as above. Also to the King of Cyprus and all Archbishops, etc., Princes, etc., of the kingdom of Cyprus; to England and Scotland, Castille, Leon, Aragon, Portugal, and Navarre; to King Charles VII. of France and the Princes of his kingdom; finally an *"Indulgentia per totum orbem" (Ad. fut. rei mem., "Salutifere catholice") "pro rege Cipri"*—all of the same date.

8. *Pope Nicholas V. to Cardinal Cusa.**

1451, Aug. 13 [15].

(a.) Nicolao lit. s. Petri ad vincula presb. cardin. ad regnum Anglia sedis apostolicæ legato. "Redemptoris et domini," etc. Dat. id. aug., 1451, pontif. anno quinto . . . te ad pacificandum regna praefata *(England and France)* apostolicae sedis legatum cum potestate legati de latere . . . providimus destinandum. . . . See *supra*, p. 134.

Nic. V., decuria, lib. xiii., Reg. 418, f. 181. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

(b). To the same, dated Aug. 15 (L.c., f. 183); see *supra*, p. 134. The copy of this document, printed in the Tüb. theol. Quartalschr., 1830, p. 792 to 795, is essentially the same as the text of the Register.

9. *Pope Nicholas V. to Cardinal d'Estouteville.*†

1451, Aug. 13.

The Pope appoints d'Estouteville as "Legatus de latere" *in France* . . . "Cum Francie et Anglie regna sunt firmis-

* This has by an oversight been put before the following one.

† See *supra*, p. 105.

sima et fortissime praesidia reipublicae Christianae hiis regnis laborantibus consequens [est] universam christianitatem opportuna subventione carentem cum summo periculo etiam fidei catholicae laborare, praesertim diversis pelagis mundi infidelibus contra Christianos insurgentibus. Ad pacificandum praefatum regnum Francie convertimus omnes nostros sensus. . . . Dat. 1451, idib. aug., pontif. anno quinto."

Nicol. V., Secret., T. xiii., f. 40. Secret Archives of the Vatican. *Ibid.*, f. 26, Extension of Estouteville's mission, "*ad Britaniam, Sabaudiam et Delphinatum.*" Dat. vi. cal. sept., 1451.

10. *Pope Nicholas V. to Cardinal Cusa.**

1452, Oct. 20.

Dilecto filio Nicolao tit. s^ti^ Petri ad vinc. presb. cardinali. "Regis pacifici" . . . *He had heard of the disputes between Emperor Frederick III. and King Ladislas, therefore* "volumus et vobis serie presentium mandamus quatenus ad ipsam dietam (scil. in opido Viennen. Patavien. dioc. de proximo servandam) accedentes vice nostra huiusmodi efficiendis paci et guardie juxta datam vobis a deo prudentiam vos diligenter interponatis." . . . *He gives him full powers,* etc. Dat. xiii. kal. novemb., 1452.

Nicol. V., Secret., T. xvi., Reg. 400, f. 143b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

11. *Pope Nicholas V. to Cardinal Cusa.*†

1452, Oct. 23.

Cum nos nuper vos ad dietam de proximo in opido Viennen. Patavien. dioc. inter car^mum^ in Christo filium nostrum Fredericum Romanorum imperatorem semper

* See *supra*, p. 135, and Voigt, ii., 78.

† See *supra*, p. 135. This letter seems to be addressed also to the Bishop of Siena, which perhaps is the case in regard to No. 10 as well. Dr. Gottlob's abstract says nothing on the subject.

augustum et cariss. in Christo filii nostri Ladislai Hungarie et Bohemie regis illustris regnorum et dom[inationum] principes, barones et subditos pro semovendis dissensionibus inter eos occasione tutele dicti regis . . . subortis servandam . . . duximus destinandos, nos ad hoc ut commodius pacis et concordie huiusmodi commoda succedant vobis et cuilibet vestrum quoscunque processus adversus imperatori predicto in huiusmodi gerenda tutela rebelles et inobedientes per nos seu auctoritate nostra habitos tollendi, cassandi et revocandi . . . omniaque alia circa ea opportuna faciendi prout vobis vel alteri vestrum videbitur, dummodo tamen huiusmodi concordie subsequatur effectus plenam et liberam auctoritate apostolica concedimus tenore praesentium facultatem . . . Dat x. kal. novemb., 1452, anno sexto.

Reg. 400, f. 143. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

12. *Speeches of Stefano Porcaro.**

Manzi (Testi di lingua inediti tratti da codici della Bibl. Vaticana [Roma, 1816], 3-55) has published, not very accurately, nine of Stefano Porcaro's speeches (see Raggi, 42). Papencordt (483), Gregorovius (vii., 3rd ed., 98), and Raggi (17) have no very favourable opinion of these discourses, which, however, were evidently highly esteemed in the fifteenth century, for a great number of MS. copies of them are preserved. Tommasini (93-97) has given a particular account of such as are to be found in Rome. He has only omitted Cod. L, iv., 126 of the Chigi Library; it contains altogether sixteen of Porcaro's speeches, nine of which have been published by Manzi.† I also noted the following MSS. of the conspirators' speeches in Italy:—

* See *supra*, p. 219.

† The others have now appeared in Giuliari's publication, of which I shall presently speak.

Florence: National Library, Palat. Cl. i., Cod. li. MSS. Strozz., Cl. xxv., Cod. 616, No. 7, 8.*

Florence: Riccard. Library, Cod. 1074, f 38b-65; 1121, f. 23-33; 2204, f. 55-96; 2313; 2322, f. xxxxvi.-cxv.; 2330, f. 1-37b; 2544, f. lii.-lxxxx.

Genoa: University Library, Cod. E, v., 10, f. 101-125.

Lucca: Public Library, No. 1284, f. 54-94; No. 1640, f. 1-40.

Milan: Brera Library, Cod. AD, xiv., 43, No. 6.

Siena: Public Library, i., vi., 25.

Venice: Library of St. Mark, Cl. xi. Cod. xxiv.; Cl. xi., Cod. cxxvi.; Cl. xiv., Cod. ccliii.

Verona: Chapter Library, two MSS. See Giuliari, Prose del Giovane Buonaccorso da Montemagno inedite alcune. Bologna, 1874. Sixteen speeches, including the nine already published by Manzi, are here given. As the title of this work shows, Giuliari, reviving an ancient opinion, ascribes these speeches not to Porcaro, but to G. Buonaccorso. Tommasini, who does not mention Giuliari's work, agrees with de Rossi (see p. 82 of the treatise cited *supra*, p. 215, note *) in maintaining that the discourses are Porcaro's.

13. *Gabriel de Rapallo to Petrus de Campofregoso.*†

1453, Jan. 5 [6], Rome.

Copia. Illustrissime princeps et domine mi. Da poi ch' habiamo scripto esta mane a la S.V. circha le caxone nostre in cotesta hora e stato qui alchuna novita. Uno

* According to the catalogue of the National Library it contains a number of copies of Porcaro's discourses, but as I do not aim at giving a complete list of them all, and as the catalogue will appear in print, I omit further particulars.

† See *supra*, pp. 224, 226, 228, 238.

chiamato* miser Steffano Porcaio Romano, lo quale era confinato ha Bologna secretamente e venuto ha Roma e stato per alchuni giorni e za haveva dato de monti denari ha suoi partexani Romani e per conclusione havea ordinato domatina prender lo sancto padre cum tuti cardinali in la zexia de sancto Petro in la qualle quello sancto padre per uzanssa dice la mesa papalle in la festa de epiffania e statim e stato discoperto el dicto tractato. Sono andati alchuni provixionali del s^to^ padre in la contrata del dicto Steffano e cum alchuni de quelli se sono trovati a le mane. Sono stati morti dui homini de quelli del s^cto^ padre. Quel miser Steffano e monti altri hano havuto scanza e sono fugiti, ano ritenuti sei Romani ne li quali se dice esser lo nepote de quello miser Steffano. Per fin a qui non e altra novita essendo gia hore IIII. de nocte. Se tiene cotesta esser magiore praticha cha de quello miser Steffano se fusse venuta facta e no altro. Ex Roma, 1453, die veneris v. ianuarii hora IIII^a^. noct.

[In verso.]

SERVUS VR.
GABRIEL DE RAPALLO.

Illustri principi et d^no^ d. P. de Campofr^o^; dei gratia duci Januen.

Die vi. Januarii. Esta nocte e stato prezzo quello miser Steffano e alcuni altri e lano posto in lo castello de s^to^ Angelo. Voleva farsi signore de Roma ed e homo molto amato da populi, e bene eloquente e credo ch' ello havesse altra trama che de lui e tosto se ne avederemo. Lo sancto padre e stato a sancto Pedro e ha cantato la mesa tamen cum grande guardie per tuto.

Idem CABRIEL.

Cop. State Archives, Milan. Cart. gen. ad. an.

* MS.: piamato.

14. *Depositions of Stefano Porcaro.**

1453, Jan. 7, Rom.

Gesta Romanorum, nova in confusionem eorum, acta sunt die septima mensis ianuarii anno domini mccccliii°.

Dominus Stephanus de Porcariis de urbe, miles constitutus ect. confessus fuit sponte omnia et singula infrascripta, videlicet quod cum suis causantibus culpis et demeritis in civitate Bononiensi relegatus et confinatus fuisset et esset et iam ibidem aliquamdiu stetisset, recordatus, ut asserit, quod tam dominus Nicolaus eius nepos,† quam Baptista

* See *supra*, pp. 215, 223, 226, 228, 237. This document is marked "Depositiones," etc., in the Trèves MS. At the end of Alberti's letter the following remark there occurs: "Item depositiones praedicti Stefani Porcarii invenies post volucionem duorum foliorum." Two pages further comes the document with the title "Gesta," etc. There can be no doubt of its genuine character, inasmuch as almost all its statements are confirmed by other contemporary authorities. The fifteenth century copy is in many ways incorrect; where I have attempted to rectify it I have marked the fact. The librarian, Mr. Max Kaeuffer, whose kindness I cannot sufficiently acknowledge, has been good enough again to collate the copy with the original. Several contemporaries expressly say that Porcaro made confessions. Niccola della Tuccia (226) and St. Antoninus (lib. xxii., c. 12, §5) asserts that these confessions were made by the conspirator when on the rack, but the well-informed (see de Rossi, 95) Caccia, in Cugnoni, 98, says Porcaro made them when a prisoner in the Vatican: "Ubi plerisque ex his, qui cum custodiebant, interrogantibus *sponte* multa confessus est; et illud maxime quod nulli parcere, sed omnes ferro, igne vel aquis extinguere decreverat." Godi (Perlbach, 17) says likewise that Porcaro was tried in the Papal Palace.

† Niccolo Gallo, Canon of St. Peter's. See de Rossi, *loc. cit.* 88, 94. According to Niccola della Tuccia (226) another Canon of St. Peter's was also engaged in the conspiracy; Infessura (1135) calls him "Messer Cornelio." Nothing regarding him is to be found in the Library (resp. Archives) of St. Peter's. Concerning Battista Sciarra, see *supra*, pp. 215, 224, 230.

Sciara ac nonnulli alii, quorum nomina pro meliori tacentur, pluries variis vicibus et temporibus ipsum sollicitaverunt, quod ad patriam propriam quomodocunque redire posset, conaretur et deberet; deliberavit inter se ipsum, velle confinia rumpere et ad lares proprios per phas vel nephas omnino redire et se in discrimine mortis ponere.

Dixit eciam, quod volens dictum suum propositum ad effectum producere, iam sunt dies xx vel circa, quod quendam eius familiarem de dicta civitate Bononiensi ad urbem ad dictum dominum Nicolaum eius nepotem misit, cui familiari nichil aliud imposuit, nisi ut eidem domino Nicolao diceret, quod ipse dominus Stephanus infra paucos dies Romam rediturus erat.

Dixit eciam, quod inde ad aliquot dies ipse dominus Stephanus alium misit ad dictum dominum Nicolaum nuncium, cuius nomen pro meliori tacetur,* cui nuncio solum mandavit, ut eidem domino Nicolao intimaret, quod ipse dominus Stephanus infra breves dies Roman rediret et se ad pedes sanctissimi domini nostri pape presentaret.

Dixit ulterius, quod ipse dominus Stephanus post recessum dicti ultimi nuncii per aliquot dies circa xxii. horis diei incognitus ac coopertus in capite et in facie, prout per itinera incedunt Theutonici, associatus uno tamen familiari, dictam civitatem Bononiensem exivit et gressus suos versus urbem direxit et, die noctuque equitando nec de equo, nisi tamen quantum bladum comedebat, descendendo, ac civitatum,† terrarum et castrorum introitus, ne ab aliquo cognosci posset, quantum poterat evitando et aufugiendo,

* In the MS., however, are the words, "vocatur dominus Paulus de Alba." He must have been a Roman senator. See de Rossi, 96, and Tommasini, 107.

† MS., "civitatem."

Romam die martis* proxime preterita hora quasi tarda per portam populi intravit et iuxta ecclesiam sancte Marie de populo de equo descendit et dictam ecclesiam et demum statim quandam vineam ipsius ecclesie intravit et ibidem usque ad unam horam noctis vel circa permansit.

Dixit eciam, quod ex post misit dictum eius familiarem ad prefatum dictum Nicolaum, cui imposuit, quod sibi notificaret, qualiter ipse dominus Stephanus venerat et quod in dicta vinea erat et quod quia equus eius valde fessus erat, ipse dominus Nicolaus duos equos duceret, videlicet unum pro se ipso domino Nicolao† et alium pro ipso domino Stephano. Et quod dictus familiaris ivit et statim cum domino dicto Nicolao et cum dictis duobus equis redivit et quod incontinenti ipse dominus Stephanus unum et dictus dominus Nicolaus alium ex dictis equis equitarent, et iter ipsorum versus domum ipsius domini Stephani tenuerunt et dictam domum, ut caucius potuerunt, ingressi fuerunt, et ibidem per horam vel circa tantum permanserunt.

Dixit eciam quod interim, dum in dicta domo sua esset, ivit ad dictam domum Baptista Sciara supra nominatus, et quod statim ipse dominus Stephanus, associatus dictis Baptiste et domino Nicolao, se ad domum domini Angeli ‡ transtulit, et cum ibidem fuit, accesserunt ad ipsum dominus Nicolaus, frater dicti Baptiste, Jacobus domini Nicolai,

* 2 January. This day is also mentioned in the Florentine Letter (Tommasini, 105). Caccia's statement (97) that Porcaro arrived on Thursday (=4th January) is incorrect. All are unanimous in asserting that Porcaro made the journey from Bologna to Rome in four days. His departure from Bologna must then have taken place on the 30th December, 1452, and not on St. Stephen's Day, as the Cronica di Bologna (700) states.

† In the MS. "Stephanus" occurs by mistake.

‡ "Angelus de Maso, qui filius Martini pape quinti dicebatur." Godi ed. Perlbach, 16. See Niccola della Tuccia, 226, and Caccia, *loc. cit.*

Jacobus Maglionus, Gregorius Anodevoli, Jacobus Lellicecchi,* Marianus Castellanus et nonnulli alii, de quorum nominibus dixit non recordari; quibus omnibus, ut dixit, tam per dictum Baptistam quam per dictum dominum Nicolaum fuerat adventus ipsius domini Stephani intimatus et, quod tunc ipse dominus Stephanus dixit dictis omnibus ac eciam dicto domino Angelo et Clementi eius filio,† qualiter ipse non petita nec obtenta licencia a sanctissimo domino nostro papa de Bononia recesserat et ad urbem venerat, ut ipsam urbem ad libertatem reduceret, et quod ipse ad hoc obtinendum tres cogitaverat vias: Prima, ut Capitolium cum amicis et aliis per ipsos requirendis invaderent et ipsum caperent et demum cum eorum sequacibus civitatem clamando: vivat libertas, discurrerent.‡ Secundam viam, ut primo§ cum dictis eorum complicibus Romam, ut premittitur clamando, discurrerent || et cum eorum sequacibus ad Capitolium accederent et illud caperent et demum ad pallacium sanctissimi domini nostri pape ad petendum, ut cum eis unum prelatum mitteret, qui una secum per civitatem clamando: vivat libertas [iret], accederent. Tercio, quod primo cum dictis eius sequacibus ad prefatum pallacium sanctissimi domini nostri pape de mane in die festivitatis Epiphanie, in qua ipse sanctissimus dominus noster papa in ecclesia sancti Petri celebrare deberet, accederet et prefatum sanctissimum dominum nostrum papam cum suis cardinalibus et prelatis caperet et sic libertatem et quicquid aliud volebat, obtineret, et quod pro tunc eisdem rem istam aliter non explanavit, et quod omnes

* See Perlbach, 9, 16, 17, 31, 32.

† See Infessura, 1134-1135; Tommasini, 106; Niccola della Tuccia, 226.

‡ MS., "discurrent."

§ MS., "prima."

|| MS., "discurrent."

supra prenominati et alii tunc astantes hoc facinus laudarunt et se [ad] amicos suos requirendos obtulerunt, excepto dicto Gregorio, qui se ad operandum armis impotentem asseruit, sed prestaturum arma, quæ poterat, obtulit, prout prestavit et misit.

Item dixit, quod dictus Jacobus Lelli ipsi domino Stephano in dicta domo dicti domini Angeli die jovis proxime preterita,* qualiter ipse locutus fuerat de hac materia cum domino Stephano . . .† et quod prima vice consenserat et deinde se penituerat, et dum ipsum pro armis requireret, licet illa primo sibi promisisset, tum demum dixit, quod illa propter emergentes causas in domo retinere volebat. Item quod fuerat locutus cum magistro Petro de Monterotundo‡ medico non aperiendo sibi materiam et quod ipsum requisivit cum xv. armatis secum causa se de quodam eius inimico vindicandi et quod ipse magister Petrus assensit et dictos xv. armatos statim venire fecit et cum ipse Jacobus ad ipsum magistrum Petrum redivisset ad sciendum an dicti armati venissent, idem magister Petrus respondit, quod venerant, sed illos remiserat et quod tunc ipse Jacobus ipsum magistrum Petrum reprehendit et sibi materiam pandidit et ipsum, ut pro dictis armatis remitteret, requisivit, et quod idem magister Petrus tunc respondit, quod erat familiaris et medicus sanctissimi domini nostri pape et nolebat de hoc se cum persona impedire,§ se quod ad Montem Rotundum accederet et dictos armatos in tempore transmitteret. Item quod fuerat locutus domino Jacobo de Reatis, qui sibi responderat, quod equitare necessario

* 4th January.

† An illegible word, which neither the Librarian, Herr Kaüffer, nor I, can decipher.

‡ See Perlbach, 23.

§ In the MS. the words "et dictos armatos" follow, but they are effaced by dots by the reviser.

habebat, sed quod in tempore cum aliquibus eius sociis rediret et paratus esset. Item fuerat locutus tam cum Petro Paulo Stephanucie et Raucio Castine* quam cum similibus aliis suis amicis, qui se promptos et paratos cum eorum sociis optulerant tempore oportuno.

Item dixit idem Stephanus, quod die veneris redivit ad eius domum ante diem et quod ibidem de die vidit, quod erant ultra septuaginta apti iuvenes ultra supra nominatos, inter quos dixit se solum cognovisse filium Petri Pauli de Cavalieri et filium Anthonii Quadracii.

Item dixit, quod iam in dicta domo preparaverat ultra xl^ta^ portegranas, xvi. balistas, x. loricas et quam plures targones,† illa nocte, et alia arma ad dictum domum portata fuissent.

Dixit eciam idem dominus Stephanus, quod licet ipse narrasset dictis eius complicibus et sequacibus supradictas tres vias ad dictam libertatem recuperandam, quod nichilominus ipse cognoscebat et certum erat, quod due prime vie suprascripte non erant sufficientes, et quod ipse non dubitabat, dum ipse Capitolium invaderet et caperet et per Romam clamando: vivat libertas, discurreret, aut primo per Romam discurreret et demum Capitolium caperet, interim inde sanctissimus dominus noster papa castrum sancti Angeli intraret et pro suis gentibus armorum mitteret et tam cum dictis eius gentibus quam cum favore et auxilio cuiusdam maximi domini, quem summe amicari et affectionari ipsi sancto domino nostro pape sciebat, ipsum dominum Stephanum et omnes suos periclitaret et Romam recuperaret et ad pristinum statum reduceret, et quod propterea ipse dominus Stephanus deliberaverat terciam viam capere et ordinem infradicendum tenere. Nam decreverat, quod nocte precedente diem sabati, in qua die erat festum Epiphanie et in qua die credebat sanctissimum

* Or Cascine?

† = targa; see Du Cange.

dominum nostrum papam in ecclesia sancti Petri celebrare et ibidem omnes dominos cardinales et prelatos interesse, discurrere per Romam et personaliter amicos et benivolos suos requirere et cum ipsis et aliis supradictis, quos ut asseruit non dubitabat, quod excessissent numerum cccc. armatorum, se dirigere versus dictum pallacium sanctissimi domini nostri pape faciendo viam per Transtiberim, et cum essent post dictam ecclesiam sancti Petri iuxta cassalinos* et domunculas inhabitatas ibidem sitas, dictos armatos in quatuor partes seu quadras dividere et ipsos in dictis domunculis recondere et ordinem dare, quod die advieniente, cum certificatus fuisset, quod sanctissimus dominus noster papa esset cum suis cardinalibus et prelatis in capella ecclesie sancti Petri versus Juliam,† quod dicte squadre exirent et una ad portam dicte ecclesie sancti Petri,‡ alia versus portam pallacii predicti, alia versus portam dicte ecclesie a parte anteriori transferrent et invaderent, et quod quarta staret in platea ecclesie predicte ad succurrendum, ubi opus fuisset.

Dixit eciam, prout suum propositum, cum ad finem deducere potuisset, ordinare decreverat, quod dicti armati quoscunque eis impedimentum dare volentes seu in dicta ecclesia vel extra percuterent, vulnerarent et interficerent et ipsum sanctissimum dominum nostrum papam et dominos cardinales et nonnullos alios dominos caperent, et si ipsos vel ipsorum aliquem habiliter capere non possent, simul vulnerarent et interficerent.

* See Du Cange.

† This, as his Excellency, Privy Councillor Alfred von Reumont kindly informed me, must mean the Vatican Obelisk (Guglia), which still occupied its ancient position in the Circus of Nero. A stone near the sacristy of St. Peter's bears an inscription exactly describing its former situation.

‡ In MS. "versus Juliam," but these words are marked out by the reviser.

Dixit eciam, quod non dubitabat, quod postquam habuisset in potestate sua prefatum sanctum dominum nostrum papam et dominos cardinales et certos alios dominos, habuisset eciam in eius potestate castrum sancti Angeli ac eciam deinde secum haberet omnes cives Romanos, et cum ipsis civibus et populo Romano omnia terras et castra in districtu urbis existencia cum omnibus eorum fortaliciis acquireret, et ex post dictum castrum sancti Angeli dirueret, solo coequari fecisset et ad ulteriora processisset secundum temporis et rei exigenciam.

Dixit eciam, quod quamvis tam die iovis quam veneris proxime preteritis per novos nuncios certificatus fuisset, qualiter eius adventus ad urbem et congregacio armatorum predictorum ad aures sanctissimi domini nostri pape pervenisset, et quod ipse et eius complices et sequaces insultati et forte capti et puniti fuissent, quod nihilominus ipse dominus Stephanus tamquam desperatus credens dictam conspiracionem ad effectum producere, noluit de eius domo recedere nec aufugere, donec supervenerunt officiales urbis et gentes armorum prefati sanctissimi domini nostri pape.

Dixit ultimo, quod si dominus noster prefatus expectasset usque ad noctem predictam, clarus erat, quod aut dictum eius propositum adimplevisset aut aliquod aliud horribile facinus ordinasset et fecisset.

Copied from Town Library at Trèves. Cod. 1324: Liber frat. monasterii b^te^ Marie in insula prope Valinder ord. canon. regul. Treveren. dyoc. (Brought to the City Library by Hermes, 1823.)

15. *Bartolomeo de Lagazara to Siena.**

1453, Jan. 14, Rom.

. . . Infino a questa ora io o molto investigato come sta lo trattato che menava miss. Stefano Porcari et se avesse

* See *supra*, p. 225. The State Archives of Siena (*loc. cit.*) also contain another *Despatch of this ambassador's, d.d. Roma, 1452

spalla da signori o da communita grande o piccola o da baroni di Roma et in effetto non si truova che lui avesse intendimento con alcuno se non con alcuni Romani malcontenti populari li quali avevano spalle da molti gattivi povari e disviati, li quali indusse con sottili et diversi modi et con dar lo [ro]* speranza di farli richi de la robba del papa, de cardinali et de cortigiani et redurre la citta a liberta et questi erano li suoi propositi. Giovedi† fu impiccati 2 di quelli cioè uno Romano et uno dottore che aveva menato seco da Bologna et promessoli di farlo senatore‡ . . .§ Original at Siena, State Archives. Concist., Lett. ad an.

16. *Cardinal Calandrini to Lucca.*‖

1453, Febr. 4, Rom.

Mag^ci viri amici nostri sing^mi. Accepimus litteras vestras que nobis gratissime fuerunt. Nam licet nobis exploratissimum esset universum populum Lucensem non secus adversam fortunam summi pontificis et nostram laturum fuisse quam si libertas propria et propria salus in

(st. fl., after which style the above despatch also is dated), Gennaio 7, in which he says: "Per Franc° di Janni d'Amelia abitante in Roma vi scripsi ieri el caso occorso nuovamente in Roma circa lo trattato che faceva mess. Stefano Porcari contra la S. S^ta de N. S^re et come lui era stato preso." This Despatch of the 6th January is unfortunately not now to be found. Other despatches of Lagazara are mentioned in this volume. A letter from Giovanni d'Amelia to Fr. Sforza, dated Venice, 1449, Dec. 16, is in the National Library of Paris. Fonds Ital., 1585, f. 105.

* MS. "darlo."

† 11 January; Infessura (1135) says the 12th; in Eccard (ii., 1887) the 8th is given as the date.

‡ Infessura (l. c.) has given the name of the Roman, "Francesco Gabbadio" (Gabadeus). The Bolognese Doctor is Paulus de Alba. See *supra*, p. 511, note *, and Caccia in Cugnoni, 99.

§ Nothing more is said about the conspiracy.

‖ See *supra*, p. 236.

discrimine versaretur, tamen nobis majorem in modum gratum fuit ut hec populi Lucensis voluntas summo pontifici per litteras nostras declarata sit et prudentiam vestram in ceteris omnibus sed in hoc potissimum magnopere laudamus. Fecistis enim quemadmodum deditos et affectos filios decet erga parentem, que res s^mo^ d. n. gratissima fuit et vobis gratias agit. Nos vero cum omni prelatorum numero ingentes gratias immortali deo reddere tenemur, qui naviculam Petri procelloso pelago fluctuantem naufragio liberare dignatus est; nullum tantum scelus non solum factum sed ne excogitatum unquam fuit, imo ut verius dicamus si quis omnem post creatos homines coniurationem mente concipiat simulque in unum congerat universam ne minimam quidem partem huius scelestissime proditionis adequare comperiet: non hic de pecuniis acquirendis, non de libertate urbis agebatur; religio Christi et Christianorum nomen penitus ex Italia delebatur. Sed gregem suum pastor bonus tutatus est et sceleratissimi proditores laqueo turpiter vitam finientes hac turpissima coniurationis nota Romanos nostri temporis infecerunt ut ad eam eluendam non Tyberis unda sufficiat. Curiales vero pontificis maximi prudentia cum per civitatem militum et peditum presidia locata sint sine ullo periculo vivunt. Hec vobis verbosius scripsimus quia gaudentes deo duce tantum periculum evaxisse aliqu[ando] et[iam] meminisse delectat, offerentes nos ad beneplacita M. V. paratos. Romae, iv. februarii, 1453.

[In verso.]

Magnificis viris et amicis nostris sing^mis^ antianis et vexilifero iustitie populi et communis Lucani.

F[RANCISCUS]
tit. s^ti^ Laurentii in Lucina presb. card. } Bonon.

Original in State Archives, Lucca. Lett. orig. N. 443.

17. *Pope Nicholas V. to Bishop Thomas of Lesina, Nuncio in Bosnia.**

Nicolaus, etc. Thome episcopo Pharensi in partibus Bosnae apostolicae sedis nuntio . . . Ad gregis dominici . . . Nuper siquidem non sine gravi amaritudine cordis accepimus, quod nonnulli clerici et presbyteri tam seculares quam regulares praesertim ordinis s^ti^ Benedicti professores partes tuae legationi commissas eisque circumvicinas incolentes . . . ad superiorem Teucrorum principem . . . recurrere ac illius favorem implorare, illoque freti nonnullas . . . personas ecclesiasticas eorum beneficiis ecclesiasticis, quae iustis titulis possidebant, etiam et abbates monasteriis aliisque regularibus locis suis in territorio. . . . Georgii Castriot tunc ibidem domini consistentibus . . . nequiter spoliare in illisque se intendere non sine proditoria deceptione et fraude gravique iactura dicti Georgii continuo adversus eosdem Teucros . . . viriliter pugnantis, qui ob huiusmodi fraudem a possessione supradicti territorii fuit eiectus, ausu temerario praesumpserunt illa indebite occupata detinere, minime formidantes excommunicationes ac alias sententias, censuras et poenas in tales a jure implectas (?), etiam in literis apostolicis in die jovis sancta publice legi solitis contentas damnabiliter incurrendo. . . . Nos igitur fraternitati tue . . . mandamus, quatenus de omnibus et singulis praesumptoribus et occupatoribus praedictis inquisitionem auctoritate nostra faciens . . . culpabiles . . . moneas . . . ut infra certum . . . peremptorium terminum . . . ab occupationibus desistentes beneficia . . . restituant. *Otherwise ecclesiastical penalties are to be pronounced, and eventually the secular power is to be invoked.*

Datum v. id. mai., 1453, pontif. anno septimo. Reg. 425, f. 176. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* See *supra*, p. 246.

18. *Nicholas Soderinus to Florence.**

1453, Juli 8, Genua.

. . . Venerdi mattina a di sei a hore xiv. due Genovesi che sono a Vinegia† scripsono una lettera qui allo ill. doge di che vi mando la copia in questa della perdita di Pera et Costantinopoli che non vi potrei dire e pianti e le disperationi ci sono state. Et benche sia paruto duro a credere a ognuno per molte ragioni, pure le passioni che gliono nanno non si potrebbe scrivere et per infino a questa mattina a di octo non ce altro da gniuna parte. Et per molti si sta in pensieri et credenza che non sia vero; anno facto fra venerdi e sabato piu consigli et in ultimo deliberato che prestamente si metta in puncto tucte le navi che gli anno o potranno avere et che gli ambasciatori che erano electi al Re si partino questa mattina . . . et che si manda ambasceria per tutta christianita se il caso di Pera riusci vero perche eglino intendono che si debba perdere tutto el levante et larcipelago et che la christianita in tutto ne sia diffacta non si provedendo altrimente et presto et anno consigliato che si debba pacificare qui dentro et datorno ogniuno. . . .

Original in State Archives at Florence. Cl. x., Dist. 2-22, f. 263.

19. *Leonardo de' Benvoglienti to Siena.*‡

1453, Sept. 1, Venice.

. . . Ad instantia del papa la Signoria a fatto pigliar cinque di quelli che tenevano el tractato con misser Stefano Porchari de quali e tre ne sono mandati presi a Roma cioe Batista Sciarra § quel principale dopo misser Stefano, M.

* See *supra*, pp. 273, 282.

† Probably Baptista de Franchi and Pietro Stella.

‡ See *supra*, p. 237.

§ He was hanged, according to Niccola della Tuccia (227), in Rôcca Contrada nella Marca, and according to Infessura (1135) in Citta di Castello.

Piero da Monteritondo medico e Mario di misser Agnolo di Masso. Gl'altri due come forse meno colpevoli sono rimasi qui. . . .

Original at Siena, State Archives, Concistoro, Lett. ad an.

20. *Antonio da Pistoja an Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1453, Sept. 10, Rom.

Questa mattina in concistorio secreto la S^ta^ di N. S^re^ ha deliberato mettere a la impresa contra el Turcho tutti li denari che apartengano a la S. B^ne^ de tutti li beneficii et dignita ecclesiastiche che debano pagare a la camera apostolica che sera grande summa de denari. Tutti li signori cardinali ci mettano la decima de li beneficii et officii che li hanno. Et ultra questo N. S^re^ attende a vedere le provisioni che si bisogna fare per obviare a la sevitia del Turcho et attende ancora a trovare denari per tutte le altere vie chel puo. Et fin adesso ad exequire queste doe cose ha deputati sei cardinali de quali el primo e el rev^mo^ monsignor mio, Andegavensis, Firmano, Camarlingo, cardinal de Uorsini et monsignore di S. Marco, si che se stima si deba fare per a tempo novo grandissima apparatione per esser contra questi infideli. Insuper in el ditto concistorio fu audita la relatione di Monsignore di S. Angelo et considerata ogni cosa fu determinato per lo meglio che la pace se tracti que. Et la S^ta^ de N. S^re^ scrive al Re, a la S.V., a Venetiani et a Fiorentini che tutti debiate mandare vostri ambassatori a tractare questa cosa i quali a la piu longa debano esser qui a ix. di Octobre. . . .

Original in Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z., 219, Sup.

* See *supra*, p. 276.

21. *Cardinal d'Estouteville to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1453, Sept. 17, Rom.

Ill. princeps, etc. Rendendosse noi certi la V. Ill. Ex. devere essere pienamente avisata per li correri de la Sanctita de N. Signore li quali furono cossi di subito spazati che non potemo altro scrivere a la S.V. e per altre vie de la convocatione facta per la Soua S^ta^ de li ambassatori de tute le potentia de Italia per tenir tratato di pace, non se extenderemo scrivere piu oltra.† Solamente questa facemo per notificare a la S^ria^ Vra. che esso N. Signore vedendo la grande potentia de li Turchi e pericoli ne li quali sono sottoposti christiani e volendo seguire quello che li soi predecessori sempre hano fatto in simile casi e pericoli, delibera a ogni modo che si faza in Italia pace o treuga de la qual cosa ve demo aviso, azoche Ex. V. possa maturamente provedere e pensare de quanto apartene a lei et a lo Ser^mo^ Re Ranero, che sera una de le forte cosa da concordare. Lo Re de Aragona e de qua da Napoli quaranta milia et ha mandato a mesurare lo Tevere appresso de Hostia dove mostra voler far fare uno ponte per passar in Toschana per la via de Marema; che se sia non credemo per questo anno faza altra novitade, conzosia e mal provisto de gente per potere nosere [= nuocere] alo presente a Firentini. Ne alto havemo de novo ecc. . . . Rome die xvii. Sept., 1453.

Di poi scritta havemo per uno nostro conoscente e di

* See *supra*, p. 289.

† According to the Ist. Bresc., 883, the ambassadors were summoned to Rome for the 10th October (they arrived much later; see *supra*, p. 290). In the *Letter from Nicholas V. to Fr. Sforza, dated iii. id. Sept., 1453 (the original is in the State Archives at Milan, Aut. Pontif., i.), he desires him to send his ambassadors "saltem ad diem nonam mensis octobris."

fede che vene de lo reame chome lo Re de Aragona era a Sancto Germano et con gran diligentia ragunava gente per passare al tuto in Toscana chome di sopra se contene et tenese passera per certo per quella via.

Ad omnia Ex^cte Vre beneplacita p[ara]tissimus.

CARDINALIS ROTHOMAGEN.

[In verso.]

Address to Fr. Sforza.

Original in State Archives at Milan. Pot Est., Roma.

22. *Rescript of Nicholas V. in favour of the Minorites in Constantinople.**

1453, Oct. 8, Rom.

Nicolaus, etc. Universis Christifidelibus ad quos presentes nostre literae pervenerint salutem, etc. Ad ea libenter. . . . Exhibita siquidem nobis nuper pro parte dil. filii Jeronimi de Mediolano vicarii provincie orientalis ord. frat. minor. de observantia nuncupatorum in eadem provincia commorantium petitio continebat, quod ipse cum hac miserrima clade civitatis Constantinopolitanae ibidem cum decem et septem fratribus commoraretur, omnes dempto uno a Teucris interfecto in servitutem redacti sunt et deinde totus conventus sive domus depredatus fuit tam in libris divino officio dedicatis quam etiam in calicibus et aliis ecclesie paramentis et jocalibus necnon in libris tam in jure canonico quam sacre theologie et aliis librarie pro communi studio deputatis et aliis loci utensilibus. Et sicut eadem petitio subjungebat venerabilis frater noster Leonardus archiepiscopus Methalinensis,† ordin. fratrum praedicatorum professor in Constantinopoli et Pera publice dicere praesumit, quod omnes de preda a Teucris rapta etiam sciente vero domino et contradicente licite emere possunt nec data etiam pretio Teucris soluto restituere

* See *supra*, p. 209.

† The well-known Leonardo de Chio, O.S.D.

tenentur, ipseque archiepiscopus duo missalia et unum breviarium et nonnullos alios libros dicte librarie deputatos emere non dubitaverit. Nos igitur super praemissis . . . providere volentes omnibus et singulis . . . mandamus, quatenus si ecclesiasticae fuerint personae cuiuscunque status etc. fuerint, . . . qui libros tam ecclesiasticos quam etiam librarie deputatos nec non paramenta, calices et alia sacristie deputata vel alia dictorum fratrum utensilia emerint, sub excommunicationis, suspensionis necnon privationis regiminis et administrationis omnium et singularum ecclesiarum et monasteriorum, . . . laicis vero et secularibus personis, quacunque . . . dignitate praefulgeant sub poena excommunicationis late sententiae, quam incurrere volumus ipso facto et a quidem nisi in mortis articulo absolvi nequeant, si pertinaciter retinuere voluerint libros . . . reducto dumtaxat pretio quo emerint eisdem fratribus reddere et restituere teneantur. Et insuper nos cupientes, ut praedicti fratres de servitute redigantur et bona huiusmodi releventur . . . omnibus et singulis Christifidelibus qui ad redigendum in libertatem dictos fratres et ad redimendum libros . . . manus porrexerint adjutrices duos annos et totidem quadragenas de injunctis eis poenitentiis misericorditer relaxamus. . . . Dat. Rome ap. s. Petr. a. 1453, viii. id. octob. pontif. anno septimo.

Reg. 401, f. 47b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

23. *Ambrogio de Aliprandis to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1454, Sept. 5, Borgo S. Donino.

Illustrissime princeps et ex dne. dne. mi singularissime.

In questa hora e azonto qui uno Zipriano de Casatii,† cusino de Francesco da Varesio, camarero de la Ex. Vra., che dice esser partito de Roma a di xxv. de aug° et dice se

* See *supra*, p. 307. † Or Casutii?

diceva in la corte del papa publicamente che il papa era amalato* per modo non pote ne scampare unde per mio debito o voluto avisare la Ex. Vra. et achadendo piu una cossa cum una altra sempre ad la Ex. Vra. ne avisaro ad la quale per mille volte me ricomando. Ex Burgo scti. Donini die v. septembris, 1454, hora duodecima.

Eiusdem D. V. fidelissimus servitor.

Ambrosius de Aliprandis, Burgi scti. Donini potestas. [In verso.]

Address to Fr. Sforza and the following remark: "Portentur per post. caval. cito cito cito die noctuque. Asig. cavval. Burgi s^ctl Domini die v. sept. hord xii. Asig. cavval. Plac[entiæ] die v. hora xviii. Cav. Laude. v. Sept. hora, xxiiii^a."

Original in the State Archives, Milan.

24. *Francesco Contarini to Venice.*†

1454, Oct. 17, Siena.

. . . Da Roma veramente io ho come el summo pontefice ha fatto nuovamente in castel santo Agnolo decapitar' Agnolo Ronchon,‡ el qual' haveva al presente con la

* The Pope's sickness lasted until September (see *Despatch of Francesco Contarini to Venice, d.d. ex Sena, 1454, Sept. 9; "El summo pontefice infermo in letto ha dato audienza all' ambassador de questa inclita communita." Cod. It. vii.-mcxcvi. of St. Mark's Library, Venice). It again attacked him in the first half of November; see *supra*, p. 307.

† See *supra*, p. 309.

‡ See Niccola della Tuccia (234), who gives the 11th October as the day of the execution, and expressly remarks: "Il papa lo fe pigliare e metter prigione in castel Sant' Angelo e provato come lui poteva pigliare il conte Averso quando fuggi presso Città Castellana, il cui passo guardava esse Agnolo, e Cassollo passare perche era padre della moglie di Camillo suo figlio. Trovata la veritâ, li fu tagliata la testa," etc. The Republican Infessura (1136) accuses Nicholas V. on this occasion of having violated the

Ghiesia lanze 25 e page 300, e de suo zeneri uno la fatto decapitar nella rocha Contrada e l'altro a Roma è sta anegado in Tevere. Se dice questo esser seguito perche el par che 'l ditto Agnolo potesse prender el conte Everso quando esso summo pontefice fece impresa contra de luy et tamen per esserli parente nol prese; che se ancora l' odio tra el summo pontifice et conte Everso duarasse seria bona novella per questa cita: perche un dei principali* a questa guerra de Pitigliano per la parte del conte Aldrovandino sera questo conte Everso et essendo in guerra con el summo pontefice el mancheria da questa impresa overo vegnando se haveria subsidii de esso summo pontefice contra de luy. Unum est che 'l prelibato s. pontifice ho revocate tute sue† zente erano nel ducato et fate vegnir nel

safe-conduct given to Angelo Roncone, and of having ordered the execution when in a state of intoxication. As far as I see this serious charge is unfounded: neither the Despatch before us, nor Niccola della Tuccia alludes to the safe-conduct or the drunkenness of Nicholas V. Nicodemus of Pontremoli, Sforza's ambassador in Florence, who was greatly prejudiced against the Pope, would certainly not have let this story pass. In a *Despatch, dated Florence, 1454, Oct. 20, he only writes as follows: "El papa ha facta tagliare la testa ad Angelo Roncone, non se sa ponctalemente la casone perche; prima se gli rebello un castelleto havia in la Marca, poy ando ad Roma e dolevassi forte; poy gli fo podata la testa una hora inanti di in castel Sanctangelo; scrivono quelli del papa ch'attentava contra el stato e persona de N.S." (State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen.) Platina says nothing of violation of a safe conduct or of intoxication, and in reference to the repentance of Nicholas V., observes: "Sunt autem qui scribant Nicolaum eius rei mirifice poenituisse quodque ira percitus mandaverat, adeo accurate praefectus arcis egisset" (720). Infessura's story may be dismissed as mere gossip, of which there has always been an abundance in Rome. Regarding the charge of excess in wine, see *supra*, p. 20.

* In the MS. "sera" follows. † MS. "suo."

patrimonio: se crede per el ditto conte Everso et per tuor tre terre tegniva el ditto Agnolo Ronchon. . . . Ex Sena, xvii. October, 1454.

Copy Cod. It., vii.-mcxcvi., St. Mark's Library, Venice.

25. *Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Bishop of Siena, to Pope Nicholas V.**

1455, Febr. 21, Vienna.

Eneas episcopus Senensis beatissimo papae Nicolao quinto s.p.d. Accepi breve sanctitatis tuae, per quod intellexi, exuberantissimam illam tuae pietatis caritatem erga me pro veteri consuetudine adhuc perdurare, quando mei memoriam habere dignaris, et quae statum apostolice sedis concernunt, mihi credere non dubitas. Facio ego, quae possum et scio. Si quando in locis me reperio, ubi de tuo honore tractetur, quod quidem sepe contingit, nihil omitto ex iis, quae puto ad sanctitatis tuae gloriam cedere, ad quam rem licet omnes christiani teneantur, ego tamen singulariori quodam vinculo sum adstrictus. Nam quanto clementiam tuam erga me benigniorem experior, tanto sanctitati tuae obnoxiorem me scio. Commendasti mihi novissime ecclesian expetitam; id ego pro magno munere suscepi. Faxit deus pro tantis beneficiis apud tuam sanctitatem dignus servitor inveniar. In rebus, quae hic geruntur, astiti hactenus, quantum mihi possibile fuit, reverendo patri episcopo Papiensi et assistam in futurum, quamvis pro sua prudentia nihil egeat opera mea. Conventus qualis apud nos sit, scribo reverendissimo domino cardinali sancti Angeli et Petro Noxetano, quia ab his Sanctitati tuae omnia referrentur. Non est cur illa repetam; res in dubio sunt. Germani non ardent, quantum vellem, desiderio tutandae fidei; verebuntur tamen, ut arbitror, non servare promissa; sed tardius, quam spes fuerit, colligetur exercitus, atque utinam colligatur.

* See *supra*, p. 304.

Utinam super indulgentiis annuisset tua Sanctitas desiderio Germanorum; negatio illa non parum prestabit impedimenti, et fortasse ad huc supplicabitur tuae Sanctitati, ut quod negatum est, velis concedere. Indulgentiae namque, quemadmodum in bulla tuae Sanctitatis continentur, parum pecuniae importare possunt; res autem bellicae sine multo argento non expediuntur et ab illis maxime, qui lucrum ex bello quaerunt. Treverensis hic est, ductor et rector eorum, qui pro ceteris electoribus assunt; homo est sagax et qui prodesse atque obesse possit. Utile crediderim talem virum apostolicis beneficiis retineri. Benefecerit, ut arbitror, tua Sanctitas, si de Metensi ecclesia eum reddiderit certiorem. Redimenda sunt haec tempora. Virus gallicum in Alamaniam penetrare nititur, nisi amicitiam retinemus eorum, qui multitudinis duces habentur. Res nostra in periculo est. Hæc cum fiducia dixerim ac pro debito, quo teneor tuae Sanctitati, cui me iterum atque iterum recommendo. Ex nova civitate die vicesima prima februarii, mccccl. quinto.

Copy with the inscription: Epistola, xxxviii., Suadet benefieri his qui prodesse possunt, Plut. liv., Cod. 19, f. 30. Laurentian Library, Florence.

26. *Nicodemus of Pontremoli to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1455, March 16, Rome.

Signore. Post. humil. recom. El reveren^mo^ Mon^re^ de Novara nostro usa tanta e tale diligentia in avisare de tuto V. Il^ma^ S. che pare superfluo el volere replicare, maxime perche se degna participare tuto cum meco. Poy ancora mess. Albrico nostro parti de qui ali 13 del presente instructo de tuto ad compim^to^.† El papa sta pur grave,

* See *supra*, p. 322.

† From the reports of the Milanese ambassadors, some others may here find a place: (a.) *Despatch of the Bishop of Novara

maxime omne sera et fin a meza nocte, la matina se reha e pare stia meglio. Nondimeno e desperato da medici e da li soy, quali hano sgomberata omne loro roba de palasio e stano tuta via per pigliare partito chi de redursi in castello e chi altrove, dove meglio gli parera de salvarsi. Soa Beat^ne^ prese heri sera la extrema untione* et como per altra mia avisai V. Cel. se tiene per li piu che domane a l'alt^o^ in questa novita de la luna el se debia spazare. Ho ateso et attendo cum questi S^ri^ Cardinali che vogliano intender el bixogno de la chiesa, et loro et che mandino questo loro gente verso Romagna. Usano le piu grate risposte del mondo, tamen le gente venghono qua tute e

and Alb. Malletta to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1455, March 9: "Questo N.S. papa pur ancora non e megliorato e sta pur grave asay. E secondo che dicano li medici sel non se aiuta meglio in cibarse como epso habia fato fin a qui pocho sperano de luy." (b.) *Despatch of Albricus Malletta to Fr. Sforza, dated Bologna, 1455, March 16: "A xiii. del presente mi parti da Roma. . . . Quando mi parti da Roma el papa era molto agravato e molti dicevano ch'l era morto. Ma questo non era vero, perben pero che pocha speranza fusse de luy, e za la brigata havea commenzato a scombrare el palazo e quello populo era molto sulevato." *A physician still hopes to save the Pope.* (c.) *Despatch of the same, dated Bologna, March 25: *A messenger from Rome, who had started on the preceding Wednesday, brought word that the Pope's condition had improved.* (d.) *Despatch of Nicodemus to Sforza, dated Rome, 1455, March 9: "N.S. qual sta molto gravato de le soe doglie in lecto." (e.) *Despatch from the same of the 12th March: *The Pope is worse.* All these Despatches in the State Archives at Milan, Cart. gen. See also the following numbers.

* See *Despatch of Albricus Malletta, dated Florence, 1455, xxii. Martii hora xxii.: "Per fine a questa hora che sono xxii. hore anchora non habiamo novella certa chel papa sia morto, perben ch'l M. Cosmo habia lettere de xvi. del presente como el di avanti luy havea recevuta la sacra e ultima untione." State Archives, Milan.

gia ce ne e la piu parte. Intendessi vogliono prima salvar el gioco loro qui et l'altri de poy et forse e necessario si per sospecto del popolo tuto per se et per la gelosia hanno de Orsini e Colonesi per rispecto al papato, et per dubio del Re, che como da se e per sugestione e conforti de li amici soy Car^ll^ voglia cercare de haver el papa a suo modo; pur la solicitudine se fa per vostra parte, ve resulta in honor, et ognuno ne favella in summa vostra comendatione, fin a dire, presertim li Car^ll^, che qualunque sera papa, ve restara obligat^mo^, et questo maiormente campando se V. Il^ma^ S. gli fa un poco de spale finche provedano al bixogno loro qui. Sento qui et da un canto vedo potere fare poco o quasi niente, e forse dispiace a V. Cel^ne^, da l'altro Mon^re^ e chiunche ama V. I. S. me conforta a restare in tanta rerum novitate, pur me sforzaro non perdere tempo, consigliaromi col tempo et dio me conceda pigliare quel partito che piu piacia a V. Cel^ne^ a la quale non posso acegnare chi debia esser novo papa, perche tuti questi Car^ll^ inganano l'un l'altro, et nel secreto, per sancto e bon che sia, tuti aspirano a la loro specialita e meritam^te^, perch'e bello officio quel che sia como per altra dissi, Colunna e li soy avanzano de voce, gratia, e prudentia e l'Orsino e li soy de spada o potentia. Tiensi el Re favorezara Mon^re^ el Camorlengho quale e cum Colunna. Ma se vedra potere per se, lassera Colunna et omne altro. Altri tengono che li oltramontani quali sono pares numero a li Italiani aiutarano mantenere la garre de li Italiani, poy farano saltare la sorte in uno de loro, ma de certo non se ne potra dare vero iuditio fin al ultimo del conclavi vel quasi. Iterum e sempre me rec^do^ a V. Cel^ne^ Ex urbe xvi. M^tii^, 1455.

[In verso].

Address to Fr. Sforza.

Original, with wax seal (head of an antique gem), in the State Archives, Milan, P. E. Roma.

27. *Francesco Contarini to Venice.**

1455, March 17, Siena.

Ser^me princeps. In questa hora questi m^ci SS^ri me hano mandato una lettera gli scrive et R^do monsignor de Chiusi† suo legato data in Roma a xiiii. de linstante la qual contien in effecto che la note antecedente a viii. hore de note el summo pontefice passo di questa vita et che M. Piero da Noxeto era riduto in castel S. Agnolo et che li R^mi cardinali Colonna et Orsini zascadun de loro fortificava le suo [*sic*] parte e se ingrossavano de suo partesani. Non so se questo sia vero. . . . Item el conte Everso e le zente del S. mio et S. Agnolo da Farnese le qual erano ala defension del conte de Pitigliano par siano redute verso Roma. Item Lucha de Nicolo el qual era tesorier del sum. pontefice nel patrimonio et era in summa gratia de la B. Sua per esser Senese e venuto in questa cita dove la [=l' ha] conduta la suo roba. Successive scrive el prelibato monsignor che da Napoli se ha come lo ill. duca de Calabria se die redur a i suo confini cum tute le suo zente darme. Non se sa suspicar a che effecto . . . (1455) xvii. Martii hora 23 ex Sena.

Copy, St. Mark's Library, Venice. Cod. It. vii.-mcxcvi.

28. *Francesco Contarini to Venice.*‡

1455, March 27, Siena.

S^me princeps. In questa hora ho recevuto lettere da gli m^ci ambass. dela Sub. v. sono a Roma et per molte altre

* See *supra*, p. 310.

† Alexius de Cesari. In the State Archives at Siena I found, amongst others, the following Despatches from him on this matter: (a) Dated Rome, 1455, February 12: "S. S^ta di doglie . . . e si fortemente gravato che co grandi passioni sta nel lecto gia sono di xv. che nullo cardinale ha veduto." (b) Dated Rome, March 13: "Tiensi per Roma per bene non si dica" (the following word is destroyed) "et papa a ore viii. di nocte passasse di questa vita." This Despatch is probably the one mentioned by Contarini.

‡ See *supra*, p. 313.

vie certissime come el summo pontef. a di xxiv. delinstante vegnando el xxv. a hore vi. di nocte mori. Deus provideat ecclesiæ vacanti de un summo pontefice che tegni Italia in pace et defendi la christianita dal Turcho. Ex Sena 27 Martii, 1455, hora 24.

Copy, St. Mark's Library, Venice. Cod. cit.

29. *Bartolomeo Visconti, Bishop of Novara, and Nicodemus of Pontremoli, to Fr. Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1455, April 1, Rome.

. . . Ceterum havemo inteso quanto V. S. ne scrive circa il procurare de havere uno papa grato e venendo el caso che venuto de la morte del papa passato etc. Al che respondemo como gia haveamo cum omni honestate possibile facto tal opera che asay speravemo fusse V. Sig^ria per havere sua intentione, perche la piu parte era remasta contenta del Cardinale Colonese† et venevali facta sel pape fusse morto in quelli primi di che foe iudicato. Ma per l'essere tanto tardata esse morte e ne succeduto chel card. Ursino ha havuto tempo in fare le soe pratiche cum il Rede Ragona et Venetiani et halle facte tanto calde e strecte chel se reducta la cossa in lo cardinale de San Marco et nel Camerlengo in modo che un de loro sie per obtinere, se dio non li provede, cosi forte e ne lo parte Ursini quale cum il favore de Rede Ragona ha seco voce cinque de le quale seriane una necessaria ad minus a far chel Colonese obtinesse. Da questi doi autem non sapendo ben nuy stessi iudicare quale sia per essere piu grato o men pericoloso a la S. V. non e parso impazarse adcio non venessemo fare cossa fusse ingrata ad essa et damnosa come seria sel venesse obtinere quello de loro contra chi havessemo pratichato, si

* See *supra*, p. 322, and Petrucelli della Gattina, i., 265-266.

† These words as well as the others printed in more open type are in cipher in the Despatch.

che armay lassaremo el pensero a dio pregandolo per continuamente ne presti gratia che possiamo adiutare la pratica prima per la quale faremo ogni cosa, vedendo poterla adiutare come poteria ancora intervenire per il nostro stare a la guardia del conclave a la quale siamo deputati perche de hora in hora in quel loco potria acadere mille cosse per le quale se poteria fare mutare li pensieri a la brigata che a dio piacia cosi sia per contentamento de V. S. et nostro. . . .

Original in State Archives, Milan. P. E., Roma (by mistake Z. J., 1461).

30. *Nicodemus of Pontremoli to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1455, April 4, Rome.

El nostro Mon^re^ de Novara ha voluta durare fatica de avisare a V. Cel^ne^ de tuto et essi degnato mostrarmi tuto e participare meco in modo che non me e parso tediare altramente V.I.S. Mo noy siamo reclusi a la guardia di questo conclave, nel quale hogi fornito l'offitio se reclusero li infrascritti quindece Car^li^ intesa o celebrata tamen fin heri matina la messa del spirito sancto, perche hogi non se potia e l'altra celebraranno domatina in capella in conclave e da per se in Sampiero et farassi la processione atorno a Sampiero e per lo palazo tuto de San Piero excepti li lochi ove siamo rechiusi, che e la salla grande e la capella maiore e menore quale tengono li Car^li^, benche li loro logiam^ti^ siano tuti in la capella maior, et noy staghiamo in le circumstantie, cioe sey vescovi fra li quali e el nro. M^re^ predicto, el vescovo de Perosa† e l'altri quatro sono oltramontani, siamo poy sey seculari cioe io per lo piu honorato in nome de V. Il^ma^ S., uno del duca de Borgogna, uno de Rhodi, uno de Zenoesi, cioe Gotardo,‡ largentrio

* See *supra*, p. 322, and Petrucelli della Gattina, i., 266-267.

† Jacob. Vanucci ; see Gams, 714. ‡ See *supra*, p. 322.

vechio de Franza e Pandolfo Savello marescallo de la chiesa a la quale una cum meco e data la cura de quello se ha ād far per questi sey seculari, e l'altri quatro allogiano in piu infimo loco et attendono a stare strecti e darsi piac^re^ a le spese de sancta chiesa. Et ad cio ch'io non paia ingrato e mal cognoscente de li honori ho da V. Cel^ne^, dico che quanto piu me e possibile regratio quella, la quale se bene non me ha per ancora date ville o possessioni como a de l'altri, saltem me ha pur dato e da continuamente tanta reputation che sto e ho do stare contentissimo e molto piu che de tuta la roba del mondo. Et quando bene non me recordassi che V.I.S. me ha facto de un poverello Pontremolese un vostro fidato e assay bene reputato fameglio (e de poy a dio) datomi lessere, pur non me se scordara mai, che me havete dato bon pezzo el primo loco de Christianita et al tempo che ho veduto el iubileo,* la coronatione de lo imperatore e mo la nova creatione del summo pontefice, in le quale tute so stato honorato como vostra creatura et in modo che omne S^re^ ne seria meritam^to^ possuto restar contento, dio sia che se degni retribuirne merito a V. Il^ma^ S. per me.

Nomina Cardinalium Rome et in conclavi existentium.

Zenoa o Fiescho	Messina	Bologna
Rossia o Ruteno	Fermo	Colunna
Niceno	Avignone	San Marco
Camorlengo	Ursino	Sanct Angelo
Valenza	Metensis	San Sisto.†

L'ordine che in questo conclavi et ad questa nova electione et similiter che e stato a le exequie de la felice recordatione de papa Nicolla riservo dire a boca a V. Il^ma^ S. (parendo a quella) per non ve tediar in longo scrivere che in breve non se poria narare. Et spero sera presto perche ellecto che sera el novo pontifice, vedro intendre da luy

* See *supra*, p. 93. † See *supra*, p. 320.

quello intende fare contra al conte Jac°* e solicitarlo quanto piu potro et animarlo al bixogno nostro, poy me ne venero cum li doy cavalli ve dona el camorlengo, quali haverey gia aviati volentier, ma per la mala disposition del paese non me e parso lassarli, saltem fin fora de le terre de la chiesa. L'altre occurentie qui intendera V.I.S. per l'aligate lettere commune de Mon^re et mie. Iter. et semper me recommando a V. Cel^ne. Ex palatio apud sanctum Petrum urbis, 4 Aprilis, 1455.

SERVUL. NICODEM.

Original in State Archives, Milan, P. E., Roma.

31 *Bartolomeo Visconti, Bishop of Novaro, and Nicodemus of Pontremoli to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.*†

1455, April 8, Rome.

Avisamo V.S. como fin in questa hora non se trovato ellecto ancora veruno al papato, non obstante siano gia celebrati tri scrutinii ne li quali son stati superiore de voce alcuni de li quali la brigata non se guardava ne al nostro iudicio alcuni dessi de Vra. S. se faceva. Sperasse che in questo quarto scrutinio quale nunc se fa debesse venire a la conclusione duno o bono o reo, chel sia, per il timore presertim hanno li cardinali del populo, quale comenza mormorare de tanta tarditate et nuy ancora deputati a la guarda loro, non li mancamo de sollicitudine recordandoli nedum il dicto pericolo ma etiam quel del conte Jacomo. Se Dio concedera s' acordano in alcuno, lo nominaremo in una cedula et la includaremo in la presente lettera quale ne parso tenere facta per piu cellere expedicione del cavalaro quale tenemo cum el pe in staffa aparigiato per mandarlo cum questa novella et etiam perche haveremo poi atendere ad altro che a scrivere : maxime a la conservatione de le cosse qua pro usu nostro portate che starano a pericolo

* Jacopo Piccinino.

† See *supra*, p. 322.

d'essere robate da la furia del populo, quale sole venire a vedere el novo ellecto in papa. Quomodo autem et qualiter sera passata la dicta ellectione cioe chi se trovarano essere nominati in essa et como et perche sera caducta la sorte supra quello se trovara ellecto, per un' altra nostra avisaremo poy lacius Vra. Signoria, a la quale devotissime se recomandiamo. Dat. Rome apud conclave cardinalium die viii. hora xiii. aprilis, 1455.

E. D. I. Servitores devotissimi B. Epus. Novarien et Nicodemus de Pontremulo.

In a little note, which is with the despatch, is written: *Scrivando questo se trovato ellecto el Car^le de Valenza, J. B. et Nic.*

In another note is written, very hurriedly: *La cason perche questi Car^li son concordati in quel de Valenza si e perche e ne antiquo et sperano cadun de loro in un' altra electione potere meglio obtenere soa intentione che non hano in questa.* Original in State Archives, Milan. P. E., Roma.

32. *Pope Calixtus III. to Bologna.**

Dilecte fili [*sic.*], etc. Quoniam venerabilis frater episcopus Segobricensis et dilectus filius magister Rodericus de Borgia notarius noster, nepotes nostri valde cari, et dilecti filii oratores nostri Bononiensis cum familiaribus et comitivis et carriagiis salmis ac rebus suis ad civitatem nostram Bononiensem impresentiarum accedentes transitum facient per terras, passus ac loca nobilitati tue subiecta enixe requirimus atque exhortamur in domino, ut eos omnes familiares, comitivam, res ac bona omnia nostri intuitu suscipias ac suscipi mandes graciose commendatos tractesque ac tractari facias omnibus in rebus humane et grate, sicut in tua confidimus nobilitate habituri hanc rem caris-

* See *supra*, p. 449.

simam atque acceptissimam. Dat. Romæ, xviii. junii, 1455.

[In verso.]

"Sedecim reformatoribus status lib. Bonon." Original in State Archives at Bologna. Q, lib. 3.

33. *Jacopo Calcaterra to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1455, July 22, Rome.

. . . Matheo Johanne primo secretario del papa, il quale avanti era a li servicii de la Magesta del Re de Aragona, questa matina me ha monstrato et lecto due littere a se scritte per la Magesta del Re et sottoscritte de sua mano propria nel una de le quale se conteneva volesse excitare et desvegliare la S^ta^ del papa a la impresa contra il Turcho, pero gli pareva che dormesse et era littera piene de molte stranioti et questo scrivo acio V.S. sapia et intenda che tra loro cioè summo pontefice et esso Re non sono le cose totalmente cosi bene composte et ordinate como al principio tuto il mundo se credeva et estimava. . .

Original (in duplicate), State Archives, Milan. Carteggio gen.

34. *Pope Calixtus III. to Cologne.*†

Calixtus episcopus servus servorum dei dilectis filiis nobilibus viris universitati et hominibus civitatis Colonien. Salutem et apostolicam ben. Cum propositum nobis sit imminentibus fidei et christianitatis periculis que post lugendam captivitatem misere Constantinopolis in dies magis creverunt divina favente clementia oportunis remediis providere ac omnia undique adiumenta conquirere quibus spiritus infidelium Turcorum comprimi possit de venerabilium fratrum nostrorum sancte Romane ecclesia cardina-

* See *supra*, p. 423, and Alfonso's Letter in the Arch. Stor. Ital., xv. (1851), 168-169.

† See *supra*, p. 350, also Rossmann's Bemerkung, 384-385.

lium consilio et assensu mittimus ad regnum Francie tanquam ad insigne christianitatis membrum ceterasque Galliarum partes dilectum filium Alanum tituli sancte Praxedis presbyterum cardinalem nostrum et apostolice sedis legatum de latere de cuius fide, diligentia et maximarum verum usu plenam in domino fiduciam gerimus. Ea propter devotionem vestram, dilecti filii, hortamur in domino et paterne requirimus, ut quandoquidem dei et catholice fidei causa agitur, in quam conspirare fidelium omnium consensus et suffragia debent, velitis, sicut catholicus decet et nostra est spes, eidem legato oportunos favores et auxilia impendere ac nichil omittere quod ad tam salutare opus possit conducere. Id enim obsequium erit deo beneplacitum et his periculosis temporibus maxime necessarium nobisque imprimis gratissimum. Dat. Rome apud sanctum Petrum anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo quinto, tertio kl. septembr.,* pontificatus nostri anno primo.

L. Thierunda.

[In verso.]

Dilectis filiis nobilibus viris universitati et hominibus civitatis Colonien.

Ia. Lucen.†

Original, with leaden seal, in the City Archives, Cologne.

35. *Giovanni Count of Castiglione, Bishop of Pavia, to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.*†

1455, Sept. 9, Rome.

Illu^me^ ac poten^me^ princeps et domine, domine me precipue, post affectuosam recom. Per le altre mee lettere credo havere satisfacto a la mente de la S^ria^ Vra. la quale de-

* Ennen (Geschichte Kölns, iii., 301) wrongly interprets this "3 September;" see Keussen, 69, note.

† See *supra*, p. 350.

siderava intendere particularemente de le cose de Alamagna ecc. Adesso non acade a scrivere altro se non che heri pose la messa in sancto Petro la Sanctita de Nro. S^re^* benedis [e] le croce, de le quali insigni li dui legati cioe mons^re^ de Avignon et mons^re^ de sancto Angelo, e lo archivescho de Terracona, el quale andara con le gabe le quale per adesso Nro S^te^ manda a Rodi. Anche ne dette una a quello che se dice lo argentere de France; fece la Soa Sanctita questo acto molto devotamente e con molte lacrime, ha ferventissimo desiderio contra lo Turcho et e grande peccato che se li posta impedimento maxime per questo fatto del conte Jacobo. Credo che del tutto che acade qui la Illu^ma^ S^ria^ Vra. sia advisata per messer Jacobo vostro procuratore, perho non me extendo piu. Anche la Ex^tia^ Vra. me perdona se io non scrivo cossi bene Italiano come meritarebbe la S^ria^ Vra a la quale sempre me recomando. Ex Roma, viiii^a^ Sept., 1455. Eiusdem Vre. Celsi^nis^

fidelis servitor JOHANNAS EPUS } manu
Papien. et comes } propria.

Original in State Archives, Milan, P.E., Roma.

36. *Cardinal Scarampo to Lodovico de Gonzaga.*†

Ill et excell. dne., etc. Significamus Ill. D.V., quod in hac die ad laudem omnipotentis dei, conservationem ac exaltationem christianae fidei S.D.N. de unanimi voto et consensu omnium R^mor^ d. cardinalium designavit, ellegit ac pronunciavit nos legatum apostolicum, gubernatorem et capitaneum atque ducem generalem totius classis quae contra Turchos preparatur. Cui quidem oneri omnium gravissimo licet non ignoremus vires nostras satis non

* Manuscript: "si."

† See *supra*, p. 369. The nomination of Scarampo as legate of the fleet is announced by Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini in a letter, dated Rome, 1455, Dec. 17. State Archives, Siena. Concistoro, Lettere ad an.

sufficere, freti tum auxilio celesti et gratia dei nostro pro cuius nomine tuendo aguntur: volentes etiam prout tenemur mandatis apostolicis obedire illud prompto animo suscipiendum putavimus.—*Duke Lodovico might support him in this business, and send assistance at the latest by the middle of March.* Ex urbe, xvii. dec., 1455.

Original in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

37. *Pope Calixtus III. creates Rodrigo Borgia Cardinal.** 1456, Febr. 20, Rome.

Calistus, etc. Dilecto filio Roderico de Boria sancti Nicolai in carcere Tuliano diacono cardinali salutem, etc. Longa diu meditatione pensantibus, quo potissimum modo grave humeris nostris impositum pontificatus maximi onus tollerare possimus, nichil eque visum est utile, nichil accomodum magis quam ut data legifero Moysi a deo nostro mandata executuri viros nobis assumeremus prudencia, fide et virtutibus ceteris conspicuos, quibus adiutoribus nunc fideli gravique consilio nunc solerti industrique opera oportune assistentibus opemque prestantibus cuncta salubriter et prospere in dei ecclesia dirigantur. Itaque matura cum venerab. fratribus nostris sancte Romane ecclesie cardinalibus, prout tante rei gravitas exigebat, deliberacione praehabita, hodie ad personam tuam, quam graciarum largitor altissimus donis illis decorare dignatus est, de quibus virtutum tuarum clara testimonia probataque experiencia nos informant, nostre direximus apostolice consideracionis intentum ac de eorundem fratrum nostrorum consilio ad altissimi nominis gloriam statum sancte Romane ecclesie exaltacionemque fidei et ut nobiscum huiusmodi onera ad utilitatem praefate ecclesie parciaris illaque ut comodius perferre possis, motu proprio, non ad tuam, vel alterius pro te nobis super hoc oblate peticionis instantiam,

* See *supra*, p. 451.

sed de nostra mera liberalitate, ut omnia et singula beneficia ecclesiastica cum cura et sine cura, secularia et regularia, que nunc in titulum vel commendam ex quibusvis apostolicis dispensationibus obtines et expectas ac in quibus et ad que ius tibi quomodolibet competit seu competere potest, quecunque, quotcunque et qualiaque sint, retinere valeas eorumque fructuum, reddituum et proventuum veros valores annuos ipsarumque dispensacionum tenores presentibus pro expressis habentes ac gracias illas, quarum vigore beneficia aliqua expectas, in statum pristinum remanere volentes, susceptis per nos prius votis omnium venerabilium fratrum nostrorum S.R.E. cardinalium infrascriptorum et in fidem horum omnium propriis manibus una nobiscum se subscribencium ac in curia Romana ad presens residencium voto dumtaxat venerabilis fratris nostri Georgii episcopi Hostiensis cardinalis de Flisco excepto, qui cum in eadem curia infirmus sit per dilectos filios nostros Latinum tit. s. Johannis et Pauli de Ursinis et Petrum tit. s. Marci presbyteros cardinales ad eum per nos missos ut moris est,* illud praestitit ipsiusque et aliorum omnium unanimi et concordi ad id accedente consilio, te notarium nostrum in eiusdem ecclesiae Romane diaconum cardinalem s. Nicolai in carcere Tuliano duximus assumendum ac collegio ac consorcio eorundem venerabilium fratrum nostrorum cum prerogativis, honoribus et oneribus consuetis favorabiliter aggregandum sicque in dei nomine te ad cardinalatus dignitatem in nostro secreto consistorio ipsis venerabilibus fratribus nostris presentibus assumimus per presentes pariter et aggregamus. Et licet alias consuetum fuerit post assumptionem huiusmodi nonnullis diebus elapsis ei, qui ad cardinalatum assumitur, specialiter titulus cardinalis attribui, tamen tibi

* This custom was also observed by Alexander VI.; see his *Brief to Cardinal Joh. Colonna, dated Rome, 1496, Febr. 15. Original in the Colonna Archives, No. 54.

etiam hodie ipsum titulum s. Nicolai in carcere Tuliano de ipsorum fratrum consilio tribuimus et assignamus quacunque alia consuetudine in similibus hactenus observata non obstante. Volumus eciam ac statuimus et ordinamus, quod si contingat nos ab hac vita decedere ante publicationem tue assumptionis huiusmodi statim pro publicato cardinali solemniter habearis quoad electionem Romani pontificis et omnia alia quecunque que huiusmodi competunt dignitati, sicque de plenitudine apostolice potestatis volumus, statuimus, ordinamus, decernimus praeterque mandamus omnibus et singulis cardinalibus sub excommunicationis pena ipso facto et inhabilitacionis vocis* active videlicet et passive quo ad electionem Romani pontificis, quod in casu mortis nostre ante publicationem tuam quod ipsi cardinales teneantur et debeant immediate, scilicet infra diem naturalem, habita noticia obitus nostri, publicare praedicta teque pro cardinali publicato recipiant et admittant in omnibus et per omnia ac si publicatus per nos et ab ipsis admissus† fuisses, sicut superius est expressum. Tu itaque dignitatem hanc grata mente suscipieris, ea deinceps agere atque efficere studeas, ut in agendis rebus honorem dei, augmentum christiane fidei et ecclesie Romane ac sedis apostolice statum et gloriam perquirere comproberis, que tante dignitatis honor et gravitas postulant et requirunt. Nulli ergo [omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam] nostre deliberacionis, assumptionis, aggregacionis, assignacionis, constitutionis, decreti, mandati et voluntatis infringere [vel ei ausu temerario contraire]. Si quis autem [hoc attentare praesumpserit indignationem dei omnipotentis et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum euis se noverit incursurum].

Datum Rome apud. s. Petrum anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quadrigentesimo quinquagesimo quinto,‡ decimo cal. marcii, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

* MS.: "Omnis." † MS.: "Pnoe." ‡ Florentine style.

Eguo * Calistus cath[e] ecclesiæ episcopus s[ubscripsi].

Ego G[uillelmus] tit. s. Martini in montib. presb. card. Rhotomag. s[ubscripsi].

Ego Joh[annes] tit. s. Marie in Transtib. presb. card. s[ubscripsi].

Ego L[udovicus] tit. s. Laurencii in Damaso presb. card. s[ubscripsi].

Ego D[ominicus] tit. s. Crucis [in Hierusalem] manu propria.

Ego A[ntonius] tit. s. Grisogoni presb. card. Ilerden. manu propria s[ubscripsi].

Ego L[atinus] tit. s Jo[annis] et Pauli car[lis] de Ursinis me s[ubscripsi].

Ego F[ilippus] tit. s. Laurencii in Lucina presb. card Bon[oniensis] me s[ubscripsi].

Ego Petrus tit. s. Marci presb. card. s[ubscripsi].

Ego Georgius episcopus Hostien. card. de Flisco s[ubscripsi].

Ego Isidorus episcopus Sabinen. card. Rutenus s[ubscripsi].

Ego Bissarion episcopus Tusculan. card. Nicenus s[ubscripsi].

Ego Prosper tit. s. Georgii in Velabro diac. cardinalis de Columna s[ubscripsi].

Reg. 459, f. 121. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

38. *Bull of Pope Calixtus III. against the Archbishop of Tarragona.*†

1456, April 15, Rome.

Ad futuram rei memoriam. Sic decet . . . Sane nuper ex fidedignorum relationibus intelleximus, quod venerab.

* This form was used by Calixtus even as a Cardinal; see the signature given Vol. I., p. 354, from the Archives of Santo Spirito.

† See *supra*, p. 366, and regarding the Archbishop see also Villanueva, xx., 17 *et seq.*, 111.

frater noster Petrus, archiepiscopus Terraconensis, classis nostre maritime contra Turcum capitaneus generalis per nos et sedem apostolicam deputatus, et dil. filius Antonius Olzina, dicte classis admiratus s. Jacobi de Spata, et Antonius de Friscobaldis prior Pisarum, s. Joannis Jerosolimitani ordinum milites ac nonnulli alii patroni et gubernatores navium, triremium, fustarum et aliorum nostrorum et S.R.E. navigiorum eorum substituti concessionibus sibi per nos factis uti nescientes seu potius ingratitudinis vitio excecati uti nolentes ac eorum temeritatis cornua extra eis datos limites improbe extendentes nonnullos christianos invaserunt ipsosque eorum rebus, bonis, navibus et navigiis indebite spoliarunt ac alia plurima nephanda perpetrarunt propter que capitaneatu, admiratu, patronatu, gubernationis regimine et aliis ipsis commissis officiis merito privandi existunt. Nos igitur, etc. *(The faculties conferred upon the aforesaid are withdrawn, and they are removed from their offices.)* Dat. Rome, 1456. decimo sept. cal. mai * A° 1°.

Reg. 442, f. 291. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

39. *Pope Calixtus III. to the General, the Provincials, and others of the Augustinian Order.*†

1456, May 4, Rome.

Generali, provincialibus et ceteris quibus[vis] ministris ord. frat. predic. s. Augustini . . . vobis harum tenore committimus et in virtute s. obedientie mandamus, quod sine ulla mora quam citius fieri poterit sub excommunicationis et anatematis pena necnon sub ceteris etiam gravioribus ecclesiasticis censuris auctoritate nostra precipiatis omnibus et singulis ordinis vestri predica-

* The Bull is again entered in the Regest., 459, f. 212, but with the date "duodec. cal. april. A° II°."

† See *supra*, p. 353.

toribus ubilibet terrarum existentibus, quod intermissis aliis quibuscuncque materiis ad hoc sanctum et pernecessarium opus cruciate universos Christifideles in cunctis predicationibus suis accuratissime exhortentur, incitent atque ad conferendum eidem operi pecuniarum aut personale vel aliud opportunum subsidium provocent ac inducant nec aliquid penitus praetermittant, quod intelligent expedire huic nostro apparatui contra Turcos. . . . D. iiii. maii A° 2°.

Secret Archives of the Vatican, Lib. brev. 7; 1, f. 9b-10,

40. *Pope Calixtus III. to Jacopo Perpinya.**

[1456, beginning of August, Rome.]

Jacobo Perpinya. Vehementer nos recreavit cum di-[lecto] fi[lio] camerario nostro cardinali apostolice classis legato ex Neapoli versus Siciliam te intelleximus navigasse. Non enim dubitabamus quin expeditionem eius facias accelerari versus partes orientales, in quo omni studio et cura labora; nihil enim gratius hac re facere potes. Optamus enim, ut illico cum classe ad Constantinopolim se conferat. . . . Iterum igitur atque iterum tuam devotionem hortamur, ut omne tuum studium in hoc versetur, ut quamprimum idem legatus ex Sicilia recedat, quod ut citius facere possit et nulla causa possit eum impedire proficiscitur ad eum dil. fil. Geraldus Castelvert miles et nepos noster cum galea sibi assignata, in qua proficiscuntur dil. filii fr. Jo. Alcaniye, ord. s^ti^ Joannis Jerusalem., quem thesaurarium, et Berengarius Vila familiaris noster commensalis, quem scribam racionis dicte classis fecimus,† cum pecuniis oportunis et rebus aliis necessariis. Facias igitur eos recipi ut decet et nostro nomine legato commendabis.

Lib. brev. 7, f. 10. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* See *supra*, p. 375.

† See Guglielmotti, ii., 240 *et seq.*, 244 *et seq.*

41. *Francesco Foscari, Doge of Venice, to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1456, August 7, Venice.

Illustris et excelse frater noster carrissime.

Accepimus hac hora litteras ex regno Hungarie per tabellarium proprium parte R^mi^ d. Cardinalis Strigonensis† legati apostolici in regno predicto et R^di^ episcopi Sibinicensis ‡ cum inserta copia litterarum illustris comitis et strenui capitanei regni predicti d. Janus, que declarant felicissima nova et victoriam divino munere fidelibus concessam cum ingenti strage inimici Turcorum et expugnatione castrorum ac munitionum suarum et classis sue, quam in fluvio potentem habebant prout particularius V.E. intelligere poterit ex copia inserta littere prefati illustris capitanei, etc.

Dat, in ducali palatio die septimo mensis augusti, 1456.

Original in State Archives, Milan. P.E., Venezia, 1.

42. *Nicholas Severinus to Siena.*§

1456, Aug. 13, Rome.

. . . Venne qui hyeri uno corriere dalo imperadore con lectere et novelle come e cristiani avevano rotto el Turcho et che settanta miglaia de Turchi erano stati morti et presi. . . . El papa na fatta grandissima festa et demonstratione, incontinenti sonaro campane tucte di Roma, bandito publico tale rotta per la citta e mercato el corriere a cavallo vestito di cremesi et con ulivi et imediate per ciascuna chiesa fu fatto intorno a quella una breve processione; hieri la sera falo e suoni di campane per tutto et stamano anco di nuovo processioni a le parochie et altre chiese. Sia laudato dio.

Ex urbe, xiii. Aug., 1456.

Original in State Archives, Siena. Con., Lett. ad an.

* See *supra*, pp. 394, 403. † Dionysius Széchy.

‡ Urbanus Vignatus; see Gams, 419. § See *supra*, p. 402.

43. *Jacopo Calcaterra to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1456, Aug. 24, Castro Giubileo.

. . . Gionto adoncha a Roma, che fu heri, ritrovay la S^ta^ de N.S. in lecto per uno pocho de dolore li he venuto in uno ginoghio e credo io sia mal de gotta et da S. B^ne^ fu visto molto amorevolmente e per supplire quelo non hera stato molti di passati per la absencia mia: steti secho solo chel non zera altra persona da le xx. hore per fina ale xxiii. et meza, e qui S. B^ne^ da poy me fu congratulato secho per parte de V.S. de la victoria havuta quanto piu amplamente e melio me fu possibile, non se poteva saciare replicando e triplicando piu di tante volte una medesima cosa de magnificare et exaltare la predicta victoria et de laudare et comendare fin de sopra ale stelle el nome de lo illustre Zohanne Vayvoda como uno de li piu gloriosi homini che trecenti anni nascesseno ho al presente vivano al mondo: e similmente per il contrario dampnando e vituperando asay li mali deportamenti e negligentia de tuti li Ungari non concedendo a loro parte alcuna de laude de questa victoria dicendo che tuta hera stata del prefato Zohanne Vayvoda accompagnato da li poveri e soli cruciati e non poncto da alchuni Ungari, si che giaramente dice se vede e se cognosce questa essere stata victoria e sola gratia se po dire de dio omnipotente piu tosto che per opera humana; e facta in confusione vituperio et obprobio de quili dampnavano Sua S^ta^ dicendo non sapeva che se peschasse con queste sue cruciate e che se paseva de sogni e che andava jactando et butando via el texoro de la ghiexa mo xv. millia, mo xx. millia, mo xl. millia ducati exborsando al tracto, unda li altri Romani pontifici passati se studiavano de conservare et augmentare le faculta e texora de la ghiexa, e giaramente disseme Sua S^ta^ che quello li faceva

* See *supra*, pp. 374, 403.

simile imputacione hera la Mag^ta^ del Re de Ragona el quale publicamente parlava in suo biasmo de questo e me parevo Sua B^ne^ molto irritata contra de luy. E li menazava chel judicio de dio verrebe sopra de quelo et in fine diceva, poxo molta e longa turbacione sua, che li pareva impossible che uno veghio de lxx. anni como he la Magesta del Re fusse corrigibile de soy costumi e parme che queste tale parole siano proferte per la prelibata M^ta^ del Re da poy che Mon^re^ el camerlengo gionse a Napoli per iustificacione de esso camerlengo, el quale non volendose partire et andando mal volentera ne la legatione sua, non ha lassato che dire in vituperio del papa, e cosi como como a quelo sia stato caxone et autore de tuto questo male e vituperoxe parole dicte. La S^ta^ de N.S. piu ge lo imputa che non fa a la antedicta M^ta^ pur dice he stato necessario habia hauto paciencia e se ne sia andato. E. la M^ta^ del Re li ha dato quele xv. gallee li haveva promisso, da ben che per dare dilatione a questo facto se excussasse novamente de non potergele dare perfina ala prima vera proxima: ma che vedendo la mente de S. S^ta^ per ognimodo disposta che andasse esso camerlengo senza quele galee quando havere non le potesse, pur a la fine ge la ha date* e cosi se partito el prefato M^re^ camerlengo, per la partita del quale dice N. Sig^re^ queste parole formale: che Ithalia he liberata del maiore schorpione fusse in quela.

La prosperita de la antedicta victoria pareme a mi habia ellata la mente de N. Sig. quanto dire se possa parindo a se che per questa no lo avenire tuti li sig^ri^ principi e sig^rie^ de christianita debbeno fare altra extima de luy che non fazevano prima et altramente essere obedienti e ben disposti al suo volere, parinde a S. B^ne^ de inferire che adesa ogni homo ghiaramente cognoscera essere verissimo quello

* According to Cribellus (58) only one galley built by Alfonso was added to Scarampo's ships.

che mille volte questo anno ha dicto he scripto in molte parte, cioe che al tempo sua la perfida et iniqua secta machometicha in tuto serrebe consumata e destructa . . . Ex castro Jubileo, 24 Aug., 1456.

Original in State Archives, Milan. P.E., Roma (by mistake in the year 1461).

44. *Pope Calixtus III. to Cardinal Alain.**

1456, Dec. 17, Rome.

Calistus papa III. Dilecte fili salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Assumpsimus hodie in sancte Romane ecclesie presbiterum cardinalem venerabilem fratrum nostrum Ricardum, episcopum Constantiensem,† adducti ex causis et rationibus, quas videbit tua circumspectio in copiis brevium, quas hic includi iussimus et mittimus eidem circums. tue brevia ut in copiis, que super ea re ad carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Karolum Francorum regem illustrem ac etiam ad eundem episcopum Constantiensem damus, ut pro honore tuo illa eisdem per te mittantur. Fuerunt unacum prefato episcopo Constantiensi similiter nonnulli alii eadem die in presbiteros cardinales creati et assumpti, scilicet venerabiles fratres nostri archiepiscopus Neapolitanus‡ ac Zamorensis, Papiensis, Senensis et Feretranus episcopi. Speramus omnes sedi apostolice et Romane ecclesie plurimum utiles esse futuros. Voluimus tuam circumspectionem per nostras litteras de his facere certiorem, ut que pro robore et dignitate Romane ecclesie fuerunt facta a nobis maxime intelligas. Tue igitur partes erunt, ut prefatum regem tuis precibus, exhortationibus et efficacissimis persuasionibus inducas ad complacendum

* See *supra*, p. 446.

† See *supra*, p. 459, the explanation of this name and those which follow.

‡ Hence it appears that the Brief in Ughelli, vi., is wrongly dated.

nobis in negociis cruciate, ut celeriter expediatur: postquam eidem quantum cum deo potuimus complacere studuimus, et alia efficies ac suplebis prout sapientie circumspectionis tue videbitur expedire. Et miramur a te non crebrius cerciores fieri de his pro quibus legatus de latere a nobis missus es, et iam sumus fere in vere et inimici fidei orthodoxe non dormiunt. Nosque dieque noctuque etiam sanguinem exponendo vigilamus et paucos cohoperatores reperimus. Messis multa, operarii vero pauci et sic rogemus dominum messis contra desides alios mittat curiosos et ferventes, quod infallanter faciet, nisi qui hodie presunt nobis fervencius assistant et in his pro repetitis habere volumus sepius scripta. In devotione tua multum quiescimus et speramus auxilium grande, sed dilationem evitare salus est et crastinare incurabilis morbus. Et dilectus filius L. Cescases sit tibi recomissus, et quia tibi valde devotum eum esse cognoscimus, placebit nobis hec sibi comunices. Et non permittatis istum papam senem sic afflictum pro defensione sacri evangelii magis affligi quam affligatur. Novit ille qui nihil ignorat quod in te multum quiescimus. Datum Rome apud s. Petrum sub anulo piscatoris die xvii. decembris 1456, pont. nostri anno secundo.

[In verso.]

M. FERRARII.

Dilecto filio Alano tt. sancte Praxedis presbytero cardinali in partibus Gallicanis notre et ap^ce^ sedis legato.

Original in Colonna Archives, Rome, iii. B.B., xvi., No. 21.

45. *Cardinal Scarampo to Onorato Gaetani.**

Magnifice, etc. Acio vui habiati noticia de nui o di nostro stato ve advisamo como idio gratia siamo sani con tuta nostra brigata ch'l simile di vui e di tute le cose vostre desideramo. Di nuovo di qua non ci occurre altro salvo che nui speramo di ponente e da le parte di la subsidio e

* See *supra*, p. 438.

l'armata che venendo speramo con ladiutorio de dio fare cose grate al N.S. papa et a tuta christianitade, et non venendo dubitamo non ci rompi nostro designo. Vi pregamo ben che a nostra contemplatione ci vogliate scrivere spesso ecc. Dat. Rhodi, xviiii. Mai, 1457.

Original in Gaetani Archives, Rome. Cass. ii., No. 43.

46. *Blasius Ghilinus, Abbot of San Ambrogio at Milan, to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

[1457], Juni 23, Rome.

Illustrissime domine. Fazo avisata la Vostra Excelencia como e azunto qua uno nuncio de la universitade de Parise per far certe proteste coram papa et cardinalibus e a intimarigli decem et octo articulos multi infamatori e domanda lo concilio. Non ne stato anchora da lo papa; questo lo azo da persona asia gravi, non so si scia vero. Ancora sapia como la Maiestade de lo Re da Ragona haviva mandato da N. S^re^ per la confirmacione de una postulacione fata de li canonici de uno vescovato fata in lo figlolo de don Ferando: non voglando la papa confermare, lo dicto ambasatore interpose una appellatione ad futurum concilium; papa maledixit illi et excommunicavit eum, lu dixe a lo papa che se na apellava a deo iusto che lo libererera de la maledicione. Lo papa scrise uno breve in questa cosa a lo Re e la fine era questa e in queste parole: verba pape: Sciat tua maiestas, quod papa scit deponere reges. Lo Re li fece resposta e la fine de la lettera diciva cosi: verba regis: Sciat tua Sanctitas quando voluerimus reperiemus modum deponendi pontificem. Signore, per questi vescovati e questa ruzine† infra lo papa e lo Re

* See *supra*, p. 461.

† The difference between the Pope and the King is also mentioned in a passage in cipher of a *Letter from the Cardinal of Pavia to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1457, March 10. Cod. cit. of the Ambrosian Library, Milan.

ogni volta che lo Re vogla compiacere a lo papa de questi vescovati fara fare a lo papa quello che volera. E puesto creda la V.S. Aviso ancora la S.V. como mesero Borge cercha e cum grande studio de avere una nepote de lo card de la Colona e lo cardinale li presta li orize. . . .* Ex Roma, xxiii. Junii [1457].†

E.V.D, serviter B.‡ ABBAS S. AMBROSII.

Original. Ambrosian Library at Milan. Cod. Z., 219, Sup.

47. *Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia to Lodovico de Gonzaga.*§ 1457, Oct. 5, Fabriano.‖

Ill^me^ et excell dom. etc. E piazuto a la S^tita^ de N^ro^ S^re^ de creare et publicare[me] vicecancellero de la sancta Ro[mana] chiesa, la quale cosa havemo voluto notificare

* What follows is unimportant.

† Written in a much later hand above in the margin.

‡ Blasius Ghilinus, divi Benedicti monachus, I.U.D., Abbot of San. Ambrogio from 1443-1473; see "Insignis basilicæ et imperialis coenobii S. Ambrosii majoris Mediolani abbatum chronol. series a D. Barthol. Aresio" (Mediolani, 1674).

§ See *supra*, p. 460.

‖ This letter has a special interest, inasmuch as it informs us that Rodrigo's appointment as Vice-Chancellor was published in the autumn of 1457, a statement which is borne out by Carretto's *Despatch of 20 August, 1457, cited above (p. 463, note *). In this document he mentions the petition of three Conservators that Rodrigo might be invested with the important office of Vice-Chancellor. The Sienese ambassador, L. de Benvoglienti, on the 5th October, 1457, speaks for the first time of Rodrigo's elevation; see his *Despatch of that date in Cod. A., iii., 16, Siena Library. Moreover, in a *Despatch dated Rome, 1457, November 6, Carretto says that Cardinal Rodrigo was to arrive in eight days to enter upon his office of Vice-Chancellor, for which he had some time previously received the Bulls. State Archives, Milan. Conclusive evidence is finally furnished by a notice which I found in Cod. xxxv., 94, f. 184, of the Barberini Library. Here is a copy of the said Bull of appointment, d.d. 1457, Cal. Mai., and at its conclu-

per Jacomo Balister n^ro familiare a la V.I.S. . . .* Ex Fabriano, v. Octob., 1457.

[A tergo:] Address to Lod. de Gonzaga and the name of the sender:

"R. Cardinalis de Borgia
S^te Ro. E. Vicecancell. } Marchie, etc., legatus."

Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

48. *Pope Calixtus III. to Berne.*†

[1457, Dec., Rome.]

The Pope commends the good dispositions of the Bernese towards the Holy See, "Nec vos moveat ab optima intentione si qui mali spiritus ac pocius demones humana membra induti tentant vos turbare pessimis eorum susurrationibus et sophismis. Nam quicquid undique colligi potuit ex hac sancta cruciata totum in conficienda et armanda classe nostra exposuimus et pro ea augenda et corroboranda continue exponimus ultra proprios thesauros nostros et ecclesie, quos usque etiam ad domesticas supellectiles sine ulla reservatione in hoc opus erogavimus nec desistere intendimus quousque vita nobis comes erit, parati etiam proprio sanguini non parcere, si eum pro defensione fidei orthodoxe effundere expediat. Spes autem nostra collocata est in deo, qui non deseret populum suum victoriaque in manibus est si Christiani potentatus nobiscum conferent opes et subsidia oportuna." *He encourages them to help him in the holy war, and not to allow themselves to be prevented by those who blame and disturb this holy work. Then follows the passage printed by* Raynaldus, 1457, No. 39: "De his autem et aliis occur-

sion the following notice which is omitted from the Register of the Secret Archives of the Vatican: *"Lecta et publicata fuit prescripta bulla die lune 7 Novemb., dicti anni," etc.

* Here follow professions of devotion.

† See *supra*, p. 421.

rentibus in adventu dicti Ludovici* clarius et plenius intelligetis, cui tanquam persone nostre fidem indubiam prestetis."† Dat. Lib. brev. 7, f. 143. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

49. *Favours bestowed by Calixtus III. on Cardinals Rodrigo and Luis Juan de Borgia.*‡

*Reg. 445, f. 163-165: Roderico tit. s. Nicolai in carc. Tull. card. conferuntur decanatus eccl. Cartaginen. ac nonnulla simplicia beneficia in dioc. Cartagin. D. v. id. sept. [A° 2°]; f. 289: Roderico etc. datur in commend. monast. s. Marie Claravallis Cisterc. Camerac. dioc. D. 1456, Prid. cal. ian., A° 2°.

*Reg. 446, f. 195: Roderico etc. commendatur praepositura eccl. Maguntin. D. 1456, xiv. cal. marc., A° 2°; f. 197: Ludovico tit. ss. quatuor coronatorum commendatur praepositura monasterii s. Marthe Novarien. extra muros. D. 1456, xiii. cal. marc.; f. 248b: Ludovico etc. commendatur archidiaconatus ecclesie Bononien. D. 1456, vi. cal. febr., A° 2°; f. 307: Ludovico etc. commedantur monasteria ss. Victoria et Corone necnon s^ctl Januarii ordinis s^ctl Benedicti Vercell. dioc. D. 1456, iv. cal. marc., A° 2°.

*Reg. 447, f. 262b: Roderico tit. s. Nicolai etc. conferuntur nonnulla praestimonia in Compostellan. et Conchen. civitatib. et dioc. D. u.s. (1456, id. ianuar., A° 2°); f. 278: Roderico etc. conferunter nonnulla beneficia in civit. et dioc. Ispalen. consistentia. D. 1457, x. cal. mai., A° 3°.

*Reg. 449, f. 137: Ludovico tit. ss. quatuor etc. conceditur facultas, ut possit conferre duodecim canonicatus et praebendas duodecim personas. D. 1457, non. mai., A° 3°.

*Reg. 450, f. 139. Ludovico etc. commendatur hospitale pauperum pontis Rheni prope Bononiam. D. 1457, x. cal. novemb., A° 3°.

* Cescases. † The previous letters are dated 12 Dec., 1457.

‡ See *supra*, p. 459.

*Reg. 451, f. 39: Ludovico etc. commendatur monasterium s. Benedicti de Mullegio Vallisumbrose Vercell. dioc. D. 1457, xiii. cal. marc., A° 3°; f. 71: Roderico etc. S.R.E. vicecancellario commendatur monasterium s. Angeli in Massa ord. s. Benedicti Narnien. dioc. D. 1457, iv. non. marc., A° 3°.

*Reg. 452, f. 152: Roderico etc. commendatur monasterium de Fossanova Cistercien. ord. Terracinen. dioc. D. 1458, non. mai.

*Reg. 460, f. 14: Roderico etc. datur extensio sue expectative ad omnia dominia regis Castelle. D. 1456, x. cal. april, A° 2°.

*Reg. 461, f. 49: Ludovico etc. conceditur expectativa in dominiis ducis Sabaudie. D. 1457, viii. cal. Octob., A° 3°.

*Reg. 464, f. 109b, 114: *Similar favours to Card. Rodrigo.* D. 1457, iv. id. febr., vi. id. marc., A° 3°; also 1458, vii. cal. mai., A° 4°.

50. *Jacopo Antonio della Torre, Bishop of Modena, to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1458, June 11, Rom.

. . . Me pare chel papa dubita molto del conte Jacomo† vivente rege et moriente, ne dubita anchora perche crede gli habia a disturbar tuti li dessegni suoy, ch' ha circa el facto del Reame, dove me pare habia posto tutto el suo pensero morendo el Re como luy crede che habia a morire de questa infermita et io tengo per certo questo che la S. B^ne^ per questa casone principaliter voria questi oratori fossero presso luy per potere rasonare de tale materia quando seguisse la morte del Re. Et fa la S^ta^ Soa fundamento che dice questo regno spectare a s^ta^ chiesia et a luy et suoy successori et che niuna potencia de

* See *supra*, p. 446. † Piccinino.

Italia doveva volere che el regno fosse daltri che de la chiesa per la pace et quiete de dicta sancta chiesa et de tutto lo resto de Italia, et quando questo fosse dice che ogniuno viveria in pace et el papa, quale e pater et dominus pacis, faria che ogniuno stava in pace et el re de Franza stava ancora luy contento. Ma che venendo el dicto reame al duca de Calabria el re de Franza che se potendo de haver rasone nel regno, may non lo comportaria et suscitaria in Italia tanto foco che brusaria ogniuno et in questa parte del re de Franza se extese longamente narrandome la potencia de Franza. Io credo firmiter che di nocte el papa stia suso questo pensar et desegno et expecta la morte del Re con summa leticia. Quattro* fiate son stato con S. B. una hora et piu per volta et sempre e stato su questi rasonamenti, ma heri sera me disse tutte le cose soprascritte. Monsig. Rhotomagen.† etiam me ha ditto de tali rasonamenti ha fatto con luy. Dice ancora che dipoy che la M. del Re ha havuto questo reame may sancta chiesia ha havuto reposo et che sempre ha tribulato el papa Martino et Eugenio et Calisto et che voria omnino morendo el Re liberare questo regno et li suoy successori de tanta servitute et conclude che totis viribus non supportaria che el duca de Calabria obtenghi el dicto reame et in questo voria haver optima et sincera inteligentia con V. Ex. . . .

Original in Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z. 219, Sup.

51. *Antonio da Pistoja to Francisca Sforza, Duke of Milan.*‡

1458, Juni 24, Rom.

. . . A li di passati essendo morto uno penetentiero del papa, el qual si haveva electa la sepultura in una certa

* The following passage to the words "con luy" is the only part of this letter not written in cipher.

† d'Estouteville.

‡ See *supra*, p. 358. Regarding this discovery, see also the short notice in the Annal. Bonon., 890, the more detailed narrative

capella* di S. Piero, volendo cavare nel ditto luoco per sotterarlo fu trovata una bellissima sepultura lunga piu di 3 bracia e poco manco in largeza tutta di marmo e de un pezo, alta tanto quanto larga. Et in detta sepultura erano due casse una lunga quasi quanto la sepultura e l'altra picola quanto sarebe per un puttino et benche ditte casse sieno di legno dident° tamen sono fodrate de argento finissimo et sono de tanto peso maxime la picola che erano sei chierici a portarla cum fatica. Ne la cassa grande fu trovato uno corpo grande vestito de una richissima vesta de panno d'oro, la qual el papa ha fatto abruxare et cavatone circa mille ducati d'oro. El ditto corpo quando vide l'aere, in poco spatio ando in cenere. Nulla memoria ni scriptura si trova per la qual se intenda chi el sia. Varie opinioni sono. Alcuni dicono chel e Constantino, el qual benche fusse sepellito a Constantinopoli nondimeno fu poi el suo corpo transferito a Roma et a questo si da assay fede, perche ne la ditta capella e di musaico tutta la storia di Constantino molto antiqua. Alcuni altri voiono dire chel e un corpo sancto, el qual i preti di San Piero al tempo di Gothi nascoseno per suspecto di quel argento. Ne la cassa picola furono trovate certe osse picole, le qual similmente andorono in cenere. El papa ha tolto ditte casse; li canonici di S. Piero le domandano come apartenenti a la chiesa.

of Niccola della Tuccia (256), which in great measure coincides with our account, and the following passage from Ghirardacci, Storia di Bologna: *"Per lettere venute da Roma alli 20 luglio il giovedi si divulga come alla chiesa di S. Pietro di Roma nella capella di S. Petronilla erano state trovate due casse di argento con due corpi d' uomini dentro, una delle quali era longa 13 palmi e larga 5. L' altra era la metà di questa. Furono stimate di valore 15000 ducati." Cod. 768, University Library, Bologna.

* Di S. Petronilla; see Niccola della Tuccia, *loc. cit.* Reumont, iii., 1, 456, 521; 2, 758, 869, speaks of subsequent discoveries in this chapel.

Credo haveranno patientia et che fin hogi sia ala zecha. Miss Borges capitaneo e per lo patrimonio con le gente che altre volte dissi a la V.S. et tutte le terre che vogliano schifare allozarlo per rispetto de le biade si compongono et pagano un tanto et stimasi che a questo modo reportera un gran dinaro, che e una forma nuova da metter taglie. El cardinale de Avinione aspetta la risposta de hora in hora dal fiolo del re Riniero. . . .

Original in Milan, Ambrosian Library. Cod. Z., 219, Sup.

52. *Antonio da Pistoja to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1458, Juli 4, Rom.

. . . El papa ha fatte molte demonstratione di haver piaxere de la morte del Re et di essere stato mal contento di modi suoi mentre chel visse: imperoche subito giunta la nuova mando el soldano a casa de lo ambasciatore, ch' era qui per lo Re, et havevali commesso lo pigliasse e lo mettesse in castello. Ma ditto ambasciatore, el qual per ventura era informato de la opinione del papa et de la morte del Re hebe aviso prima ch' altri, haveva levato campo a furia e lassato quasi tutta la soa roba, la quale et papa ha fatta sacheggiare et hallo privato di tutti li soi benefitii et similmente ha privato un altro, ch' era procuratore del Re in corte, el qual etiam si e fuzito.† Preterea el di sequente, che fu venere a di ultimo di jugno, quantunque fusse la commemoratione di s. Paulo e non fusse di concistoriale mando la mattina per tempo per li cardinali e fece concistorio e pronuntio vescovo di Valenza el nepote

* See *supra*, p. 467.

† The above tidings are confirmed by a *Despatch of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1458, July 15. Fonds Ital. 1588, f. 94, of the National Library, Paris.

vicecancellero, che valle ditto vescovato 18^{m} ducati * et al datario diede el vescovato di Girona di valuta di ducati 8^{m}, sopra li frutti del quale ha reservato pensioni di 2^{m} ducato al altro nepote,† che e a Bologna. Et quella medesima mattina conferi molti grossi beneficii a la sua famiglia vacati gia anni, li quali insieme con li ditti vescovati el Re non volse mai consentire in vita sua chel papa li desse ne anco el papa li volse dare a petitione del Re. Et al questo modo el papa ha facto richi la piu parte di soi per forma che tutto el palazo ride. Quel medemo zorno dapoi desinare el papa mando per li cardinale Andegavensis et de Vignone et tenneli quasi fin al nocte et dopo molti raxonamenti disse loro essere al tutto disposto mettere ogni possanza per rihavere el reame dicendo che sapartiene a la chiesia et che don Fernando non puo esser ne di Napoli et che piu tosto sapartiene al re Raniero et concluse che sel reame li viene na le mane, indicandosi chel di raxone spetti al re Raniero lil dara, in caso che non ne vuole potere investire chi li piace. Ma ben si monstra assay inclinato ali Francesi, el che si iudica chel facci solum per haver piu favore dal canto suo. Ma se stima che se per ventura li venisse tal signoria ne le mani non la darebe ad altro homo che a misser Borges suo nepote, el qual e reputato da la S^{ta} Sua un altro Cesare. Et per dare principio o la cosa el papa ha mandato per miser Borges et halli mandati denari per ch' l si metta in puncto e soldi piu gente chel puo. Credo la S.V. iudichra queste non esser cose da riuscire, ma che piutosto sono appititi puerili che ultramente come iudica la piu parte, nientedimeno e possibile che questo sia caxone di accendere gran fuoco. Di queste cose sono certificato

* Twenty thousand ducats according to the report of the Sienese ambassador in Banchi, Belazioni, 443.

† Luis Juan de Borgia.

da mon^re de Avignone * el qual mi afferma chel papa non ha altro in cuore che acquistare el reame et dicemi che guiardamente is lo posso scrivere a la V. Ex^tia . . .†

Original in the Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z., 219, Sup.

53. *Otto de Carretto to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.*‡

1458, Aug. 5, Rom.

Illustrissime princeps et ex^me domine, domine mi singularissime.

Perchè Vostra Ex^tis intenda in che termini sonno le cose fin a questo ponto la Santita di Nostro Signore sta molto grave; heri sera hebbe lultima unctione,§ et non e piu speranza de la vita,‖ ma per forza de medicine lo tegneno vivo quanto ponno. Lo ill^mo prefetto d. Borges ha remissi li consegni de tutti le forteze in mano del colegio de li reverendissimi cardinali et hanno gia havuta la forteze del castello s. Angelo et consignata al reverend^mo cardinal Iliardense¶ et de d. Jacobo Mozarello chierico de camera a nome del colegio, et cosi tutte le gente darme hanno giurato in mano del vicecamerlengo a nome del colegio prefato, in modo che ogni cosa e in securo et hoc senza saputa de la Santita de N^ro Signore. Preterea essendo Sua Santita gia piu di fa in grande extremita da tre di in

* This name is in cipher.

† What follows is of no importance.

‡ See *supra*, pp. 475, 476, 477.

§ * "In questa horo che h. xx. dano lolio santo al nostro S.," writes Antonius de Strociis on the 4 [August], 1458, to Marquess Lodovico de Gonzaga. Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‖ On the 26th July, 1458, Antonio of Pistoja wrote to Fr. Sforza: * "Mastro Simone [Tebaldi of Marini, i., 161 *et seq.*] medico dice chiaramente che non crede el papa possa compare di questo male ne vivere molti zorni." State Archives, Milan.

¶ Antonio de la Cerda.

qua fuora quasi dogni sentimento, hanno li R^mi Cardinali tolta una cassa piena de ducati, in la qual se dice erano ducati trecento milia, licet per essi cardinali non se dica se non de cxx. milia; de questi ha lassato il papa per testamento xxii. milia ducati* al prefato Borges, li quali ha havuti fin heri in denari contanti, et quelli sono stati casone de farli lassare il castello s. Angelo. Al preditto d. Borges come per altre scrissi a Vostra Ex^tia ha la Santita de N^ro Signore per bolle apostoliche concesso che sia duca de Benevento, conte de Terracina, et Marchixe de Civita Veghia; item se dice de alcune terre quale teneva il prefetto Veghio, de le quale la piu parte tene il conte Everso; de Benevento et de Terracina non so come havera la possessione de la Maesta del Re de Sicilia, item non intendo sia tal concessione de queste ne de le altre terre preditte approbata per lo colegio de cardinali, ma havendo opinione che questo santissimo papa debia presto manchare non hanno fatto altra condictione, cosi ancora non ha havuta Civita Veghia ben che li sia Castellano Catalano.

Il reverendissimo cardinale Orsino molto e adversante al prefato d. Borges, et dimanda restauratione de molti damni fatti a luy in casa sua senza comandamento a commissione del papa, et gia li ha fatto fare alcuni sopraventi, et quanto e in luy cercha de levarli il modo non se possi partire de qui, ne per terra ne per aqua, et dubito se altro remedio non se piglia li dara molta molestia. Qui e venuto labbate de Farfa fratello de dicto cardinale, qual intendo sia molto prompto a la vendeta de le iniurie recevute. A Viterbio sonno intrati molti de quelli erano bandezati et maxime de la parte Gatescha et stano su le arme, et qui se dice haveva il populo gia presa la rocha. Non altro per questa me rico-

* And even "xii^m per soldi de serviti e x^m per legato." *Despatch of Ant. Catabenus to Lodovico de Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 7. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

mando humilmente a Vostra Ex^tia^. Rome die v. augusti, 1458, hora xxii.

E. V. Ex.

fidelissimo servitor,

OTTO DE CARRETO.

Post suprascripta. Quelli da Nepe per uno oltragio fatoli dal castellano hanno combatuta la rocha qual era molto forte et per trista provisione havea il castellano, lhano preso e tagliato a peze dicto castellano et appianata la forteza. Qui haveveno cominciato a tagliare a peze Catallani in mode che pochi andaveno per la terra pur se glie pigliato remedio et sperasi ogni casa sia pacifica dummodo se conci questa cosa fra Ursini et il capitaneo.

Idem OTTO.

Original in the Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z., 219, Sup.

54. *Antonio da Pistoja to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.**

1858, Aug. 6, Rome.

Ill Sig. El papa e morto in questa hora xxiv.† Li Catelani sona tutti chi fugiti et chi nascosi et hanno tanto odio adosso che tristo a loro se si lasseno trovare nanzi la creatione de l'altro papa. Et forsi ancor alhora saranno a pezor conditione. Ricomandomi ecc. Rome, die vi. augusti, 1458.‡

S. ANTONIUS DE PISTORIO.

* See *supra*, pp. 479, 480.

† This is the hour given by Niccola della Tuccia, 70, 256. Others mention the twenty-third hour; see No. 55.

‡ Christophe (i., 24) gives the 8th August as the day of the Pope's death, and observes: "Une depêche manuscrite d' Otton Carrette a Sforza dans la correspondance de ce duc conservée à la bibliothèque ambrosienne de Milan établit officiellement cette dato de la mort de Caliste III." But although I repeatedly searched through the documents which must be alluded to (Cod. Z., 219,

El car[le] de S. Marco e molto mal voluto da questi Romani, perche ha cavato Borges di Roma. . . .

Original in Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z., 212, Sup.

55. *Otto de Carretto to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.** 1458, Aug. 7, Rome.

(a.) Heri sera scrissi a V. Ex[cia] per l'allig[ate] de la morte del nostro S[re] papa, ma volendo in quel hora mandare via il cavalaro se trovo le porte serrate che non possi uscire, unde che e bisognato a ritardare per fin in quest' hora a mandarle.

Me raccomando, etc.

Rome die vii. aug. hora x[a], 1458.

Sup.) I was unable to find this Despatch. In the State Archives at Milan I however copied two Despatches from the above-named ambassador (see No. 55), from which it would appear that the French author's statements are to be received with great caution. On what grounds Droysen (ii, 1, 195) asserts that Calixtus III. died on the 7th August I am unable to say.

* See *supra*, p. 479, and Appendix No. 54. The 6th August is given by all good contemporary authorities without exception as the day of the death of Calixtus III., for example by Niccola della Tuccia, *loc. cit.*; Antoninus, t. xxii., c. 17, §1; Raph. Volaterranus, xxii., f. 234; Pius II., Comment., 29, and Brief to Viterbo, in Bussi, 432; Infessura, 1138; Palmerius, 242; Cronica di Bologna, 726; Protokoll des Notars de Merilis (see Bertolotti in Gori's Archivio, iv., 242); *Annales seu Chronicon ard. eremit, s. Augustini in Cod. S. 3, 13 of the Angelica Library, Rome; Cod. Vatic., 78, 71, f. 55b; Ex cod. Vatic., 6827; Martyrologium et regula s. Benedicti ad usum Monasterii S. Laurentii extra muros urbis Cod. sæc., xv.; at the beginning is a calendar which contains the words: viii. id. aug. obiit pie mem. Calixtus P. III.; notice in Lib. brev. 8, Secret Archives of the Vatican; see Kaltenbrunner in the Mittheilungen, 1884, p. 83; *Despatch of the Milanese ambassador to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1458, Aug. 11, in Cod. 1588, f. 117, of the National Library, Paris; Acta consistorialia. See following note.

(b.) Questa matina per altre mie ho avisata V. Ex^cia come heri ad hore xxiii.* passa de questa vita il n^ro S. papa. Per quetta non occorre altro, etc. Rome die vii. aug., 1458, hora xxiiii.

Original in State Archives, Milan. Cart. gen.

56. *Otto de Carretto to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.*†
1458, Aug. 14, Rome.

Essendo stato aliquanti di infermo il r^mo car^l de Fermo, come io scrissi a V. Ex., a iudicio de medici e dogniuno era fuora dogni suspetto et pericolo de morte; l'altra notte gli asalto la febre cossi terribile che hogi ad hore xxi.‡ e passato de questa vita ricevuti li debiti sacramenti con tanta sanctita et constantia che parea uno angelo de paradiso et de doe hore avanti che morisse mi tocho la mano: io vi lasso con dio et dolemi inanci che sia morto non ho possuto ricognoscere quello ill. signore et vuy, come meritava lamore che mi portavati, ma dio per me ve lo retribuisca. Jo non hebbi forza de responderli. Si che illustr. signore mio, e passato de questa vita lo piu prudente, costumato, docto e sancto signore e prelato che fusse ali di nostri in la chiesa de dio. E. morto un summo e cordialissimo amico de V. Ex. et quello la cui vita era la exaltacione de la s^cta chiesa Romana et la colona de la pace de Italia et spechio de religione et d'ogni sanctimonia e costume, et quando indubitanter credevemo vederlo papa et luy non cerchandolo§ tutti li cardinali et Ursini et Colonesi

* With this statement agree the Cronica Rom., 25, and the Cronica di Bologna, 726. The Notary de Merilis mentioned in note 1 says the Pope died "tra le ore 23 e 24." The *Acta consistorialia of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, say: "hora 23 vel circa."

† See *supra*, p. 482.

‡ This hour is mentioned by Galeoctus in a *Despatch to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 15 (State Archives, Milan).

§ Pius II., Comment., 29, contradicts this assertion.

et Ultramontani et Citramontani erano dacordio in haverlo per pastore. Alora vederemo le lacrimose et dolorose funerali et cosi vanno li casi mondani et cosi ce vene falita ogni speranza. Onde ho deliberto questa novella quantunque acerbissima notificarla, etc. Rome, 14 aug., 1458, hora 22.

Original in the Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z., 219, Sup.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. II.

Acciaiolus, Angelus, 467, n. 1.
Acciapacci Niccolò (Cardinal), 7, n. 1; 79.
Adrian VI. (Pope), 341, n. 1.
Æneas Sylvius (see Piccolomini).
Agli, Antonio degli, 206.
Agnesi, Astorgio (Cardinal), 58, n. 2; 68, 69, 77, n. 1.
Ailly, Pierre d' (Cardinal), 58, n. 2; 251, n. 3.
Alain (Cardinal), 58, n. 2; 320, 323, 325, 330, 349, 350, 355, n. 2; 378, 379, 380, 381, n.; 383, n. 1; 386, 387, n. 2; 407, n. 1; 445, 446, n. 1; 459, n. 1; 468, 475, 550.
Albergati, Niccolò (Cardinal), 14-18, 22, 23, n. 2; 485, 495.
Albert the Great, 213.
Alberti, Leon Battista, 171, 177, 178, 179, 180, n. 1; 185, 195, 231, 232.
Alberti, Fioravante degli, 183.
Albertis, Alberto de (Cardinal), 79.
Albizzi, Rinaldo degli, 15.
Albornoz (Cardinal), 192.
Aldrovandino, Count, 527.
Alexander III. (Pope), 325, n. 2.
Alexander VI. (Pope) (see Borgia, Rodrigo).
Alexander the Great, 205, 288.
Algano, Lucrezia di, 426.
Aliprandis, Ambrogio de, 307, n. 3; 525.
Allosio, Enrico d' (Cardinal), 9.
Alunno, Niccolò, 190.
Amadeus of Savoy (see Felix V.).
Ambrogini, Angelo, 275.
Ambrose (Saint), 213.
Amidano, Vincenzo, 96, n. 3; 98, n. 2; 500.
Amigdani, Niccolò degli, 227.
Ammanati (see Piccolomini).
Anagni, Giovanni d', 96, n. 3.
Ancona, Ciriaco of, 219.
Angelico, Fra (see Fiesole).
Angelis, Paolo de, 10, n. 2.
Anguillara, Everso, Count of, 61, 309, 338, 339, n. 3; 372, 527, 532, 562.
Anguillara, Ascanio d', 361, 372.
Anguillara, Deifobo d', 361, 372.
Anhalt, Count of, 119.
Anicius Probus, 181.
Anjou, John of (Duke of Calabria), 467.
Anjou, René (Titular King of Naples), 467, 468.
Anodevoli, Gregorius, 513, 514.
Antoninus, Saint (Archbishop of Florence), 4, n. 3; 11, 74, n.; 78, n. 3; 92, n. 2; 94, 95, n.; 161, 211, 257, n. 1; 262, 263, n. 1; 271, 331, 340, 341, 346, n. 1; 381, n. 1; 438, n. 3; 490, n. 3; 491, n. 4; 495, n. 3.
Aragon, Alfonso of (see Naples).
Appiani, 198, 201.
Aquinas, Thomas (Saint), 23, 133, 213, 255, n. 2.
Arc, Joan of, 105.
Arcemboldi, Niccolò, 146, n. 1; 158, n. 3; 159, n. 2.
Arevalo, Rodericus Sancius de, 44, 53, n. 2; 54, 55.
Arezzo (Bishop of), 355, n. 1.

Arezzo, Carlo of, 16, 146.
Arezzo, Lionardo of, 16.
Aringherius, Franciscus, 295, n. 1.
Aristotle, 183, 201, 256.
Arras, John (Bishop of), 310.
Arretio, Jacobus de, 455, n. 1.
Assisi, Francis of (Saint), 130, 186, 393.
Augustine (Saint), 23, 24, 213, 336, n. 2; 484, 490.
Aurispa, Giovanni, 16, 87, 195.
Austria, Albert, Duke of, 92, 142, 155, 157, 303.
Axpach, Vincenz von, 110, n. 2.

Baden, Margrave of, 303.
Baden, Catherine Margravine of, 92.
Baglioni, Braccio di, 148, n.
Bajazet, 253.
Balneo, Giovanni, 478, n. 3; 481, n. 2.
Barbaro, Francesco, 165.
Barbatia, Andrea de, 70, n. 2.
Barbavaria, Marcolino, 6, n. 2; 7, n. 1; 12, n. 1; 28, n. 1; 29, n. 3; 62, n. 3; 488, n. 1.
Barbo, Pietro, Cardinal (afterwards Paul II., Pope), 10, 54, 56, n. 2; 79, 80, 97, n. 2; 206, n. 3; 320, 321, 322, 329, n. 3; 337, 339, 346, n. 1; 369, 462, 474, 475, 477, 480.
Barbul, of Roumania, 407, n. 1.
Basil (Saint), 206.
Basle, Bishop of, 41.
Bavaria, Louis, Duke of, 301.
Bavaria, Otho, Duke of, 37.
Bavaria, Stephen, Duke of, 37.
Bayeux, Zanon, Bishop of, 285, n. 4.
Benedict (Saint), 115.
Benedict XII. (Pope), 38.
Benedict XIII. [Pedro de Luna] (anti-Pope), 328.
Benevento (Cardinal), 79, n.
Bentivoglio, Sante, 68, 71.
Benvoglienti, Bernardo, 374, n. 2.
Benvoglienti, Leonardo, 237, n. 1; 288, n. 1; 296, n. 1; 297, n. 2; 363, 374, n. 2; 403, n. 1; 426, n. 2; 432, n. 1; 462, n. 2; 463, n. 2; 521.
Beriguciis, Petrus de, 81, n. 1; 83, n. 1.
Bertolotti, 183, n.
Bessarion, Cardinal, 44, 69, 70-72, 80, 81, 190, 212, 222, 223, 226, 227, n. 1; 241, 279, 320, 323-324, 326, 487, 545.
Bevazan, Luigi, 272.
Bicardo, Antonio, 399, n. 2.
Bichis, Giovanni, 452.
Biondo, Flavio, 170, 196, n. 2.
Birago, L., 200, n. 1; 204, n. 2.
Birgerius, M., 352, n.
Bisticci, Vespasiano da, 7, n. 4; 16, n. 3; 17, n. 1; 18, n. 2; 19, n. 2; 20, n. 1; 21, n. 2; 22, 23, 25, 33, 34, n. 1; 58, n. 2; 77, n. 4; 100, n. 2; 102, 168, n. 1; 194, 196, 199-200, 208, n. 2; 210, 310, 312, 313, n. 1; 322, 324, 325, n. 1.
Boccacio, 216, 277.
Bohemia, King of (see Podiebrad).
Bologna, Casparo of, 16.
Bonaventure (Saint), 213.
Bonetti of Imola (Baverio), 305.
Boniface VIII., Pope, 232.
Borghese, Galgano, 307, n. 2; 363, 374, n. 2; 403, n. 1; 432, n. 1.
Borgia, Alfonso (see Calixtus III.).
Borgia, Alfonsus de (Canon), 464, n. 1.
Borgia, Family of, 357, n. 1; 368, 423, n. 2; 447, 448, 459, 461, 462, 463, 465, 477, 480.

Borgia, Caterina, 447, 448, n. 1.
Borgia, Francesco, 448, n.
Borgia, Isabella, 447, 448, n.
Borgia, Johannes, 327, n. 1; 464, n. 1.
Borgia, Juana, 448, n. 1.
Borgia, Luis Juan (Cardinal), (see Mila).
Borgia, Michael, 367, n.; 438, n. 5; 439, n. 4; 447, n. 2; 464, n. 1.
Borgia, Pedro Luis, 447, 460-463, 468, 474, 476, 477, 480, 481, 489, 560-562.
Borgia, Rodrigo (Cardinal) [afterwards Alexander VI.], 182, 427, 447-456, n. 1; 457, 458, n. 2; 459-460, 462, n. 2; 468, 476-479, n. 2; 537, 541, 553, 555, 556.
Borja, Alonso de (see Borgia, Alfonso).
Boscoli, Pietro Paolo, 216.
Bosnia, Stephen, King of, 245, 270, n. 3.
Bramantino, 190.
Brandenburg, Albert Achilles (Margrave of), 301, 303.
Brandenburg, John (Margrave of), 237, n. 2.
Bremen, Bishop of, 414.
Brescia, Bishop of, 56.
Breslau, Archbishop of, 442.
Brippi, Giuseppe, 203, 235, 326, n. 1; 356, 357, n. 1.
Bruggia, Ruggiero da, 89.
Bruni, Lionardo, 219.
Buonaccorso da Montemagno, Giovanni, 508.
Buonfiglio, Benedetto, 189.
Burckhardt, 180, n. 1.
Burgundy, Philip, Duke of, 134, 248, n. 2; 285, 301, 302, 355, n. 2; 358, 382, 383, 392, 439, 446, n. 2.
Bursellis, Hieronymus de, 71.
Busch, John, 118, 120, 121, n.; 339, n. 1.
Busse, Paulus, 120.
Butigella, Francesco, 93, n. 2.

Cæsar, 288, 420, 430, 468.
Caffari, Stefano, 7, n. 1.
Calabria, Ferrante of (see Naples).
Calabria, John, Duke of, 467.
Calandrini, Tommaso, 14, n. 3.
Calandrini, Filippo (Cardinal), 58, n. 2; 68, 69, n. 1; 146, 160, 236, 313, 320, 466, 518.
Calatambio, Alfonso de, 372.
Calcaterra, Jacopo, 262, n. 3; 399, 403, 404, 408, n. 1; 423, n. 4; 431, n. 3; 460, n. 1; 468, n. 2; 492, n. 2; 538, 548.
Calderina, Valerio (Bishop of Savona), 437.
Calixtus II. (Pope), 338, n. 1.
Calixtus III., anti-Pope (see Struma).
Calixtus III. (Pope) [Alonzo Borja], 111, 172, 212, 246, 257, n. 1; 320, 325, 335, n. 1; 336-387, 391, 392, 395, 396, 398, 399, 400, 402-410, 415-429, 431, 433-451, 453, 456, 457, 461, 465, 468, 476, 479, 488, 489, 493, 537, 538, 541, 544, 545, 546, 550, 554, 557.
Camerino, Matteo da, 308, n. 2.
Campofregoso, Paolo (Archbishop of Genoa), 437.
Campofregoso, Petrus de (Doge of Genoa), 272, n. 1; 365, n. 2; 425, n. 3, 508, 509.
Cancellieri, 5, n. 3.
Capistran, John (Saint), 56, 79, 81, n. 4; 91, 125-130, 303, 304, 326, n. 3; 352, 371, n. 2; 387, 391, 393-397, 398, n. 1; 401, 404, 405, 406.
Cappell, Hartung von, 36.
Capponi, Agostino, 216.
Capponi, Neri, 290, n. 3.
Capponi, Piero, 455, n.

Capranica, Angelo (Cardinal), 80, 492, n. 5.
Capranica, Domenico (Cardinal), 7, 11, 42, n. 4; 75, n. 2; 92, 227, 275, 298, 320, 322, 325, n. 1; 348, n. 3; 369, 431, 451, n. 1; 461, 482-495.
Caracciolo, Marino, 290, n. 4.
Carniola, Andrea, Archbishop of, 50.
Caretto, Otto de, 422, n. 2; 427, n. 1; 446, n. 2; 447, 448, n. 1; 461, n. 2; 463, n. 1; 466, n. 4; 469, n. 2; 471, n. 2; 472, n. 4; 473, n. 3; 474, n. 2; 475, n. 1; 476, n. 3; 477, n. 3; 478, n. 1; 480, n. 2; 482, n. 1; 489, n. 3; 494, 561, 564, 565.
Carvajal, Juan (Cardinal), 7, 8, 31, 37, 38, 73, 146, 160, 275, 320, 322, 349, 350, 359, n. 1; 373, 384, 391, 392, 393, 394, n. 1; 395, 398, 402, n. 2; 403, n. 1; 408, 409, n. 3; 412-414, 420, 421, 438, n. 1; 441-443, n. 1; 446, n. 2; 462, 495.
Casimir, King of Poland, 32, 129.
Castagno, Andrea del, 190.
Castellanus, Marianus, 513.
Castiglione, Giovanni de (Cardinal), 263, n. 2; 350, 391, n. 2; 458, 466, 539.
Catabene, Antonio, 330, n. 3; 463, n. 2; 472, n. 4; 473, n. 1; 475, n. 2; 476, n. 1; 480, n. 2; 481, n. 1; 495, n. 3.
Catanei, Vannozza de', 452.
Cataneo, Galeazzo de, 85, n. 1.
Catherine, Saint (see Siena).
Cato, 219.
Cattaneo, Galeazzo, 85, n. 1.
Cavalierus, Pietro Paulo, 515.
Caymis, Giovanni de, 428, n. 1; 471, n. 2.
Cerda, Antonio de la (Cardinal), 58, n. 2; 76, n. 3; 320, 474, 561.
Cesari, Alessio de (Bishop of Chiusi), 307, n. 3; 317, n.; 318, 319, n. 2; 339, n. 1; 340, n. 1; 364, 532.
Cesarini, Giuliano (Cardinal), 278, 485, 487, 495.
Cescases, Ludovicus, 346, n. 3; 378, n. 1; 380, n. 3; 551.
Charles VII. (King of France), 35, 41, 190, 285, 355, n. 2; 377-380, 381, n. 3; 382, 406, n. 2; 407, 439, 469, 505, 550.
Chio, Leonardo de, 524.
Christian (Abbot), 118.
Christian, King (see Denmark).
Chrysostom (Saint), 206.
Cilli, Frederick of (Count), 92.
Cilli, Ulrich of (Count), 392, 412, 440.
Clement VII. (anti-Pope), 101.
Clement VIII. (anti-Pope, 328.
Cleves, John, Duke of, 92, 93, n. 1; 105.
Cola, Paolo Benedetto di (see Mastro).
Cologne, Archbishop of, 105, 414, 421.
Colonna, Family of, 11, 149, 221-223, 237, 339, 481, 483, 485, 486.
Colonna, Lorenzo, 61.
Colonna, Prospero (Cardinal), 7, 11, 30, 320, 321, 337, 475, n. 1; 485, 531-533.
Colonna, Stefanello, 61.
Colonna, Stefano, 361, 480.
Columbanus, 146, n. 2; 156, n. 3.
Columella, 213.
Condulmaro, Francesco (Cardinal), 18, n. 4; 29, 459.
Constantine (see Palæologus).
Constantine the Great, 149, 180, 257, 358, 558.
Constanz, Ludwig, 432, n. 1.

Contarini, Francesco, 295, 298, 308, 309, n. 1; 313, n. 1; 330, n. 1; 339, n. 2; 340, n. 2; 423, n. 3; 424, n. 2; 464, n. 3; 526, 532, 533.
Conti, Ascanio, 63.
Coppino (Friar), 445, n. 2.
Corvinus, Family of, 412.
Corvinus, Mathias Hunyadi (King of Hungary), 441, 442.
Coutances, Bishop of, 459.
Cracow, Cardinal of, 129.
Creussner, Frederick, 94, n. 2.
Critobulus, 266, n. 1.
Curte, Giovanni de, 354, n. 2.
Curte, Sceva de, 145, 146, n. 1; 290, n. 4; 294, n. 2; 301, n. 2.
Cusa, Clara, 132.
Cusa, John, 132.
Cusa, Nicholas of (Cardinal), 11, 36, 53, n. 3; 55, 58, 103, n. 2; 104-137, 301, n. 2; 313, n. 1; 319, 325, n. 1; 327, n. 2; 349, 350, 397, 401, n.; 420, 462, 483, 505, 506.
Cyril (Saint), 206.
Cyprus, King of, 247, 383.

Dante, 149, 386
Dathus, Agustinus, 77, 103.
Decembrio, 195, 199, 203.
Decius, Emperor, 189.
Demetrius (Despot of Peloponesius), 270.
Denmark, Christian (King of), 285, n. 1; 383.
Didacus, Saint, 82, 91.
Dlugoss, Johannes, 93.
Döllinger, I. J. von, 39, n. 3; 51, n. 2; 240, n. 1; 261, n. 1; 347, n. 1; 377, n. 1.
Donatis, Donatus de, 148, n. 1; 170, n. 1; 248, n. 2; 305, n. 3.
Doria, Gabriel, 253, n. 2.
Döring, Mathias, 127, n.
Ducagnini, Nicolas, 430.
Ducagnini, Paul, 430.
Ducas, 267.

Enenkel, Gaspard, 142, 144, 145, n. 1; 155, 156, n. 2; 157, n. 1.
Enoche of Ascoli, Alberto, 208.
Enriquez, Garcia (Archbishop of Seville), 53, 54.
Erbach, Dietrich, Count of, 413, 414.
Erlichshausen, Ludwig von, 208, n. 2.
Estaing, Guillaume d' (Cardinal), 320.
Este, Borso d' (Duke of Modena), 142, 160.
Estouteville, Guillaume d' (Cardinal), 10, 79, 80, 104, 105, 134, n. 2; 273, 275, 278, n. 1; 320, n. 1; 459, 460, 462, 468, 474, 475, 505, 523.
Ethiopia, King of, 246, n. 1; 408.
Eugenius IV. (Pope), 3, 5, 7, 8, 17, 18, 19, 28, 29, 34, 35, 56, 59, 63, 79, 173, 180, n. 2; 182, 183, 187, 196, 197, 203, 220, 221, 222, 226, n. 2; 231, 232, 245, 250, 257, 320, 328, 348, 368, 369, 427, 428, n. 2; 486, 487, 488, 557.
Eugenicus, Marcus, 240, 241.
Eusebius, 2 6.
Everso, Count (see Anguillara).

Faltonia, Proba, 181.
Fara, Niccolo da, 393, 394, n. 1.
Farigna, Velasco, 372.
Felix V. (anti-Pope), 3, 28, 35, 36, 41-44.
Feltre, Bishop of, 555, n. 1.
Fenollet, Pontius, 355, n. 1; 376, n. 1; 409, n. 3; 438, n. 1; 445, n. 2.
Ferrara, Marquess of, 89, n. 2; 141, n. 2; 146.
Ferrer, Vincent (Saint), 326.
Fieschi, Lodisio, 437.

Fieschi (see Flisco).
Fiesole, Fra Angelico da (Blessed), 9, n. 3; 185-189, 199.
Filelfo, Francesco, 143, 197-200, 202, 203, 233, 279, 285, 333, n. 1; 334.
Firenze, Fra Giovanni da, 187.
Flisco, Cardinal, 542, 544.
Foligno, Bartolomeo da, 189.
Folliano, Corrado, 361.
Foscari, Francesco (Doge of Venice), 279, 394, n. 1; 403, n. 1; 406, n. 2; 407, n. 2; 431, n. 1; 547.
Foscarino, Lodovico, 341, n. 2.
Fouquet, Jean, 183.
Francesca, Piero della, 190.
Francesco, Antonio di, 183.
Franchi, Battista dei, 272, n. 1.
Francis (Saint), (see Assisi).
Frederick III., Emperor, 6, n. 3; 27, 31, 34-39, 41, 50, 53. 78, n. 3; 92, n. 2; 98, n. 2; 101, 111, 112, 125, 126, 135, n. 2; 138-162, 172, 222, 285, 300-302, 304, 340, 342, 343, 377, 391, n. 2; 407, 416, 419, 420, n. 1; 440, 441, 506.
Frederick, Count Palatine, 414, 417.
Fregeno, Marino de, 252, n. 1.
Frescobaldi, Antonio de, 365, 545.

Gabadeo, Francesco, 227, 228.
Gaetani, Odoardo, 375.
Gaetani, Onorato, 83, n. 1; 148, n. 2; 157, n. 1; 273 n; 275, n. 1; 339, n. 3; 438, n. 1; 551.
Gallo, Niccolò, 224.
Gamberelli, Bernardo (see Rossellino), 183.
Gatti, Giovanni, 437.
Gennadius, 240, 268.
George (Saint), 151.
Ghilinus, Blasius. 552.
Ghirardacci, 68, 74, n. 2.
Giotto, 186.
Girad, Jayme (Bishop of Barcelona), 406, n. 2.
Gislira, 245.
Giugnis, Bernardo, 229, n. 1; 289, n. 1; 290, n. 4.
Giustiniani, Giovanni - Guglielmo-Longo, 261, n. 1.
Giustiniani of Chio, 269, n. 2.
Giustiniani, Orsato, 290, n. 4.
Glichen, Henry, Count of, 117.
Godi, Piero de', 226, 230, n.; 231, 234, 235, n. 1.
Golderer, John, 85, n. 1.
Gonzaga (Cardinal), 223, n. 3.
Gonzaga, Carlo, 296.
Gonzaga, Lodovico (Marquess of Mantua), 69, n. 3; 73, n. 1; 75, n. 3; 76, n. 1; 77, n. 2; 78, n. 3; 80, n. 2; 87, n. 1; 291, n. 1; 292, n. 1; 294, n. 1; 296, 325, n. 2; 369, n. 1; 370, n. 2; 371, n. 1; 386, n. 3; 387, n. 1; 455, n. 2; 458, n. 5; 460, n. 2; 540, 553.
Gorka, Wysota of, 32.
Gozzoli, Benozzo, 9, n. 3; 190, n. 3; 199.
Gréelle, Blaise de (Archbishop of Bordeaux), 379, n. 1.
Gregory XI. (Pope), 343.
Gregory XIII. (Pope), 10.
Gregory, Protosyncellus (Patriarch of Constantinople), 241, 251, 259.
Gregory (Saint), 213.
Grimaldi, Jacopo, 179, 180, n. 1.
Gritti, Triadanus, 341, n. 2.
Grolea, John de, 446, n. 1.
Grunther, Paulus, 411.
Guardia Giovanni de, 329, n. 2.
Guarino of Verona, 56, 199.
Guarna, Nic, 64, n. 2.
Guidobono, Antonio, 329, n. 2.
Gurk, Bishop of, 303.

Hagen, Johann (Abbot of Bursfield), 115.

Hales, Alexander of, 213.
Hamsa, 432, 433.
Hapsburg, House of, 441, 445.
Heilo, Van, 131.
Heinemann 114.
Hemmerlin, Felix, 76, 94, 95.
Herberstein, George von, 140, n. 1.
Herdegen, Otto, 410.
Hesse, Louis Landgrave of, 92.
Hinderbach, Johann, 340, n. 3; 342, 343.
Hladek, Lukas, 442.
Hungary, King of (see Ladislas).
Hunyadi, John, 242, 243, 245, 246, 256, 278, 301, 389, 391, 393, 394, 396, 397, 398, n. 1; 401, 402, n. 2; 403-406, 412, 429, 548.
Hunyadi, Ladislas, 412.

Infessura, 4, n. 2; 100, n. 2; 148, n. 1; 154, n. 2; 159, n. 1; 233, 239, 263, n. 1; 272, n. 3; 274, n. 1; 299, n. 2; 399, n. 2; 403, n. 1.
Inghirami, Giovanni, 96, n. 3; 98, n. 2; 100, n. 1; 500.
Ingrati, Jacomo, 320, n. 2.
Innocent III. (Pope), 350, n. 2; 351, n. 1.
Innocent VII. (Pope), 181, 338, n. 1.
Isabeg, 430, 432, 433.
Isidore (Cardinal), 242, 258, 259, 267, 287, 288, n. 3; 320, 334, 336, 544.

Jacob (Archbishop), 133.
Janitschek, 177, n. 1; 178, n. 1.
Jerome (Saint), 135, 212, 484, 490.
John XXII. (Pope), 38.
Joseph (Greek Patriarch), 249, 250.
Julius II. (Pope), 179, 182.
Jüterbogk, Jacob von, 45, 46, n. 3; 47-49, 93, n. 3; 94, 106, n. 1.

Kalteisen, Heinrich, 20, n. 3; 94, 326, n. 4; 353, 393, n. 2; 410.
Kammermeister, Hartung, 116.
Karamania, Prince of, 251, 252.
Kastriota, George (see Skanderbeg).
Kayserberg, Geyler von, 49, 55, n. 3.
Kolde, 100, n. 2.
Komnenos, Moses Golem, 430, 431, 432.

Ladislas Posthumus (King of Hungary), 135, n. 2; 140-142, 155, 159, 160, 162, 301, 304, 385, n. 4; 391, 392, 394, n. 1; 408, 412, 413, 420, 440, 441, 506, 507.
Lagazara, Bartolomeo de, 225, n. 1; 230, n. 1; 232, 238, n. 3; 239, n. 2; 517.
Lampugnani, 216.
Lanckman, Nicholas, 140, 156, n. 2.
Languedoc, Ambrose of, 393.
Lanzol, Jofré, 447.
Lanzol (see Borgia).
Lawrence (Saint), 182, 187.
Lausanne, George, Bishop of, 370, n. 1; 465, n. 2.
Lavagnoli, Giacomo dei, 230.
Lecce, Roberto of, 83, n. 2; 272, 352.
Lellicecchi, Giacomo di, 227, 513, 514.
Leo the Great (Saint), 23, 250, n. 2.
Leo X. (Pope), 208, n. 2; 351, n. 1.
Leonardo III., Tocco, Prince of Arta, 438.
Lesina, Thomas, Bishop of, 245, 520.
Leewis, Dionysius Van, 108.
Liege, Bishop of, 108.
Longo, Giovanni Guglielmo (see Giustiniani).

Longueil, Richard Ollivier de (Cardinal), 458.
Loredano, Giacomo, 261, 262, 280, 341, n. 2.
Lorenz (Abbot) of Maria-Zell, 111, 112.
Louis XI. (King of France), 381, n. 3.
Louis, Count Palatine, 37.
Louis IX., King of France (Saint), 377.
Lucas (German painter), 190, n. 3.
Luna, Pedro de (afterwards anti-Pope Benedict XIII), 328.
Luni, Bishop of, 437.

Maffeo, Timoteo, 205, 213.
Magdeburg, Frederick (Archbishop of), 119, 120.
Magdeburg, Michael (Margrave of), 152.
Maglionus, Jacobus, 513.
Mahomet II. (Sultan), 242, 246, 251-253, 255, 262, n. 1; 264, 266, 268-271, 275, 276, n.; 278-282, 283, n.; 288, 389-392, 395-397, 399, 404, 409, 429, 432, 440.
Mai, Angelo (Cardinal), 334, n. 2.
Maincourt, Renaud de, 191.
Malagola, 71, n. 5; 72, n.
Malatesta, Sigismondo, 96, 272, n. 3; 298, 425, 481.
Malvezzi, Achille, 320, n. 2.
Mandoctes, Goswinus, 156, n. 2; 157, n. 1.
Manetti, Gianozzo, 16, 33, 102, 166, 167, n. 2; 168, n. 1; 169, 172, n. 2; 173, 174, 175, 176, n. 1; 177, 178, 182, 191, 195, 196, 199, 205, 206, 211, 219, 238, n. 3; 263, n. 2; 293, 305, n. 1; 308, n. 1; 311, n. 2.
Mantua, Barbara, Marchioness of, 32, n. 1; 85, n. 1.
Mantua, Lorenzo of, 310.
Mantua, Marquess of (see Gonzaga, Lodovico).
Marca, Jacopo della (Saint), 91, 352, 420.
Marcello, Bartolomeo, 262, n. 1; 280, 281, n. 1.
Maripetro, Pasqualis, 341, n. 2.
Marsuppini, Carlo, 197.
Martelli, Roberto, 29, n. 3; 325, n. 2; 329, n. 4; 463, n. 3.
Martin (Abbot), 111, 112.
Martin V. (Pope), 7, 38, 88, n. 2; 121, 183, 219, 320, 328, 363, 427, 484, 485, 557.
Martino, Beltramo di, 184.
Maso, Angelo di, 224, 227, 228, 512, 522.
Mastro, Paolo Benedetto di Cola della, 6, n. 3; 83, 88, n. 2; 96, n. 3; 98-100, 232, n. 1; 233, n. 2; 426, n. 2.
Mayence, Archbishop of, 40, n. 2; 413, 418, 420.
Mayence, Elector of, 414.
Mayence, Dietrich of, 303.
Mayr, Martin, 413, 417, 418, 421.
Medici, Bernardus de', 424, n 2.
Medici, Cosmo de', 22, 33, 65, 194, n. 3; 195, 210, n. 1; 295, 300, 472.
Medici, Family of, 89, 102, 212.
Medici, Filippo de', 450.
Medici, Giovanni de', 96, n. 3; 216, 500.
Medici, Giovanni di Cosimo de', 340, 386, n. 2.
Medici, Giuliano de', 216.
Medici, Giulio de', 216.
Medici, Lorenzo the Magnificent de', 50.
Medici, Piero di Cosmo de', 329, n. 5; 464, n. 2.
Mella, Juan de (Cardinal), 458, 475.
Merseburg, Bishop of, 119.
Methone, Joseph, Bishop of, 241.
Metrophanes, Patriarch of Constantinople, 242.
Metz, Bishop of, 91.

Michael Angelo, 185, n. 3.
Michaelibus, Petrus de, 80, n. 3.
Michaelbeuern, George (Abbot of), 91, n. 1.
Michele, Bartolomeo, 331.
Mila, Family of, 447, 448.
Mila, Juan de, 447.
Mila, Luis Juan (Cardinal), 447, 449, 450, 451, n. 1; 455, 456, 459, 468, 555, 556.
Milan, Archbishop of, 355, n. 2; 438, n. 1.
Milan, Duke of (see Visconti and Sforza).
Modigliano, Conte di, 478, n. 3.
Montalto, Lorenzo da, 308, n. 2.
Montani, Cola de, 219.
Monte, Piero del, 56, 57.
Montefalcone, Antonio de, 324, 352, 353, n. 1.
Monterotondo, Piero da, 522.
Montefeltro (see Urbino).
Monteserrato, Cosimo de, 212, n. 1; 335, 442, 468, n. 1.
Montferrat, Marquess of, 296, 437.
Moro, Christopher, 290, n. 4.
Moro, Giovanni, 297.
Morosini, Barbono, 365, n. 3.
Motz, Jacob, 140.
Mozarello, Jacob, 561.
Muffel, Nicolas, 154, n. 2; 411.
Mulnheim, Burkhardt von, 143.
Mytilene, Leonard (Archbishop of), 258.

Naples (Alfonso, King of), 3, 4, n. 1; 27, 29, 34, 64, 65, 79, 89, n. 2; 139, 158, 161, 181, 221, 236, n. 1; 237, 260, 261, 282, 283, 286, 289, 291, 292, 293, n. 2; 296-298, 300, 304, 321, 328-331, 334, n. 2; 336, 340, 356, 359, 360, 361-366, 373, 374, 385, 392, 404, 407, 422-428, n. 2; 430-432, n. 1; 433, 434, 446, 467, 468, 470, 471, 474, 481, 483, 523, 524, 533, 538, 549, 552, 562.
Naples, Ferrante of, 328, n. 3; 424, 427, 428, 467-472, 475, 552.
Narni, Gabrielle da, 144, n. 2.
Narni, Lodovico da, 381, n. 3.
Navar, Juan de, 434, 435, n. 3; 439, n. 4.
Nazianzen, Gregory (Saint), 206.
Nello, 159, n. 1; 160, n. 1; 192, n. 1.
Niccoli, Niccolò, 23, 201, 212, 219.
Nicholai, Gregorius, 294, n. 2.
Nicholai, Luca, of Siena, 339, n. 1; 532.
Nicholas III. (Pope), 182.
Nicholas V. (Pope), 5, n. 3; 6, n. 3; 7, 9, 11-14, 17, n. 1; 20, n. 3; 31, 32, 33, 34-38, 40, n. 1; 41-43, 45, 46, 47, 50, 51, 53-63, 65-69, 70, n. 3; 72-74, 77, 79-89, 91-93, 95-97, 100-106, 108, 109, 110, 114, 117, 118, n. 2; 120, 125, 130, 132, n. 2; 135, 136, 138, 139, 141, 147-150, 151, 153, 154, 156, 159, 160, 162, 165-173, 176, 177-187, 188, n. 1; 209, 210-215, 218, 222, 225, 227, 228, 229, 231, 233-239, 242-248, 250, 251, 257-264, 272-277, 280, n. 2; 281, 284, 285, 286, 287, n. 1; 288, n. 1; 289, 290-294, 297, 299-304, n. 2; 305-313, 317-323, 332-333, 335, 336, 340, 344, 348, 349-350, 353-359, n. 1; 369, 377, n. 1; 383, n. 3; 387, 415, 435, 450, n. 1; 461, 486, 487, 488, 490, 497, 498, 505, 506, 520, 524, 528.
Nicholas (Provost), 113.
Nicolini, Oddone, 340.
Noceto, Piero da, 196, n. 2; 311, n. 1; 486, 487, 528, 532.
Notaras, Lukas, 260, 293, n. 2.

Novaria, Stephanus de, 273, n. 1.
Nyssa, Gregory of (Saint), 206.

Olgiati, Girolamo, 216, 217.
Olmütz, Archbishop of, 442.
Olzina, Antonio, 545.
Orcagna, 186.
Orleans, Duke of, 64.
Orsini, Family of, 11, 149, 228, 321, 323, 338, 339, 461, 476, 477, 480, 481, 486.
Orsini, Francesco, 339.
Orsini, Gianantonio, 462.
Orsini, Latino (Cardinal), 58, n. 2; 87, n. 1; 228, 320-322, 339, 369, 462, 474, 475, n. 1; 480-482, 531-533, 562.
Orsini, Napoleone, 338, 339, 361.
Orsini, Orso, 61.
Orvieto, Giovanni of, 331.
Orvieto, Domenico of, 321.

Palaeologus, John (Emperor), 249, 250.
Palaeologus, Constantine (Emperor), 248, 252-254, 257, 259, 260-263, 264, 266, 267, 271.
Palaeologus, Thomas, 270.
Palmerius, Nicholas, 208, n. 1; 287, 491, n. 2.
Palmieri, Matteo, 177, 178.
Pandolfini, Gianozzo, 340.
Panvinius, 182.
Pappenheim, Marshal von, 152.
Parentucelli, Tommaso (see Nicholas V.).
Parthenius III., Patriarch of Constantinople, 268, n. 2.
Paselli Piero Antonio, 320, n. 2.
Patricius, Franciscus, 65, n. 1.
Paul II. (Pope) (see Barbo, Pietro).
Paul III. (Pope), 182, 187.
Paul V. (Pope), 213, n. 3.
Pavia, John, Bishop of, 301, 303, 350, 372, n. 3; 378, n. 2; 391, n. 2; 458, n. 5.
Pedrino, Giovanni de, 95, n. 3; 495, n. 2.
Pedro Luis, (Lanzol) (see Borgia).
Perotti, 198, n. 1; 199, 206, n. 1.
Perpinya, Jacopo, 375, n. 1; 380, n. 3; 546.
Persona, Battista da, 233, n. 2.
Perugino, 189.
Peter (Saint), 177, 190, 324.
Petrarch, 387, 388.
Piccinino, Jacopo, 318, 324, 341, 360, 361, 362-364, 372, 424, 446, 481.
Piccolomini, Æneas Sylvius (afterwards Pius II.), 6, 8, 13, 22, n.; 23, n. 3; 30, 31, 34, n. 1; 36, 44, 45, n.; 47, 48, n. 2; 49, 50, 51, 52, n.; 56, n.; 58, n. 3; 59, 60, 78, 96, n. 3; 101, 125-127, n.; 135, n. 2; 139, 141, 144, 145, 147, n.; 148, n. 2; 149, n. 3; 150, 151, 154, n. 1; 156, n. 3; 159, 192, n. 2; 193, 209, n. 1; 211, 234, n. 1; 236, 263, n. 2; 273, n. 1; 277, 278, n. 1; 285, 286, 293, n. 1; 301, n. 2; 302-304, 313, 322, 323, 326, n. 1; 332, 338, n. 1; 339, n. 1; 340, n. 3; 342, 343, 360, n. 1; 363, 368, n. 1; 373, n. 1; 374, n. 2; 378, n. 2; 386, 391, 393, n. 1; 394, n. 1; 398, n. 1; 403, n. 1; 416-419, 421-423, n. 1; 428, n. 2; 432, n. 1; 438, n. 3; 448, 451, 452, 454, 455, 458, 462, 466, 486, 487, 490, 491, n. 2; 492, n. 2; 495, n. 2; 528.
Piccolomini, Francesco Todeschini (Cardinal) [afterwards Pius III.], 40, n. 2.
Piccolomini, Jacopo Ammannati (Cardinal), 92, 444, 492, n. 4.

Pietro, Sano di, 364, n. 4.
Pintelli, Baccio, 10, n. 3.
Pinturicchio, 147.
Pisa, Vangelista, 16.
Pisa, Zaccaria Saggio di, 292, n. 1; 294, n. 1.
Piscicelli, Rinaldo de (Cardinal), 458.
Pistoja, Antonio da, 276, n. 1; 467, n. 4; 469, n. 2; 470, n. 1; 472, n. 2; 473, n. 1; 474, n. 3; 475, n. 1; 476, n. 1; 477, n. 2; 478, n. 4; 479, n. 2; 480, n. 2; 481, n. 2; 489, n. 2; 522, 557, 559, 563.
Pitighano, Count of, 532.
Pitti, Gianozzo, 289, n. 1; 290, n. 3; 291, n. 1; 293, n. 3; 293, n. 1.
Pius II. } See Piccolomini.
Pius III. }
Pius V., Pope, 213.
Pius IX., Pope, 182.
Platina, 97, n. 2; 182, n. 2; 191, 203, 238, n. 3; 313, n. 2; 327, n. 1; 329, n. 1; 335, 339, n. 1; 346, n. 1.
Podiebrad, George (King of Bohemia), 128, 441, 444.
Poggio, Battista, 483, n. 2.
Poggio, Battista Giovanni de, 66, 68, n. 2.
Poggio (Bracciolini), Gianfrancesco, 16, 23, n. 4; 73, n. 1; 87, 162, n. 1; 193, 195, 196, 199, 202, 203, n. 1; 219, 233, 274, n. 3; 368, n. 3.
Poland (see Casimir).
Pontremoli Nicodemus of, 19, n. 2; 68, n. 2; 69, n. 1; 87, n. 2; 93, 192, 238, n. 3; 249, n. 2; 274, n. 1; 283, 284, 290, n. 4; 292, n. 2; 293, n. 2; 297, n. 1; 306, 307, 309, n. 1; 311, n. 1; 317, 318, n. 1; 319, 321, 322, 324, n. 1; 326, n. 4; 338, n. 1; 339, n. 2; 348, n. 3; 350, n. 3; 363, n. 2; 364, n. 3; 423, n. 1; 426, n. 1; 451, 452, 454, 455, 460, n. 2; 462, n. 1; 463, n. 3; 466, n. 2; 467, n. 1; 468, n. 2; 469, n. 2; 470, n. 4; 529, 533-537.
Porcaro, Mariano, 220.
Porcaro, Matteo, 218, n. 1.
Porcaro, Niccolò, 510, 511, 512.
Porcaro, Salutato, 218, n. 1.
Porcaro, Stefano, 4, 63, 197, n. 3; 216, 219, 220-234, 236-239, 307, 308, 488, n. 3; 507-517, 520.
Porcinari, Niccolo de', 1, 227.
Porta, Bartolomeo della, 186.
Portugal, Alfonso, King of, 486, n. 1; 383, 384, 394, n. 1; 406, n. 2; 439.
Portugal, James, Infant of (Cardinal), 457, 466.
Portugal, Leonora of, 139, 147, 150, 457, 466.
Prima, Gregorio, 448, n. 2.

Raab, Bishop of, 442.
Rabstein, Procopius of, 6, 31.
Ragusa, Archbishop of, 479, n. 3; 362, n. 1; 476.
Ram, Domingo (Cardinal), 485.
Raphael, 182, 185, n. 3.
Rapallo, Gabriel de, 224, n. 1; 226, n. 1; 228, n. 1; 238, n. 2; 508.
Reatis, Jacobus de, 514.
Reschpeck, Wolfgang, 113.
Rheims, Archbishop of, 41.
Rhodes, Andrew (Archbishop of), 241.
Riccio, Michele, 290, n. 3.
Ridolfi, Antonio di Lorenzo, 340.
Ripafratta, Lorenzo da, 332, n. 1.
Rolin, Jean (Cardinal), 58, n. 2; 319.
Rolla, Giovanni, 375, n. 3.
Rome, Giovanni of (Fra), 187.
Rome, Simone of, 190.

Roncone, Angelo, 309, 526.
Ror, Peter Zu, 113.
Roraw, Heinrich, 442.
Rosenberg, Hermanus, 134, n. 1.
Rossellino, Antonio, 457.
Rossellino, Bernardo Gamberelli 183.
Roverella, Bartolomeo, 6, n. 3,
Roverella, Lorenzo, 409, n. 3; 421, n.
Rucellai, Giovanni, 95, 102, n. 1; 182, n. 2.

Salerno, Prince of, 190.
Salzburg, Frederick (Archbishop of), 40, 113, 414.
San Galgano (Abbot of), 4, n. 1; 5, n. 2; 6, n. 1; 12, n. 2; 14, n. 1; 30, n. 1; 64, n. 1; 65, n. 1; 80, n. 1.
Sanseverino, Roberto, 323, 325, n. 2; 329, n. 4; 361.
Sanudo, 14, n. 2; 18, n. 2; 278, 290, n. 4; 359, n. 3; 376, n. 1.
Sarzana Tommaso (see Nicholas V.).
Savelli, Family of, 61.
Savelli, Pandolfo, 319, 535.
Savona, Valerio Calderina, (Bishop of), 437.
Savoy, Amadeus of (see Felix V.).
Savoy, Louis of, 35, 64, 296.
Saxony, Duke of, 445.
Scalona, Vincentius de, 32, n. 1.
Scarampo, Lodovico (Cardinal), 3, 10, 29, 83, n. 1; 168, n. 2; 157, n. 1; 221, 227, 273, n. 1; 320, 321, 324, 325, 329, n. 3; 339, 355, n. 1; 357, n. 2; 366, 368, 369, 370, n. 1; 371, 372, 375, 380, n. 3; 404, 406, n. 2; 438, 440, 447, 462, 540, 551.
Schaumburg, Peter von (Cardinal), 91, 319.
Schlick, Francis, 394, n. 1; 396, n. 2; 398, n. 1.
Schürstab, Erhart, 411.
Sciarra, Battista, 224, 227, 230, 511, 512, 521.
Scotus, Duns, 213.
Senftleben, Heinrich, 141.
Seresanus, Gotardus de, 319.
Severinus, Nicolaus 402, n. 4; 547.
Sforza, Alessandro, 14, n. 2; 22, 34, n. 3; 62, n. 3; 71, 143. 144.
Sforza, Francesco (Duke of Milan), 6, n. 2; 7, n. 1; 12, n. 1; 19, n. 2; 23, n. 3; 28, n. 1; 34, n. 3; 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 87, n. 2; 93, n. 2; 125, n. 2; 143, 144, n. 2; 145, 146, n. 1; 149, n. 2; 150, n.; 153, 160, 161, 192, n. 1; 217, 237, n. 2; 238, n. 3; 239, n. 2, 261, 272, n. 1; 273, n. 2; 274, n. 1; 275, n. 1; 276, 283, n. 1; 284, 289, n. 1; 290, 291, n. 1; 292, 293, n. 1; 294, n. 2; 295, 296, 297, n. 1; 298. 299, n. 2; 300, 306, 307, n. 2; 309, n. 1; 313, n. 1; 318, n 1; 319, 321, n. 2; 322, n. 1; 323, 330, n. 3; 348, n. 3; 350, n. 3; 360, 361, 362, 363, n. 4; 365, n. 2; 370, n. 2; 385. 399, n. 2; 400, n. 3; 403, n. 1; 407, n. 2; 422, n. 2; 423, 424, 426, n. 1; 427, n. 1; 428, n. 1; 431, 437, 438, n. 1; 440, 446, n. 2; 447, 449, n. 4; 454, n. 1; 456, n. 1; 458, 460, n. 1; 461, n. 2; 463, n. 3; 466, n. 3; 467, n. 1; 468, n. 2; 469, n. 1; 470, n. 1; 471, n. 2; 472, 473, n. 1; 474, n. 3; 475, 476, n. 1; 477, n. 2; 478, n. 1; 480, n. 2; 481, n. 3; 482, 483, n. 1; 489, n. 3; 492, n. 2; 494, 500, 522, 523, 525, 526, 529, 533, 534, 536, 538, 539, 548, 552, 556, 557, 559, 561, 563, 565.

Sforza, Galeazzo Maria, 143, 144, n. 2; 216.
Sforza, Hypolite, 424.
Sforza, Maria, 424.
Siegen, Nicholas of, 116, n.
Siena, Bernardine of (Saint), 79, 83, 127, 129.
Siena, Catherine of (Saint), 495.
Siena, Luca Nicholai of, 339, n. 1.
Sigismund (see Tyrol).
Simonetta, Cecco, 291, n. 1; 292, n. 2; 482.
Simonetto of Camerino (Fra), 295, 296, 300.
Sirk, Jacob von (see Treves).
Sixtus II. (Pope), 188, n. 4.
Sixtus IV. (Pope), 335.
Sixtus V. (Pope), 172, 176, n. 3.
Skanderbeg (George Kastriota), 246, 389, 403, n. 1; 419, 429, 435, 439, 440, 520.
Slitpacher, Johann, 112.
Slosser, Heinrich, 410, 411.
Soderini, Nicolas, 273, n. 1; 282, n. 1; 521.
Solda, Cristópher à, 78, 290, n. 3.
Solerius, John, 371, n. 2; 374, n. 3; 375, n. 1.
Spada, Jacobus de, 545.
Spangberg, Stephan von, 111, 112.
Spannochi, Ambrogio, 369.
Spires, Bishop of, 37.
Springer, 177, n. 1.
Stella, Piero, 272, n. 1.
Stephen (Saint), 187, 188, 217.
Strasburg, Ruprecht (Bishop of), 91, n. 2.
Strozzi, Alessandro, 84, n. 1.
Strozzi, Antonio de, 469, n. 3; 470, n. 2; 475, n. 3.
Strozzi, Palla di, 15.
Struma (Abbot and anti-Pope under the name of Calixtus III.), 325, n. 2.
Syropulus (Silvester), 240.
Szamotôl, Peter of, 32.
Szechy, Dionysius (Cardinal), 319, 349, 371, n. 2; 372, n. 2; 547.

Tagliacozzo, Giovanni (Cardinal), 11, 79, n. 2; 80.
Tagliacozzo, Giovanni (Minorite), 390, n. 1; 393, 394, n. 1.
Tarragona, Pietro Urrea (Archbishop of), 350, 365, 366, 373, 425, 544.
Tebaldi, 261, n. 5.
Tebaldo, Jacopo (Cardinal), 458, 474.
Teschen, Duke of, 155.
Theodore (Archbishop), 134, n. 1.
Theophrastus, 198.
Tholomeis de Senis, Jacopo, 141, n. 2.
Torquemada, Juan de (Cardinal), 8, 9, 51, 53, 206, 320.
Torre, Jacopo Antonio della, 556.
Tortello, Giovanni, 195, 196, 210, 211, n. 1.
Tortona, Bishop of, 437.
Tortona, Niccolò of, 310.
Traversari, Ambrogio, 207, 219, 220.
Trebizond, Emperor of, 270.
Trebizond, George of, 198, n. 2; 202, 206.
Trenta, Stefano, 64, n. 1; 68, n.
Trèves, Elector of, 40, 414.
Trèves, Jacob (Archbishop of), 91, 133, n. 1; 303, 304, 413, 414, 421.
Trezzo, Antonio de, 160, n. 4; 272, n. 1; 293, n. 1; 363, n. 4; 425, n. 3; 467, n. 1; 469, n. 1; 483, n. 1.
Trithemius (Abbot), 137.
Trivulzio, Giacomo, 146, n. 1; 260, n. 4; 294, n. 2.
Tuccia, Niccolò della, 6, n. 3; 10, n. 2; 12, n. 1; 18, n. 2;

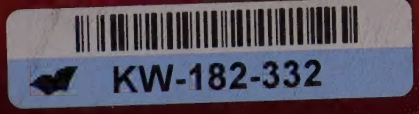
PLEASE RETURN
SOMERVILLE COLLEGE,
OXFORD.

25, n. 2; 43, n. 1; 45, n.; 58, n. 1; 63, n. 1; 81, n. 4; 93, n. 3; 98, n. 1; 145, n.; 192, n. 2; 222, n. 3; 229, n.; 230, n. 1; 238, n. 3; 264, n. 1; 272, n. 1; 275, n. 2; 283, n. 1; 284, n. 4; 287, n. 1; 298, n. 1; 307, n. 3; 311, n. 2; 312, n. 1; 313, n. 1; 318, n. 4; 325, n. 2; 326, n. 1; 327, n. 2; 337, n. 2; 339, n. 1; 354, n. 1; 358, n. 2; 363, n. 3; 368, n. 3; 402, n. 3; 426, n. 2; 462, n. 1; 463, n. 5; 469, n. 1; 470, n. 4; 473, n. 1; 479, n. 1; 480, n. 2; 481, n. 1.
Tyrol, Sigismund, Duke of, 110, n. 1; 135, n. 2; 350.

Urban II. (Pope), 348.
Urban V. (Pope), 388.
Urban VIII. (Pope), 20, n. 3.
Urbino, Federigo da Montefeltro, Duke of, 22, 212.
Urceo, Antonio, 72, n. 2.
Urchan, 252.
Usunhassan, Prince, 408.

Valla, Lorenzo, 149, 195, 197, 198, 199, 202, 213, 221, 233, 234, 333.
Valle, Fantino de, 444.
Van der Weyden, Roger, 89, 183.
Van Eyck, John, 90.
Varesio, Francesco da, 525.
Vasari, 190.
Vegio, Maffeo, 179, n. 2; 181, 190, 314, n. 1.
Veneriis, Antonio de, 445, n. 2.
Venice, Doge of (see Foscari).
Veniero of Recanate, Jacopo, 264, 362, n. 1.
Ventimiglia, Giovanni, 361, 362.
Vernacci, Lionardo, 329, n. 5; 464, n. 2.
Verona, Gabriel of, 348, 387, 442, n. 2.
Verona, Gasparo of, 451.
Verona, Marquess of, 142.
Veronica (Saint), 83.
Vespucci, Guidantonio, 455, n.
Vich, Bishop of, 334.
Vila, B., 439, n. 2; 446, n. 3.
Visconti, Family of, 212.
Visconti, Filippo Maria (Duke of Milan), 28, 64, 65, 66, n. 2; 138.
Visconti, Bartolomeo (Bishop of Novara), 321, n. 1; 322, n. 3; 324, n. 1; 326, n. 4; 360, n. 3; 362, n. 2; 529, 533, 534, 536.
Visconti, Maria Bianca, 64.
Visconti, 216, 217.
Vitelleschi, Giovanni (Cardinal), 61, 180, n. 2; 220, 221, 368, 487.
Viterbo, Ægidius of (Cardinal), 18, n. 4.
Viterbo, Michael Canensis de, 17, n. 2; 20, n. 2; 86, n. 2.
Vitez, Johannes, of Zredna, 304.

Waitzen, Bishop of, 442.
Wattenbach, 60.
Wesel, Johann von, 94, 118, n. 1.
Wiesmayer, Leonhard (Bishop), 110, n. 1.
Wiseman (Cardinal), 186, n. 2.
Worms, Bishop of, 37.
Würzburg, Gottfried, Bishop of, 116, n. 1.
Würzburg, Stephen (Abbot of), 115.
Wurtemberg, Count of, 37.


KW-182-332